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Inequality, private redistribution and social identity

An empirical investigation of personal networks of support in Namibia

Annalena Oppel

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I hereby declare that this thesis has not been, and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:

Date: 29.05.2020

ABSTRACTUNIVERSITY OF SUSSEXANNALENA OPPELPHD DEVELOPMENT STUDIES (IDS)INEQUALITY, PRIVATE REDISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL IDENTITY – AN EMPIRICAL
INVESTIGATION OF PERSONAL NETWORKS OF SUPPORT IN NAMIBIA

Higher levels of inequality have been associated with lower levels of well-being and welfare of a society. An individual cannot be unequal – inequality arises collectively and in comparison. The present research revisits inequality through the lens of interpersonal and in-group dynamics by exploring personal networks of economic support. It thereby asks:

In which ways are socioeconomic inequalities entangled with practices of private redistribution?

These dynamics were explored in Namibia, a country with inherited inequalities from former apartheid structures. It thus pays particular attention to ethnic identity groups. Using a mixed-method approach which comprises both qualitative statements and structural properties of 205 personal networks of support, I explore a mutual constitution between inequalities as systemic outcome and behavioural dynamic across ethnic identity groups.

Building on previous insights which have stressed the continuance of stratifications due to apartheid, I show how inequality is reflected in personal meaning of support, i.e. responding to external challenges such as unemployment crafting responsibilities to provide support.

I further demonstrate that providing more can be associated with higher socioeconomic positions and greater socioeconomic distance in support relationships. Such reflects higher vertical inequality in support relationships particularly for non-white ethnic identity groups.

Lastly, I propose a novel approach to measuring overall distributive effects of private transfers on income inequality. I find evidence for similarities in terms of socioeconomic profiles within support relationships, yield different distributive effects on income inequality.

In sum, my research demonstrates how applying a different perspective on economic support, most commonly termed informal support or informal safety nets in the Global South, can yield new insights. It thereby contests the notion of ‘informality’ where social practices constitute a vital part of social realities and further illustrates potentially conflicting priorities for individuals participating in economic and social systems where different degrees of individualism versus collectivism prevail.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------|--------------------------------------|
| BEE | Black Economic Empowerment Framework |
| CRI | Commitment to Reducing Inequality |
| EI | External-Internal Index |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GE | Generalized Entropy Index |
| HIV | Human Immunodeficiency Virus |
| ID | Identifier |
| IDS | Institute of Development Studies |
| IL | Income Level |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| IPPR | Institute for Public Policy Research |

| | |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| IQR | Inter-Quartile Range |
| ISCO | International Standard Classification of Occupations |
| NAD | Namibian Dollar |
| NEEEF | Namibian Economic Equitable Empowerment Framework |
| NHIES | Namibian Household Income and Expenditure Survey |
| NW | Non-white |
| PS | Personal Statement |
| SD | Standard Deviation |
| SDG | Sustainable Development Goals |
| SE | Standard Error |
| SES | Socioeconomic status |
| SRA | South African Rand |
| TIPEC | Targeted Intervention Programme for Employment Creation |
| TIPEEG | Targeted Intervention Programme for Employment Creation and Economic Growth |
| TV | Television |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNIN | United Nations Institute for Namibia |
| US | United States |
| USD | United States Dollar |
| W | White |
| WHK | Windhoek |

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1 INTRODUCTION

Inequality is a problem of distribution; whether in rights, goods, wealth, income or opportunities, someone is holding considerably, or increasingly, more than others. Therefore, inequality is discussed in academic and popular discourse as a persisting crisis, whereby unaccounted – and in some cases unintended – dynamics, loopholes and consequences collectively contribute to a divergence between the haves and have-nots. Inequality appears to be an adverse effect of a system that has become too complex to manage and which creates unfavourable outcomes at an accelerating pace. Higher levels of inequality have been associated with lower levels of wellbeing and societal welfare, including educational performance, life expectancy and physical as well as mental health (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009). Moreover, higher levels of inequality can undermine efforts to enhance economic and social mobility and “imperil social cohesion as they may lead to ...forms of social and political conflict” (Justino et al., 2003: 1).

Inequality in itself is a relative concept. No individual alone can be unequal – it arises in comparison and in collective settings. What differences are unfavourable to whom then becomes a political, if not moral, rather than an economic question. It is thus not surprising that inequality has received political and scholarly attention beyond its outcomes and consequences. In a way, it is also discussed as a personal stance reflected in beliefs, preferences and attitudes towards ‘corrective efforts’ such as redistributive policies or affirmative actions, as well as through degrees of altruism or prosociality reflected in an individual’s choices and behaviours to support or share resources with others. Thus, inequality has come to be understood beyond systematic outcomes as a dynamic or process shaping such outcomes.

Thereby, scholars have gained plenty of insights into people’s preferences, attitudes, and opinions in varying unequal contexts, as well as their behaviour in experimental settings. For example, the widely known dictator game, which examines individuals’ decisions regarding with whom they share their resources, provides insights into varying degrees of altruism depending on the recipient, e.g. being more generous towards friends, or more broadly in-group members, than strangers (Abbink and Harris, 2019; Chen et al., 2013). Such has also been explored regarding class membership whereby the terms of social relationships like friends and strangers were replaced with markers of class such as ‘the rich’ and ‘the poor’.

Generally, studies have found that individuals of lower socioeconomic status were more generous in comparison to their upper-class counterparts, whereas others have found that this pattern only holds true when levels of inequality are high (Côté et al., 2015; Piff et al., 2010; Xu and Garand, 2010). Class divides thus seem to play a role in defining degrees of generosity and support. Inequality then often constitutes the prevailing context in which individuals are embedded – further testing whether behaviour differs if individuals are aware of or can properly assess levels

of inequality or not. Therefore, often underestimated perceptions rather than actual levels of inequality influence behaviour and preferences for redistribution (Hauser and Norton, 2018). Furthermore, visibility of wealth inequality, for instance, reduced overall levels of cooperation and social connections among individuals (Nishi et al., 2015a).

These studies provide valuable insights, though they partially dis-embed inequality from social reality in that they do not answer to what extent culture, life events or family dynamics play into preferences and the actual behaviour of sharing resources with others in light of inequality. Notably, a wide body of literature studies redistributive patterns within the confines of families through an economic lens but these works are often disembedded from or not comparatively accounting for differences in broader societal and economic context (Alger and Weibull, 2007; Becker, 1974; Cox and Fafchamps, 2007; Laferrere and Wolff, 2006; Miller et al., 2015; Stack, 2003; Stewart, 2015). On the other end of the scale, anthropological studies go beyond families but largely derive their insights from ‘traditional societies’ rather than modern contexts (Dupuche, 2011; Napier, 2014). Such findings might not apply to current societies where high levels of economic inequality, diversity and stratification persist. Further, laboratory experimental settings might capture what an individual would most typically do, or generally believes, however they do not capture what an individual actually did or does in connection to their daily responsibilities, roles and life events, particularly with regard to support practices meriting non-redistributive labels and motivations.

Furthermore, studies on the behaviour of redistribution have been vastly detached from debates on inequality in the Global South¹. The dominant theoretical framing is ‘informality’, ‘poverty’ or ‘remittances’ when it comes to studies on an individual’s behaviour of economic support – whereby only remittances contextualize such dynamics within inequality. A dominant framing of ‘informal safety nets’ and ‘informal social protection’ provides insights into the inner workings of support practices through a person’s network; but this approach often zeroes in on marginalized, rural, or poor communities (Arnall et al., 2004a; Calder and Tanhchareun, 2014; Devereux, 1999; Werger, 2009). Thus, they rarely draw comparisons or examine how such mechanisms differ on a broader scale or across groups. However, inequality is often tied to group boundaries and social identities, as reflected in the concept of horizontal inequalities (Stewart, 2005, 2014a) – a reason why differences and boundaries of behavioural patterns within and across groups are pertinent to understand inequality through a behavioural lens.

¹In this research, I understand Global South as a contemporary term that refers to developing or transition countries set against global economic standards. Global North then refers to advanced or industrial countries.

Notably, the notion of comparing better off or worse off individuals as well as the direction of economic support being horizontal or vertical in terms of reaching the same or different economic strata (see for example, Devereux 1999), capture notions of inequality. More broadly, interpretations of behavioural dynamics often link inequality to the absence or presence of individual practices. Such is then often discussed as inclusion or exclusion, inadequacy or inefficiency compared to formal efforts and thus redistribution through the state (Künemund and Rein, 1999a; Parnwell, 2005; Wood, 2004). Whereas studies on remittances discuss the implications for inequality through the impact on distribution (see for example, Taylor et al. 2005; Olowa, Awoyemi, and Omonona 2011; Vacaflares 2018), remittances only constitute one specific activity of interpersonal transfers. Moreover, placing interpersonal activities into the same conceptual space as the state or singling out activity types might lead to a predominant understanding of ‘inequality as a system failure or inefficiency’, overshadowing the complex notion of ‘social behaviour’ or ‘social boundaries’ that are produced and replicated within the space of social relationships and daily activities.

Although I build on many of the studies alluded to above, especially the in-depth investigations on dynamics of interpersonal support through personal networks across the Global North and South, I reposition the lens. I place individual daily behaviour and behaviour linked to life events – seemingly detached from any beliefs about inequality and preferences for redistribution – at the centre of the analysis and across the spectrum from rich to poor in order to elicit ‘unintended’ or ‘tacit’ inequalities. Unintended and tacit in that inequality might have transcended into daily behaviour and collective practices that formerly carried principles other than ‘equalizing’ social positions and relationships.

In fact, I began this project with a policy lens, setting out to map interpersonal practices against formal policies of redistribution. Only after some time did I realize how interpersonal practices are not a strategic, well-crafted mechanism and not all actions are intended and governed with the foresight of co-crafting someone’s socioeconomic position – a notion that is reflected in the formulation of policies. Instead, activities range from ad-hoc gestures, daily habits, mutual favours, to long-term investments into someone else’s future. Through understanding these activities, one gets a glimpse into the life trajectories of a person and their immediate contacts – beyond the policy principles of whether actions are efficient, adequate, well-planned or intended. Therefore, the way I intend to alter the approach of understanding two-directed interdependencies between individual distributive behaviour and inequality involves, to some extent, layering the field of vision. By this, I mean that I set out to balance a systemic view to capture systems, patterns and consequences of reported behaviour with a deeper understanding of personal motivations and one’s social and economic reality. I thus set out to explore a question that acknowledges a mutual constitution between systemic outcomes and behavioural dynamics of inequality by asking:

In which ways are socioeconomic inequalities entangled with practices of private redistribution?

Before detailing how I address this question in my study, I elaborate on encounters that shaped my research and why I set out to explore the proposed dynamic in Namibia. The initial interest stems from conversations and shared time with work colleagues from Namibia, which – being raised in a Western context – confronted me with different ideas around family, friends and social belonging reflected in open or subtle obligations to share one's resources within these spaces of belonging. While I grew up with the idea that growing up means starting to increasingly take care of oneself, it seemed that in Namibia, for some it meant starting to increasingly take care of others. Further, it seemed – if one's pathway has yielded some economic success – that it was barely attributed to the individual alone but a product of collective care and contributors along the way. Thus, motivations to support others seemed to be based on a notion of repaying some of the support that has helped one into a better position; reinforced by those who 'stayed behind' as well as the 'one who went ahead'. A colloquial term that Namibians use for some of these dynamics is 'Black Tax'. As captured in the term itself, it suggests that this narrative particularly applies to individuals of certain ethnic identities – and for some, as a response to former apartheid discrimination. It was this narrative that introduced the role of social identity to thinking about systemic inequality. Are these narratives exclusively applicable to formerly discriminated individuals' behaviour? What are the potential unequal dynamics and consequences that give rise to such narratives?

Thus, I set out to explore support through the Black Tax narrative to ground my research in Namibia's context. Black Tax emphasizes three elements. A first one being the meaning of support practices which can be linked to the precariousness of economic marginalization for non-white Namibians. A second one being shifting social identities, understood as someone in one's extended family becoming notably better off. These shifts then seem to translate into more support activities from those who went ahead to those left behind. The third one then being a claim about its broader role in income redistribution. While the need for interpersonal support in the Global South is often attributed to poverty, Black Tax stresses the close interwovenness of poverty and ethnic identities in the Namibian context. It also shows that focussing on support among the poor alone would miss out on capturing support received from better off or non-poor family members. Thus, while Black Tax is a reflection of 'black poverty', it is more a reflection of socioeconomic heterogeneity within non-white Namibian families; a dynamic which has also been described by increased intra-racial inequality (Seekings et al., 2004). In this thesis, I thus primarily focus on aspects of ethnic identities and socioeconomic status to explore support meaning, patterns and distributive dynamics in Namibia.

This is not to say that other identities do not matter in shaping support practices among individuals, such as generational or gender dynamics. In this study, I begin with a socioeconomic lens regarding among whom support takes place. Thus, next to other social identities, I also gave the type of support a subordinate role. This leaves scope for further explorations: for instance, when further unpacking the type of support, gender might play a stronger role, i.e. comparing care and household duties versus financial transactions. The type of network data employed in this study allows many entry points to explore support practices. Thus, the ones presented in this study represent selective ones.

I explore the main and associated research questions through the lens of personal networks. Personal networks represent analytical and methodological frameworks that capture social structure and content simultaneously. More precisely, aspects such as who is linked to whom, how, when, and why. Furthermore, I apply a mixed methods approach to understand the mechanisms and meanings that underlie social connections (see for example Sarason and Sarason 2009 in their discussion on social support). Personal networks differ from social or sociometric networks in that they do not capture complete networks² but tend to focus only on the immediate contacts of an individual.

Within the context of this research, personal networks represented a feasible method for data collection as well as analysis. It allowed me to capture a high level of detail about respondents' immediate support networks, as well as particularities about each reported connection. Furthermore, eliciting contacts by asking about various support activities first allowed me to capture contacts across a multitude of domains, such as the respondent's household, workplace, extended family or leisure clubs. However, my data consisting of 205 non-overlapping first-level networks³ does not provide substantial information about the complete or wider structure of the social network of support per se, i.e. I do not know how each personal network is embedded in the wider social structure. Therefore, the subsequent analysis is primarily focused on local environments as well as behavioural patterns, which can be extracted based on a high level of detail.

In my empirical investigations, I begin by exploring the meaning of private redistribution for different individuals, particularly across ethnic identity. Noticing different behaviours and mindsets cannot come without noticing different social realities around oneself and others. While inequality is often represented visually in charts and figures in the media and academia, in post-

² Complete networks would comprise all connections observed for a population of interest. Personal networks capture only local environments of such networks, focusing on the immediate connections of individuals.

³ First-level networks only capture the respondent's immediate connections. They do not contain explicit information about connections among contacts.

apartheid Namibia one finds the presence of inequality in living arrangements, measures of security, access to facilities, or places of social gathering. Accordingly, an individual's actions of distribution are equally embedded in such an unequal environment. Actions can be a response to and shape the outcomes of such inequality. In my first empirical chapter, chapter 5, *Unveiling personal systems of meaning within private redistribution*, I explore how private redistribution can have different functions and meanings for an individual – reflecting in part their social and economic reality. I specifically ask: *How do structures, motives and intentions differ within personal networks of private redistribution across ethnic identity groups?* I use differences in socioeconomic patterns in support behaviour across ethnic identity groups as entry points to explore the meaning of support in more depth. I apply thematic analysis to revisit, group and interpret personal statements capturing motives and intentions to provide support to others. I find that there are significantly higher levels of regular support for ethnic identities grouped as non-white⁴ as opposed to white as well as different roles of elderly individuals regarding support engagements with younger members in their network. Generally, levels of dependency and responding to external challenges – such as unemployment, or an inability to cater for basic needs such as affording to buy food – were found more strongly in statements of non-white individuals, indicating a certain notion of ‘helping as a must’ rather than ‘helping as a choice’ for some. Furthermore, there is more peer level support among white as opposed to non-white tertiary degree holders – providing a first indication that becoming economically better off can be associated with greater socioeconomic inequality in support relationships for non-white individuals. I explore this further in the following empirical chapter.

Next, I investigate the notion of ‘starting to increasingly take care of others that are less able to do so’ when becoming better off. In my second empirical chapter, chapter 6, titled *Vertical relationships and group disparities in personal networks of private redistribution*, I assess whether prosocial behaviour follows different patterns for non-white as opposed to white individuals. Particularly, whether a notion of providing more and having more can be associated with greater socioeconomic distances in support relationships and whether such is especially true for non-white individuals in better socioeconomic positions. This assumption is somewhat controversial in the context of previous findings, which suggest that individuals with higher socioeconomic status or income positions were found to be less prosocial (see for example Côté, House, and Willer 2015; Hauser et al. 2019; Piff et al. 2010; Piff and Robinson 2017). To explore this further, I ask: *to what extent does an individual's socioeconomic position and their support*

⁴ While non-white and white as categories do not represent self-reported identity groups of individuals, and thus social identities per se, they represent a methodological cluster of self-reported ethnic identities. The clustering stems from former apartheid structures and present resemblances regarding former discrimination, as well as aspects and indicators of primary interest in this research (for an in-depth discussion, see chapter 4, section 4.7.1.3).

engagement influence the observed socioeconomic distances in their support relationships? How does it differ across former lines of segregation? Using an individual's education level and professional grade as well as support directions, I establish socioeconomic position, distances and support engagement among respondents and their mentioned contacts. There are three main findings. First, when compared across groups, non-white individuals hold on average significantly lower socioeconomic positions than white individuals. Such remains true when only comparing non-white and white tertiary degree holders. Second, on average, socioeconomic distance within support relationships is significantly higher for white individuals overall. However, when comparing higher grade professionals, socioeconomic distance is significantly higher for non-white individuals. Third, higher socioeconomic positions (38%) and a tendency to give more (62%), explains higher socioeconomic distances between better situated, non-white respondents and their contacts but this does not apply to white respondents. Combined, these findings provide empirical evidence of different dynamics in prosocial behaviour across different groups whose members share similar constraints on their economic positions. Thereby, this exploration invites further thinking about the entanglement of vertical, within-group inequality as observed for non-white individuals and horizontal, between group inequality. It further speaks to the notion that while private redistribution, or social support, might benefit some, it might come at the expense of others who provide such support (see for example Di Falco and Bulte 2011; Hoff and Sen 2005).

In order to assess the overall distributive effects of private redistribution, I investigate this further in my third empirical chapter, chapter 7, titled *The missing link of 'from whom to whom': a microsimulation of relational patterns of private redistribution and its effect on income inequality*. It is guided by the following research question: *how do relational dynamics based on reported behaviour of private redistribution influence income inequality?* Scaling from an individual's environment to national dynamics, I consider what implications can be drawn from regarding the redistributive effects of individual behaviour by accounting from whom to whom different transfers are provided and received. Notably, the income effects of remittances as interpersonal support are studied – however, typically they do not draw on relational data and thus do not capture the missing link 'from whom to whom' transfers of resources are more likely to occur (see for example Dimova and Wolff 2008; Olowu, Awoyemi, and Omonona 2011; Shahbaz et al. 2014; Vacaflores 2018). Yet capturing such dynamics matter to get a more complete picture of how such behaviour shapes inequality, i.e. to what extent do relational dynamics offset individuals' losses and gains from interpersonal redistribution and what are the potential implications?

I propose a microsimulation method, contrasting two approaches: a balance sheet approach, which captures what an individual provides versus what they receive; and a relational approach, which

accounts for some of the relational dynamics, i.e. from whom to whom transfers are more likely to travel given one's income and the socioeconomic standing of their contact. I compare both approaches and their consequences on income distributions, combining secondary and primary data sources. I extract behavioural patterns observed across personal networks and impose them on an adjusted sample of Namibia's income distribution⁵. I then measure the effects of transfers on income levels, changes in income positions as well as overall effects on inequality using conventional measures such as the GINI coefficient. I find that both approaches suggest a reduction in inequality. However, by creating downward as well as upward movers in income positions, private redistribution seems to reduce inequality by closing gaps from both sides. This especially applies to lower income individuals where transfer amounts are more substantial in relation to their income. Furthermore, the relational approach – accounting for aspects from whom to whom – provides a slightly more progressive view of distributive effects, as it re-assigns individuals who were moving down income ranks to upward movers, accounting for how much of their transfer balance they are able to recover.

Overall, my research contributes to two main bodies of literature. First is literature that frames and assesses practices of social support as 'informal'. This framing primarily stems from mapping social practices alongside formalized practices of the state, but it is also reflected in how these practices are understood. Such studies often exhibit a notion of understanding their effectiveness, efficiency, or adequateness in 'responding to', 'handling', or 'shielding' individuals against adverse outcomes of economic and environmental systems or 'securing' them economically over their life course (see for example Devereux 1999; G. D. Wood 2004; Bevan 2004; Calder and Tanhchareun 2014; Arnall et al. 2004b; Verpoorten and Verschraegen 2008). My research shows that practices differ in personal meaning which do not exclusively reflect the more rational, or systemic attributes and notions listed above. For instance, I found that support can be an expression of emotional needs or deeply embedded in social relationships and their societal understanding. Thereby, I propose a critical review on labelling such practices as an informal response to the designs and gaps in formal economic systems. Doing so portrays them as somewhat derivative or subordinated mechanisms. They do in part fulfil a role of 'informal compensation' for formal deficiencies, as I show that support can be a response to dealing with unemployment or poverty. However, rather than being complementary or subordinated, they play a dominant role in the social lives of individuals by building, maintaining or even clawing back social relationships. Thus, the conceptualization of 'informality' and associated principles in assessing its compatibility or effectiveness, tends to overlook its multiplex and contextual character. It also misses out on explaining personal conflicts and unequal consequences for

⁵ I adjust the Namibian Household Income and Expenditure Survey's sample to geographic areas in which primary data collection took place for better comparability.

individuals who participate in both systems – a social one deemed informal, incompatible or different from the formal, wider economic system.

Second is literature on horizontal and vertical inequality. Often, horizontal inequalities are understood through a comparative lens across social groups, i.e. the discrimination, marginalization, or exclusion of social groups, which then lead to negative economic consequences (for example, see F. Stewart 2005; 2014a; Adato, Carter, and May 2006; Haller and Eder 2016; Hickey and du Toit 2013). One such example is ethnic identity-based inequalities where historical discrimination of non-white individuals leads to continued economic repercussions. The recognition of ethnic or racial horizontal inequalities are well established (see for example, Cole and Omari 2003; Moore 2005; Heflin and Pattillo 2006). What my research adds to these perspectives is a discussion on certain ways and for whom such horizontal inequality transcends into social relationships and associated practices within and across groups. I evidence how inequality can be reflected in the meaning, relational patterns and distributive effects of economic support. First, personal meaning evolves from a sense of need, necessity, or expectation to responding to external challenges associated with horizontal inequalities for non-white Namibians. Second, inequality manifesting as greater socioeconomic distances in relationships of support were in part (38%) explained by ‘being better off’ for non-white Namibians. Third, private practices close the inequality gap from both sides, depicting net winners and losers alike in terms of relative income positions.

In conclusion, I argue that networks and behavioural insights on social support in the Global South do not remain underexplored but are somewhat misunderstood. I propose that they are often disembedded from their socio-cultural context or explored within the confinements of primarily poor communities. My research presents a broader exploration in that it incorporates different ethnic identity groups as well as socioeconomic positions of individuals in a modern society within urban spaces of the Global South. I thereby acknowledge that Namibia and its post-apartheid political economy represents a unique environment. With formerly institutionalized racial segregation, Namibia’s heterogenous society remains a highly unequal one despite political attempts to rebalance economic inequality⁶. However, I argue that horizontal inequalities based on former or continued discrimination, as well as social practices of certain groups deemed ‘counter-current’ to principals of economic systems, is not a phenomenon unique to Namibia. I thereby propose that providing insights into somewhat parallel systems and practices along the formal/informal divide can further our thinking on how such parallelism can be broken up. I suggest that dropping the ‘informality lens’ can reverse a general reasoning. This can provide an opportunity to acknowledge social practices in a way that has the potential to reduce inequities

⁶ A further exploration is provided in chapter 3, introducing Namibia as a case study.

for individuals who participate in socially grown and formally crafted economic systems. More broadly, my research and its application of ‘mutual constitution’ between dynamics and context further reveals that while economic action shall be understood within the social structures in which it is embedded (Polanyi, Arensberg, and Pearson 1957; Gemici 2008; Granovetter 1985; 2005), social structures equally respond to economic actions and systems – in the case of Black Tax, in tacit responses to structural inequalities causing disadvantages for non-white individuals and not others.

This thesis is organized as follows. This chapter (chapter 1) presents a general introduction to the research topic, its relevance, as well as an overview of the main theoretical and empirical discussions and findings. Chapter 2 details the theoretical foundation and approach. Chapter 3 provides the context of this study and thus elaborates on Namibia as a case study. Subsequently, Chapter 4 discusses the methodology and research process including a description of the methodological framework, survey documents and usage as well as initial descriptions of the resulting data. This is followed by the first empirical chapter, Chapter 5, which represents an empirical engagement with and exploration of primarily qualitative data. Thereby, Chapter 6 in part builds on such findings and explores behavioural dynamics more structurally, as outlined above. Subsequently, a more systemic exploration and understanding is presented in Chapter 7. Lastly, Chapter 8 represents the conclusion chapter, which consolidates the empirical findings and discussions against the theoretical foundation, drawing out the wider contribution of this research.

2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Inequality is a complex and varied phenomenon. A vast amount of terminology can be associated with inequalities of different sorts, depending on what subject, dynamic, context or system one looks at. Further, it depends on whether one focuses on what is, for example, social exclusion, marginalization, or discrimination, versus what should be, such as access, opportunities, or social mobility. In this study, I focus on how inequality and its prevalence is discussed in past and current literature by contrasting two perspectives: inequality as a state or system (section 2.1) and inequality as a dynamic or behaviour (section 2.2). I then discuss redistribution, being the mechanism studied, within the context of inequality in section 2.3. My research applies an analytical lens of mutual constitution; in this case, the interplay between unequal systems and behavioural dynamics as detailed in my theoretical framework, presented in section 2.4. In order to situate my study within existing literature, I engage with three perspectives from section 2.4.1 to section 2.4.3 to present the literature gaps my research addresses. Generally, I draw on more historical literature from the Global North and move towards a joint discussion of more contemporary studies and debates in the Global North and Global South.

2.1 INEQUALITY AS A STATE OR SYSTEM

Inequality is one of the major challenges of our time; broadly capturing differences, spaces and divergences between individuals or groups. It has existed in various forms throughout human history and has emerged on to the political stage in various ways, including in recent global policy frameworks such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)⁷ released in 2015. Further, inequality is – by definition – a relational dimension. No individual can be unequal unless they are embedded within a social system allowing for comparisons with others.

Inequality can be a term that describes the existing state of a society, economic system or country – particularly its structure in terms of distributions. Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* prominently discusses the distributional conflict between labour and capital – which shares go to wages and which ones to profits (Piketty, 2014). While prior to the Industrial Revolution, similar discussions can be found comparing landlords and peasants, a commonality of these debates is that inequality emerges because of system arrangements. For instance, labour and capital are factor shares of an economic system. Within-country inequality arises by comparing resulting distributions of economic systems. Thereby, the Gini coefficient⁸ as a

⁷ The SDGs include a stand-alone goal on inequality (SDG 10), calling for the reduction of inequality within and between countries, focusing on economic indicators related to income and consumption, discriminatory laws and policies, or empowerment of minorities (sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg10).

⁸ The Gini coefficient is a measure of income distribution. It ranks individuals or households based on their income and compares shares held by a given percentage of the distribution, say the lowest ten percent, with perfect equality. Perfect equality means that a given share of the population holds the corresponding share of the overall income. Accordingly, a value of one indicates perfect inequality where one individual holds

measure of income distributions remains a prominent tool for measuring economic inequality (Ceriani and Verme, 2012). This and similar measurements of inequality foster an ex-post perspective looking at balances of distributions after dynamics of markets and societies have taken place.

However, scholars do not neglect the fact that systems are actively shaped and crafted – also in cognisance of potentially arising, persisting or accelerating inequalities as a consequence. Joseph Stiglitz addresses such in his book *The price of inequality* (2012), pointing to inequality being a threat to democracy and democratic systems – not just concentrating wealth but also political power among a few. With systems then increasingly being crafted by a few, most individuals appear to be merely subjected to them. Such has also been promoted by the capability approach of Amartya Sen. His approach to inequality contributed to a new school of thought that describes inequality not just in terms of outcomes but as a function itself, commonly referred to as ‘inequality of opportunity’ (Sen, 1980). It captures what an individual can do and achieve against their multidimensional context. Thereby, it embeds the individual within inequality as a context and identifies constraints within and across relative positions. For instance, empirical studies applying this functional, multidimensional approach can draw out functions that are more equally distributed than others (Justino et al., 2004). While this approach focuses on ‘what should be’, as reflected in opportunities, inequality remains portrayed as an underpinning system that most individuals are being subjected to but are not necessarily actively crafting.

Another line of thought focuses less on economic systems and more on societal structure as determinants of inequality, though both are generally intertwined. Following Durlauf’s argument, individuals are situated within and influenced by certain social group memberships (1997). Thereby, in-group dynamics determine common outcomes among group members. A greater divergence between existing groups defined, for example, by ethnic identity, income, education, or language then leads to greater inequalities and decreased social mobility across group characteristics (Durlauf, 1997). The author’s perspective points to the dynamics of an “array of groups whose memberships are themselves determined endogenously in the economy (and) society” influencing an individual’s outcomes (Durlauf, 1997: 6), generally known as ‘membership theory of inequality’. Equally emphasizing the social embeddedness of individuals, Lin adds that individual outcomes are determined by their ‘accessibility to shares’, which in turn is tied to membership of socially or historically constructed groups (Lin, 2002). Unlike economic systems where structures and patterns are easier to identify, social groups seem to be formed by social identities, which are multifaceted within a societal context but also instrumental to somewhat arbitrary and fluid group memberships (Stewart, 2014b). Accordingly, defining and

all income, whereas a value of zero represents perfect equality, where all individuals hold a corresponding equal share.

identifying inequalities through this perspective remains a challenging task. A concept that attempts to operationalize such presents itself as horizontal inequality, which generally describes inequalities among societal groups, whereas vertical inequality refers to inequalities among individuals, regardless of group memberships (Stewart, 2005). The concept of horizontal inequalities emerges in debates on gender inequality or racial inequalities, for example.

The framings alluded to above portray inequality as being manifest in a given state or system. Of course, debates do not neglect to point out that these systems are dynamic and evolving (Piketty and Saez, 2014); nor do they stress that the thinking on inequality has remained steady. In fact, it has become increasingly more complex, accounting for multiple dimensions beyond income, contexts, and its instrumental and normative functions (Stewart, 2016). However, inequality is primarily treated as a contextual condition within which most individuals do not play an active role in shaping these conditions. It often frames the ‘common individual’ as a constrained participant who acts within the confined spaces and constraints of inequality or tries to overcome them – but not reversely, as an active shaper of such.

A different school of thought began exploring inequality as an individual practice, mindset or dynamic; particularly behavioural studies across social psychology, sociology, and economics. Thereby, scholars generally acknowledge individuals as active participants creating collective patterns of actions that are both shaped by as well as shaping outcomes – also referred to as mutual constitution (Markus and Kitayama, 2010). Authors then began to portray inequality as a circular dynamic, for example causing “wealth categorizations and us versus them dynamics” (Jetten et al., 2017: 5). The following section elaborates further on such conceptualizations.

2.2 INEQUALITY AS A DYNAMIC OR BEHAVIOUR

Generally, approaching inequality as a dynamic or individual behaviour looks at what being part of unequal systems does to the perceptions, preferences, attitudes, stereotypes, cultural beliefs, or social interactions of individuals. These in turn then provide behavioural insights into why inequalities persist.

As a result, research often positions the individual using concepts such as socioeconomic class to explore subjective dynamics within and across such positions. For example, relative positioning was found to make inequalities visible and appraised as the unfair shaping of individuals’ perceptions and tolerances towards inequality (Buttrick et al., 2017). Furthermore, authors found that often, perceptions of inequality are strongly linked to an individual’s relative position and their interpretation thereof (Hauser and Norton, 2018). Positions were also associated with varying degrees of prosociality seen as other-beneficial versus self-beneficial behaviour (Choshen-Hillel and Yaniv, 2011; Durante and Fiske, 2017; Korndörfer et al., 2015; Kraus and Park, 2017; Piff et al., 2010, 2010). Others found effects of shifts in positions, also termed social

mobility, affecting status uncertainty, psychological and health outcomes as well as aspirations and meaning-making of individuals (Destin and Debrosse, 2017; Fisher et al., 2017; Kish-Gephart, 2017).

Another aspect explored is the manifestation of inequalities in cultural systems and beliefs. For instance, a recent study found that in addition to material conditions, cultural systems shape manifestations of social class, further leading to “culturally divergent manifestations” (Miyamoto, 2017: 1). Another study focusing on coloniality and the Global South challenges the idea of “global inequality as a differential cultural progress” whereby “modern affluence results from growth compatible mentalities” (Adams and Estrada-Villalta, 2017: 38). Within the concept of culture and self, using cultural models authors also found cultural beliefs and practices differentiate individuals with given socioeconomic backgrounds; for instance, despite equal qualifications, people from working-class backgrounds experienced disadvantaged career outcomes (Townsend and Truong, 2017).

Inequalities also echo within the spaces of social power and wellbeing (Buttrick et al., 2017). The latter raises elements of subjectivities related to inequality such as status competition, mistrust and optimism and their implications for an individual’s happiness through the creation of subjective perceptions of inequality, as well as its visibility that in turn affects wellbeing (Buttrick et al., 2017). Latest research even aims to go beyond behavioural, implicit or self-reported measures of inequality by exploring cognitive thinking patterns through neuroscientific methods, e.g. findings include that lower socioeconomic status can be associated with lower responsiveness to rewarding stimuli (for an extensive review, see e.g. Farah, 2017).

Lastly, inequalities have also been explored within social relationships; or networks more broadly being a web of social interaction and associations. Thereby, authors have studied elements such as wealth accumulation and centralization (Fuchs and Thurner, 2014), cooperative behaviour (Fowler and Christakis, 2010) as well as how these vary, depending on whether inequality is visible or not (Nishi and Christakis, 2015). Another example can be found in analysing cooperation games where certain network structures foster segregation between individuals, particularly between poorer and wealthier individuals (Tsvejkova et al., 2018). Generally, the relational approach to inequality emphasizes that “(membership of or) access to powerful networks, groups, and institutions, and inequalities in wealth and other economic resources shape proximal social environments that influence how individuals express their internal states and motivations” but also how individuals “move up or down in the social class hierarchy” (Kraus and Park, 2017: 2). In this way, it provides an argument for how individual attributes are intertwined with an individual’s position and status within social systems, thereby constituting inequalities across such attributes. Moreover, these dynamics transcend interactions and

relationships, as argued by Carey and Markus, whereby “understanding and addressing issues tied to social class and inequality requires understanding the form and function of relationships across class contexts” (Carey and Markus, 2017: 123).

The varying nexuses and approaches discussed in this section depict how broader patterns of inequality replicate themselves within spaces of social, behavioural or even cognitive processes. Scholars have dissected markets, institutions, and societies down to individual thought processes – moving from a system perspective, to social constructs, to the individual. Thereby, inequality becomes both context and instrument: inequality influences actions and actions in turn influence inequality. These insights have also broadened the understanding that inequality can be found on multiple layers of systems and societies: within institutional arrangements but also in social relationships and daily practices. It can be a feeling such as othering or status uncertainty, barriers such as exclusion or constraints, as well as preferential behaviour towards some but not others. Most importantly, inequality can only exist when individuals are situated in relation to one another. While measurements often retreat to tangible aspects such as income, inequality can also be socially constructed or exist within these very relations as a process or dynamic.

Against the backdrop of inequality, redistribution is then often framed as an antidote. Redistribution as a set of formalized policies, programmes and regulations can be seen as a corrective tool for unbalanced distributions. However, despite redistributive public efforts, many countries depict increasing or persisting inequalities whereby income inequality remains its dominant measure (Stewart, 2016). It might be this paradox that led to research on inequality in systems of redistribution, which shall be discussed below.

2.3 REDISTRIBUTION AND INEQUALITY

Early debates positioned redistribution alongside concepts of exchange and reciprocity whereby the latter two refer to gift-giving among kin and friends and the former to payments to a central authority, which in turn uses collective funds “for its own maintenance, to provide services, and as an emergency shock in case of individual or community disaster” (Cook, 1968: 966). While generally, these distinctions then associate redistribution primarily with the concept of the welfare state, rethinking their role within the context of the Global South blurs the lines between concepts of exchange and reciprocity. In particular, the acknowledgement of exchange and reciprocity related systems such as kin and friends play a crucial role in welfare provisioning, thereby partaking in redistribution or forming redistributive mechanisms within social spheres.

Within this context, distribution refers to a certain allocation of material and immaterial goods across households or individuals. Redistribution can then be characterized as a process of reallocation, thus creating an alternative distribution of initially acquired or allocated goods. However, redistribution was not always tied to ‘egalitarian’ language per se but its rational was

often framed by drawing lines between citizens and markets or lower and higher-income voters, drawing upon values such as opportunity, security, fairness and wealth creation that “appealed to national rather than class identity” (Jackson, 2008: 1). The decision behind which inequalities were acknowledged in social policy design was driven by national and political interests, as well as economic systems and dynamics. The national, formal, and institutional frameworks of redistribution are often summarized as the welfare state, which has been described as a democratic achievement of establishing egalitarian redistribution among strangers (Atkinson, 1999). The idea of the welfare state emerged out of a process of urbanization and industrialization in Western Europe during the 19th and 20th century – a process which exposed individuals to risks that required public efforts to ensure some protections, for instance against work-related risks such as sickness as well as the inability to work (ILO, 2009). Described as the “collective piggy bank”, the welfare state was thus primarily understood as a mechanism to “insure against social risks and therefore not a vehicle for equality” (Barr, 2003: 23). However, “because it taxes and spends, the welfare state is by definition redistributive” without the implication that it automatically leads to more equality (Esping-Andersen and Myles, 2008: 1).

In order to account for variations, redistribution was dissected into horizontal (across the lifecycle), vertical (from the rich to the poor) and inter-group redistribution (e.g. family benefits from childless to those with children, or healthcare from the healthy to those being ill) (Hills, 2011). While most redistribution exhibits a horizontal focus, for example across school to work to retirement transitions, health as well as parenting, a burgeoning scholarship proposes increased recognition of vertical redistribution.

This particularly applies to contexts of the Global South with historical and prevailing structural inequalities. Ferguson argues in his book *Give a man a fish* that redistribution should be seen as a citizen’s right to the wealth of their country, particularly in light of social segregation and labour markets that fail to absorb the available workforce (Ferguson, 2015). It is also within this context, that scholars started to rethink ‘welfare’ and ‘redistribution’ by encountering incompatibilities of welfare models cultivated in the Global North with economic, political, and social contexts of the Global South. These recognitions in turn lead to an upsurge in studies that looked at prevailing interpersonal practices of redistribution in Southern contexts, leading in turn to altered classifications of welfare and redistribution, particularly pointing to informalities (Bevan 2004; Wood and Gough 2006; Wood 2004; Gough 2013). Hereby, the altered typology of welfare regimes, such as ‘informal security regimes’ or ‘insecurity regimes’ replaced labour markets with the ‘idea of livelihoods’ (Gough 2013) and incorporated non-state activities as sources of redistribution (Wood and Gough 2006).

Subsequently, there has been an interest in understanding the interplay and co-existence of ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ systems with so far mixed results. The general idea is framed as crowding in or out whereby “more generous welfare systems displace family solidarity” (Künemund and Rein, 1999b: 93) or other informal solidary practices more broadly. While some studies have not found support for the crowding out hypothesis (Künemund and Rein, 1999b), and some studies have found evidence for partial crowding out (Nagarajan, 2009), others stress and revisit the mutual interplay and responsiveness of both systems (Cox and Fafchamps, 2007; Heemskerk et al., 2004; Parnwell, 2005; Verpoorten and Verschraegen, 2008). These mixed results demonstrate that the context of private redistribution remains perhaps not underexplored but misunderstood by applying lenses and frameworks that do not adequately capture its workings and personal meanings.

Generally, the literature highlights the importance of informal, interpersonal practices, or private redistribution, as part of the ‘welfare package’ in the Global South without assessing whether or to what extent these practices play a role in defining and being defined by inequalities. Primarily drawing on contexts of the Global North, in his book *The new Economics of Inequality and Redistribution*, Samuel Bowles (2012) describes ‘co-ordination failures’ whereby individual actions provoke negative consequences for others without direct accountability, which he refers to as ‘incomplete contracts’. Further, in Bowles’s way of describing them as co-ordination and not market failures, he acknowledges that “many of the failures take place in arenas other than markets” (Bowles, 2012: 4). Though Bowles continues to explore these failures from a governance and system perspective, his research provides an argument for the importance of understanding socially embedded actions outside formalized markets (see also Polanyi, Stiglitz, and Block 2010), particularly given that they constitute a substantial aspect of individual welfare in the Global South. I thus bring these understandings of inequality as interdependency of system and process to literature on private redistribution in the Global South. I discuss three perspectives whereby the colloquial narrative of Black Tax in Namibia provides both context and case study. In the following, I describe the theoretical framing of my study and my empirical approach before detailing literature gaps and my research question for each proposed perspective.

2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMING AND APPROACH

Within the scope of this research, I situate the behaviour of economic support observed in Namibia within literature that sheds light on inequality and private redistribution across the Global North and South. The merging of literature across both contexts is necessary as there seems to be a paucity of applying formal theoretical concepts beyond the conceptual framing of

‘development’⁹ in Southern contexts. I will illustrate how a combination and thus a certain reframing of literature in the Global South generates new perspectives, which I explain further in section 3.5.

The present research was inspired by an interest in the mutual dynamics of individual and interpersonal behaviour and unequal contexts. Theoretical and methodological approaches that attempt to understand behaviour generally reflect certain “assumptions about the sources of human behaviour that are rarely explicitly identified or acknowledged but that are foundational to research and to interventions” (Stephens et al., 2012: 723). A new way of thinking about such research approaches places emphasis on a concept termed mutual constitution. Mutual constitution refers to a general “understanding that individuals and structures are inseparable forces that influence each other in bi-directional, ongoing cycle(s)” (Stephens, Markus, and Fryberg 2012: 724; see also G. Adams and Markus 2004).

For instance, Stephens et al. (2012) compare two approaches in exploring behaviour that they term as the individual model or structural model, depending on corresponding underlying assumptions. They describe the individual model as a model that “views behaviour as emerging from the characteristics or attributes of individuals, such as their values, beliefs, attitudes, motives and traits” (Stephens et al., 2012: 726). Conversely, the structural model “views behaviour primarily as a product of the conditions or characteristics of people’s environments... (such as) material resources associated with one’s position in the social hierarchy” (Stephens et al., 2012: 727). While they review how both approaches inform research in education and health inequality, they also propose a ‘sociocultural self-model’, which recognizes the bi-directional relationship between individuals and structures. This further includes key assumptions for research approaches, i.e. the indirect influence of individual characteristics and structural conditions on behaviour through the ‘selves’ or social personhood, whereby selves “are a product of ongoing mutual constitution...and serve to guide people’s behaviour by systematically shaping how people construe situations” (Stephens et al., 2012: 733). This rational has been applied in studies that are generally interested in the two-fold process of individual behaviour being shaped by and shaping the structures and context in which they are embedded. This includes, for example, studies on social organizational practices (Michel, 2014), social dynamics in media outlets and social media (Kim, 2018; Reitmanova and Gustafson, 2012), cultures (Markus and Kitayama, 2010), and legal environments (Styhre and Arman, 2015).

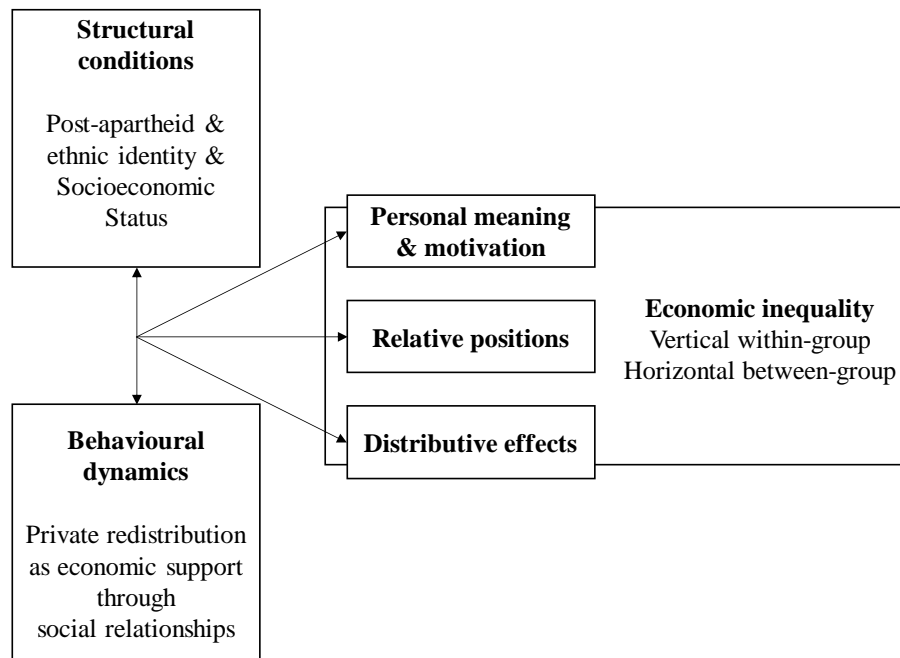
The aspect of bi-directionality between structures and behaviour also links to a broader debate on society and the economic system in specific arguments on ‘embeddedness’ in social theory.

⁹ Hereby, I primarily refer to studies that look at redistribution (state and non-state or formal and informal) through a policy-lens which replicates rationales of a broader development agenda.

Polanyi et al. (1957) offers an analytical construct of illustrating the degree to which the economic system is seen as a separate entity from society. Contemporary readings of this theory also point to a methodological principle “posting that economy and society can only be analysed through a holistic approach; economic life can be analysed only through examination of how it forms a part of social relations...” (Gemici, 2008: 7). Thereby, research shifted towards exploring ‘under’ and ‘over-socialized’ accounts of economic systems. A common focus of these approaches is to understand economic action within social structures, which then determine economic outcomes (Granovetter 1985; 2005).

In this research, I explore the mutual constitution between the notions displayed in Figure 2-1. First is inequality as a system imposing certain structural conditions. Within the context studied, the focus is set on post-apartheid structures and its repercussions on ethnic identity groups¹⁰ and socioeconomic status. Second are behavioural dynamics of private redistribution, captured as economic support practices through social relationships. Thereby, such dynamics are both subjected to structural conditions but also shape them in return. This mutual constitution is explored through three perspectives, namely personal meaning and motivations (section 2.4.1), relative positions (section 2.4.2), and distributive effects (section 2.4.3). More precisely, I investigate how each of these perspectives on individuals’ support networks respond to or reflect economic inequality to draw out causes and consequences on vertical, within-group and horizontal, between-group inequality based on interpersonal behaviour.

Figure 2-1 Theoretical framework: inequality and redistributive behaviour



Source: author's own illustration.

¹⁰ An in-depth discussion of apartheid and post-apartheid is presented in chapter 3.

More broadly, I explore whether economic systems, and economic inequality as a structural outcome thereof, shape societal dynamics, observed through practices of private redistribution. While it has been argued that economic models or practices are embedded in and are in part reshaped by social relations (Polanyi, Arensberg, and Pearson 1957; Granovetter 1985; Gemici 2008), I propose that social relations equally respond to economic practices whereby a mutual dependency emerges. Going forward, the perspectives presented in this research reflect such bi-directionality, or mutual constitution of structural conditions and interpersonal behaviour in different ways, which I will detail in the following sections.

2.4.1 The motivational aspect: personal meaning of and motivations for private redistribution

Initial onsets of modern economic analyses of social support as private transfers and redistribution are marked by Becker's (1974) model of altruistic transfers within the confinements of extended families and thus close relationships. These included, for instance, Becker's 'rotten kid theorem', in which non-altruistic children simulate altruistic behaviour towards their parents to receive maximum help. Literature following Becker's conceptualizations exhibits a primary focus on understanding motives that govern behaviour rather than the formation of relationships per se and further focuses on implications for income distribution and general economic effects. Kennet points to the fact that most of these theoretical approaches employ a rational of goal maximization, such as material benefit or peer recognition, "by means of a complex dynamic game strategy" and thus capture quasi-altruistic behaviour being "consistent with individual welfare maximization" (1980a: 183). He further stresses that "genuine altruism must be action taken without expectation of reward or coercion and it is not to be found in models of concealed requirement or in forcible redistribution" (Kennett, 1980a: 183). For example, Johnson (1968) showed that quasi-altruistic behaviour can be a response to social pressure, whereby individuals donate to charity to avoid the social costs of social pressure and other unpleasant feelings. Cox (1987) compared altruistic and exchange-related motives within private income transfers between individuals in general, whereby exchange, and thus a notion of 'quid pro quo', seemed to dominate.

More recently, in their handbook on the *Economics of Giving, Reciprocity, and Altruism*, Laferre and Wolff dedicate a chapter to the microeconomic models of family transfers, which they begin by stating that "transfers are the very fabric of families" (2006: 3). Based on classic understandings of family formations primarily within the context of the Global North, the authors explore degrees of altruism, mutuality, and preferences in family transfer systems through microeconomic terms such as 'welfare', 'utility', 'income pooling', and 'redistributive neutrality'. While they acknowledge the existence of family transfers existing 'outside the market', characterized by their "non-written, non-formalized, (and) unpredictable nature" (Laferrere and

Wolff, 2006: 5), these dynamics remain understood through the rationales of economic decision theory.

Despite being a complex and layered concept, altruism and variations thereof have found continued applications in recent empirical research in the Global North. Evolving patterns of intergenerational transfers were explored against the backdrop of imperfect information between parents and their children's income situation, whereby parents "choose not to compensate children in bad outcomes" (Gatti, 2005: 67). However, scholars increasingly recognized that motives and intentions might not follow a 'rational choice' or 'equity' motivation. A different assumption states that an individual's beliefs and values play a role because "ideological and economic self-interest... may cooperate or compete depending on the situation" (Kay and Eibach, 2012: 497). This includes values about "work ethic, social equality, and fairness" (Brown-Iannuzzi et al., 2017: 12) that are believed to shape preferences towards redistributive behaviour more broadly. Scholars, drawing on experimental data to study behavioural patterns more broadly, found evidence for the influence of fairness orientations in guiding these motives and behaviours (Falk et al., 2008; Fehr and Schmidt, 2005; Luebker, 2014), as well as empathic responsiveness (Fong, 2007) or coerced altruism, as altruism which does not go beyond certain dictated social norms among family members (Alger and Weibull, 2007).

Against the backdrop of poverty and marginalization, contemporary ethnographic studies in the Global North can provide further insights into the motives of private redistribution. One in-depth ethnographic study exploring kinship networks in poor urban neighbourhoods in a town close to Chicago describes the workings of "cooperative support" whereby the "the collective power within kin-based exchange networks keeps people from going hungry" (Stack, 2003: 33). The author describes alliances that are created among kin and friends to swap – exchanging one good for another, depending on an individual's need and ability – as a form of interpersonal support. Stack further reveals strong obligations to reciprocate in swapping, where individuals "often complain about the sacrifices they have made and the deprivation they have endured for one another" (2003: 37). She thereby depicts the delicate balance between other versus self-beneficial behaviour and the conditions that constrain the choice between the two: within the context and associated risks of poverty, 'opting out' of helping others could result in harsh consequences for an individual's wellbeing at least, if not their survival.

Economic studies in the Global South have equally explored the motives and intentions that govern the practices of private redistribution among individuals. Lucas and Stark focus on practices of "remitting as a private mechanism of income redistribution between persons and across sectors" within the context of Botswana (1985: 902), whereby "altruism alone does not explain motivations to remit" (1985: 914). They show that motivations rather depict elements of

tempered altruism reflected in mutual benefits such as economic risk spreading or investing in education for future collective benefits (Lucas and Stark, 1985). Cox and Jimenez (1993) find evidence of exchange-related rather than altruistic motives in Peru, where received transfer amounts increased with a person's income, further pointing to market imperfections as causes for private transfers. Another study on cooperation and generosity in rural villages in Senegal showed gender differences in contributions to public goods and charity donations (Tognetti et al., 2014), further leading to processes of 'assortative mating' and thus, more broadly, group formations.

Though a burgeoning and important body of literature on private redistribution in the Global South, in studies which prominently conceptualize such as informal welfare or informal safety nets, personal motivations appear to be almost absent in efforts to understand the 'inner workings' of such support. For instance, Calder et al (2014) assessed who is included, excluded or included on unequal terms in informal safety nets. Others paid attention to which types of relationships, such as family, neighbours and friends, play a role and remain available in accessing support (Arnall et al., 2004a) or assessed support through a lens of mutual insurance (McDonald et al., 1999), testing whether it can cope with various types of shocks (Heemskerk et al., 2004). While these studies provide valuable insights, they seem to pay less attention to motivations and a differentiated meaning of support for individuals. They often categorize types of support within the context of poverty or welfare provisioning, assessing their changes in terms of reduced, increased, present or absent interactions. Thereby, they might overlook why and how support practices are interpreted or placed differently in a person's life and context.

In summary, research across the Global North and South demonstrates that motives and behaviour of private redistribution are complex and depend on norms, mutual understandings, and the roles and positions of individuals. Furthermore, there seems to be a general notion of thinking about support categorically as well as mechanically. For example, modelling interpersonal support as informal social welfare puts it into the same conceptual space as the state and enables simplified analyses to assess its coverage, adequacy, or robustness. In addition, placing it on a scale from self-interest to altruism might apply inadequate rationales to practices meriting different motives and intentions. Furthermore, comparing motivations across social groups, i.e. ethnic identity groups, within a shared economic context is largely absent from studies on private redistribution. Thus, while accounting for underpinning social constructs, such as family, kin, friends or similar, they rarely compare such across broader social groups, such as ethnic identity based groups – despite the fact that those group memberships influence within and cross-group behaviour (Hogg, 2016; Parkin, 1974; Simmel, 1955). For example, it was found that “altruistic norm compliance and norm enforcement often emerge in the context of inter-group conflicts” (Bernhard et al., 2006: 912). Another study has shown that norm compliance and perceptions thereof can be determined by one's relative position. For instance, when belonging to the social group one did not punish

in-group favouritism, whereas not belonging would punish such behaviour (Harris et al., 2014). In-group favouritism can thus impact individuals' economic outcomes through their membership of socially or historically constructed groups (Lin, 2002).

To explore the motivational aspect, I begin with an explorative approach to understand motivations within personal networks of support and across ethnic identities. In doing so, I embed personal motivations in the social structure of networks but also account for structural conditions stemming from Namibia's inherited, post-apartheid inequalities. I set out to generate insights on the following question, which guides the empirical investigation:

How do structures, motives and intentions differ within personal networks of private redistribution across ethnic identities?

In the corresponding chapter, chapter 5, titled *Unveiling personal systems of meaning within private redistribution*, I combine network compositions with personal statements of reasons and intentions linked to support practices. I apply a lens of temporality, generations and socioeconomic positions to understand variations in personal motivation across ethnic identity. Personal meaning refers to reported reasons and intentions to support others. In part, I capture internal and external conditions that shape meaning-making processes about support. In other words, I illustrate the embeddedness of support practices into an individual's everyday life and social realities. I show how horizontal inequalities across ethnic identity might be reflected in personal motivations of private redistribution and highlight the implications for vertical inequality.

2.4.2 The structural aspect: socioeconomic positions and prosociality

The structural aspect refers to research approaches that generally pay attention to different socioeconomic positions of individuals within the context of private redistribution. Therefore, prosociality as other- versus self-beneficial behaviour is often understood as the extent of individuals' contributions to a collective cause or towards others' economic wellbeing. I first discuss studies within the context of the Global North followed by related studies in Southern contexts.

In the Global North, scholars have explored such dynamics through understanding political attitudes and preferences towards economic policies; especially policies with financial benefits for some but not others. In their review of relevant literature, Brown-Iannuzzi et al. (2017) summarized three rationales through which socioeconomic status could influence such attitudes. First, from an economic perspective owing to differing means in a material sense. Second, from a cultural perspective owing to contexts providing resources and conditions, which in turn entail "culture-specific selves, thoughts, feelings and behaviours", as well as third, from a transitional, psychological perspective whereby "one's subjective sense of place (e.g. rank relative to others)

... can be construed via momentary social comparison ... (affecting) preferences and behaviours” (Brown-Iannuzzi et al., 2017: 11–12). An underlying assumption then seems to be “rooted in economic self-interest, with individuals preferring policies that would benefit them financially” (Brown-Iannuzzi et al., 2017: 11).

Studies found that socioeconomic status or positions can be negatively associated with supportive attitudes towards redistribution. Higher income levels, educational and occupational attainments as well as the subjective experiences of such resources depict lower levels of support for welfare policies or government intervention more broadly (Andersen and Curtis, 2015; Guillaud, 2013). Conversely, it has been found that those with lower socioeconomic standing, such as lower levels of income or wealth, demonstrate a positive stance towards redistribution (Doherty et al., 2006; Hasenfeld and Rafferty, 1989). These insights generally support the assumption of economic self-interest, whereby lower ranked individuals who stand to benefit from redistribution generally support it as opposed to higher ranked individuals who do not.

Starting from a different premise, scholars also explored perceptions of inequality first to understand behaviours and preferences for redistribution. Focusing on evidence accumulated in the Global North, Hauser and Norton (2018) find consensus that (mis)perceptions of inequality – rather than actual inequality – drive individuals’ preferences for redistribution, whereby individuals generally tend to underestimate levels of inequality within their country, attributed by the authors to “people’s overreliance on cues from their local environment” (Hauser and Norton, 2018: 21), i.e. inequality levels within the state in which they reside (Xu and Garand, 2010). Others found that individuals who initially ranked themselves relatively higher, thinking “they were relatively richer than they (actually) were”, showed a tendency to favour more redistribution once informed of their true ranking (Cruces et al., 2013: 100). Similarly, feeling higher in relative socioeconomic status was associated with less or reduced support for redistribution (Brown-Iannuzzi et al., 2015).

Further zeroing in on individuals’ awareness of prevailing inequality levels, authors assessed whether preferences differ depending on levels as well as visibility of inequality. Studies show that when inequality levels are high or visible, higher income individuals tend to be less prosocial and there is lower support for redistribution (Hargreaves Heap et al., 2016; Nishi et al., 2015a; Nishi and Christakis, 2015; Sands, 2017); however both higher and lower income individuals seem to be equally prosocial when levels of inequality are overall lower (Côté et al., 2015). Similarly, in relation to perceptions and awareness of inequality, Genicot (2016) explored asymmetries of information in interpersonal distributive behaviour. He found evidence of a certain ‘signalling game’ whereby individuals providing transfers have an incentive to do so to “appear better off than they are” (Genicot, 2016: 96). Such behaviour shows that individuals seem

to have an awareness of and interest in shaping other's perceptions of their own resources; however, they might have more reasons to do so if they are positioned among relatively lower ranks of income distributions.

Furthermore, experiments paid attention to an individual's agency, investigating whether they can play a role in actively shaping outcomes. Hauser et al. (2019) showed that, when being aware about richer individuals donating a lower share of their income, one tends to reward the poor rather than the rich in designing systems of contributions to public goods. Another study on inequality aversion and prosocial behaviour by Choshen-Hillel et al. (2011) found that "in settings in which people can merely judge outcomes (low agency)" there seems to be a greater concern with inequality. In settings "in which people determine the outcomes for themselves and others (high agency)" the concern for other's welfare outweighs the concern for inequality. While 'high-agency' individuals were generally less concerned with pre-defined unequal settings they were nevertheless "willing to sacrifice a portion of their pay to better other's outcome" (Choshen-Hillel and Yaniv, 2011: 1253). These findings are interesting as they demonstrate a tendency to 'accept a status quo' regarding inequality and establishing ways to 'work with it' if given the opportunity to actively participate in redistribution. However, there then remains the question of 'who is being considered' or generally 'favoured' in rebalancing unequal outcomes.

Through understanding these behavioural preferences, one can see how socioeconomic differences become visible and appraised as fair or unfair (Buttrick et al., 2017; Jetten et al., 2017). Further, within different socioeconomic strata, different dynamics seem to exist. Piff et al. (2010) showed that lower class individuals care for others' welfare to create allies within a more hostile and challenging environment, leading to higher levels of generosity, charitable behaviour, trust, and help. While prosocial behaviour was found to be generally more likely to occur among the poor than the rich, overall class differences also seems to translate "feelings of being better off than others" into "feelings of being better than others", reducing prosociality across economic class (Piff and Robinson, 2017: 6).

Apart from the space of broader country contexts or general experimental settings, studies in the Global North also paid attention to other social spaces that play a role in social behaviour – and specifically distributive behaviour such as neighbourhoods or families. Kearns et al. (2014) begins with the assumption that where one lives can influence their attitudes to both inequality and redistribution, whereby they focus not just on neighbourhood and their income but also on their ethnic composition. The authors' findings show that contexts matter in that they demonstrate that "people on higher incomes showed higher support for redistribution when living in more deprived neighbourhoods" while ethnically-mixed neighbourhoods were associated with positive preferences towards redistribution on average; however, "this support declined for Whites with

low levels of altruism as the deprivation of the neighbourhood increased” (Kearns et al., 2014: 453). Paying attention to family and upbringing, Miller et al. (2015) showed, for example, that “children from less wealthy families behave more altruistically than those from wealthier families ... (whereby) the influence of privileged contexts on children’s willingness to make personal sacrifices for others emerges early...” (Miller et al., 2015: 1038). Also focusing on children’s altruistic behaviour, authors point to the role of social relationships in that generally, some individuals, such as a child’s friends, are more likely to receive transfers compared to strangers (Chen et al., 2013). This demonstrates not only that social context can play a role but also that potential preferences and behaviour regarding redistribution as well as attitudes towards inequality might be in some part a learned behaviour, shaped over a lifetime and starting at an early age.

Another body of literature explores prosocial dynamics across socioeconomic differences for specific social or cultural groups, such as African American poor and middle-class individuals. While Stack, as discussed in section 2.4, concentrated on exchanges among poor individuals, a body of literature focusing on middle-class African Americans explored the changing nature of family relations, interactions, and resource sharing with lower class family members. A spread of family members across different socioeconomic classes was found to result in the adoption of a multi-class mindset (Moore, 2005) that caused individuals to seek the continuance of ties with lower class members, which also continued personal identification with associated values, beliefs and obligations (Cole and Omari, 2003). Further support for this dynamic was found in an ethnographic study on an extended African American family, where family members remain bound to traditional family scripts despite economic differences, leaving those who aspire to or have achieved middle-class status with internal conflicts about social connections and interactions, including resource sharing (Stewart, 2015).

Collectively, studies in the Global North have demonstrated a circular process whereby socioeconomic categorizations influence degrees of prosocial behaviour. Thereby, findings support a general stance of socioeconomic differences spilling into “social perceptual processes... during social interactions, triggering class-based stereotypes and patterns of distancing that reinforce inequality” (Piff et al., 2018: 53).

Within contexts of the Global South, where interpersonal support was found to play an important role in creating support networks or safety net for individuals, a similar dynamic among ‘the better and the worse off’ has been discussed. In their book chapter on *Extended Family and Kinship Networks: Economic Insights and Evolutionary Directions*, Cox and Fafchamp’s (2007) empirical findings, using living standards measurement data in the Global South, are primarily based on economic models on family support as intrahousehold transfers. They demonstrate

aspects of social economic rule setting, the crowding in and out effects of private versus public transfers, testing different modes of altruism, exchange or bargaining across certain family positions, or group size constraints in risk sharing practices. While they do point to gender differences and different modes of ‘rule setting’ across countries, they generally do not discuss such through the lens of inequality and socioeconomic positions.

Similar studies in Southern contexts on social or informal practices of redistribution discuss different roles of individuals or households and point to certain disincentives and disadvantages that can arise (Adato et al., 2006; Calder and Tanhchareun, 2014; Dercon et al., 2012; Di Falco and Bulte, 2011). For instance, Wood and Gough describe support relationships depicting elements of hierarchy and asymmetry as resulting in “problematic inclusion, or adverse incorporation, whereby poorer people trade some short-term security in return for longer-term vulnerability and dependence” (2006: 1696). A study situated in rural Ethiopia found that kinship networks impose moral obligations of redistribution on its members, which lead to a discouragement of wealthy members to increase their income, whereas relatively poor network members appeared to be discouraged to improve their income situation owing to the comfort provided by the safety net of their family (Werger, 2009). Furthermore, in South Africa, individuals attempted to evade traditional sharing norms by “accumulating durables that are non-shareable at the expense of durables that may be shareable and reducing savings in liquid assets”, which ultimately resulted in more extensive kinship networks with lower incomes (Di Falco and Bulte, 2011: 1128). In sum, while personal practices of redistribution seem to benefit some, they might constitute burdens or disincentives for others. A critical stance describes kin systems as a ‘poverty trap’ as well as the ‘collective force of conservatism’ that can maintain its members at the expense of the individual (Hoff and Sen, 2005).

Comparing Northern and Southern literature, there seems to be a certain paradox worth unpacking. Studies, particularly in northern contexts and experimental settings, demonstrated that – against the (visible) backdrop of higher levels of inequality – individuals who tend to fare better economically have a lower prosocial stance, reflected in less support for redistribution. In addition, some studies showed that despite general perceptions and awareness, context, be it spatial or social, matters in determining socioeconomic orientations and perceptions around both inequality and redistribution.

Interestingly, a somewhat counter-current system has been described for contexts in the Global South. Since there often seems to be greater economic hardship, and potentially greater economic inequality among family members, support - or redistribution more broadly - is not abandoned or reduced. Rather, it seems that support relationships are maintained across socioeconomic differences within the boundaries of extended families. In Namibia, the narrative of Black Tax

takes this notion even further and suggests that support increases once an individual reaches a comparatively higher socioeconomic position within such support systems.

Given the general above-mentioned controversy of observed dynamics, I propose a comparative approach. I compare within-group dynamics across ethnic identities by looking at individuals of different socioeconomic levels and their supportive behaviour within such groups. Furthermore, a network perspective, which I shall detail in chapter 4, allows me to define ‘higher’ and ‘lower’ within the realm of social relationships, and thus within lived interactions and in relation to one’s past, current and maintained contacts. In chapter 6, titled *Vertical relationships and group disparities in personal networks of private redistribution*, I investigate the following question for each ethnic identity group, to compare differences regarding the following:

To what extent does an individual’s socioeconomic position and their support engagement influence the observed socioeconomic distances in their support relationships? How does it differ across former lines of segregation?

I illustrate how vertical inequality within social relationships corresponds to socioeconomic positions and support engagement of individuals involved. More broadly, I combine two bodies of literature. First, literature on socioeconomic positions as a determinant of prosocial behaviour in the Global North. Second, studies of the Global South findings that kinship systems and corresponding obligations can act as safety net that benefits some but not others. Combined, and building on the findings detailed in chapter 5, I provide an example of the entanglement of vertical and horizontal inequalities through a behavioural lens. As a result, I demonstrate how structural conditions of inherited inequality reverberate in interpersonal behaviour, shaping different in-group dynamics, which in turn can sustain between-group differentiation and horizontal inequality more broadly.

2.4.3 The distributive aspect: impacts of relational dynamics within private redistribution

Apart from understanding motives of private redistribution, or private transfers, scholars also assessed their ‘equalizing potential’ and thus their distributive effects on income distributions in each context.

Within this literature, and that particularly concerns previously discussed studies in section 2.4 as well as section 2.4.2, distributive behaviour and its implications for inequality remain primarily understood by levels of engagement – giving more or giving less in light of one’s socioeconomic standing. To recall, some studies found that higher economic positions are associated with lower levels of prosociality or support for redistribution, whereas the opposite was found for and among relatively poor individuals (see for example Nishi and Christakis 2015; Piff et al. 2010; Piff and

Robinson 2017; Sands 2017). A fair share of studies draws on laboratory or field experiments, such as dictator games or networked public goods games in which individuals share or allocate given resources and thus gain or lose wealth within the setting of experiments. Controlling for individual attributes and – in some cases – for context and structure, studies then examine levels of prosocial behaviour in terms of how much is shared or given by the individual. Although experiments can provide valuable insights, they remain a proxy for an individual's everyday behaviour, which might be driven by a wider set of factors and circumstances. Further, while only a few studies account for a notion of 'to whom', for instance whether transfers are generally more likely to occur between friends or strangers, they generally do not subject these social relationships to the same context and structure. This would imply exploring whether friends are also more likely to be of the same or a different socioeconomic level in comparison to the giving individual.

Studies in Northern contexts using survey data, which focus on underpinning the social constructs within which such transfers occur, include previously mentioned studies on families and private transfer models (Becker, 1974; LaFerrere and Wolff, 2006). Focusing on private intergenerational transfers from elderly parents to their adult children, a study indicates that "larger monetary transfers and bequests may increase social inequality in the children's generation, (whereas) a substantial part of the regular monetary flow from elderly parents to their adult children buffers situations of need" (Künemund et al., 2005: 30). Further, a study by Cox and Raines (1985) set out to identify to whom transfers were given and from whom they were received across different generations of family members. Doing so generates attributes that enables the authors to classify transfers into transfers from or to the same, older or younger generation, as well as clustering individuals by type of engagement as givers, receivers or givers and receivers (Cox and Raines, 1985). Subsequently, the authors can compare inequality levels across generations and support engagement to infer general distributional effects of interfamilial transfers alongside government tax and transfer programs. Yet, "a matching of sources and destinations of transfers (...) is not possible" (Cox and Raines, 1985: 408). Further, 'family' is often understood through assessing generational dynamics or within household units, whereby internal dynamics are "influenced by the power structures of their families" and as such "many issues in inequality theory stem from the fact that economic and noneconomic rules of exchange are both present in the same social setting" (Curtis, 1986: 168). Further, drawing on historical comparisons in China, Campbell stresses that a predominant focus on parent-child dynamics overlooks the larger role played by kinship groups and associated networks in (re-)enforcing inequality patterns (Campbell and Lee, 2011).

Others assess the effects of private transfers on income distribution by primarily focussing on households as social entities involved in private transfer systems. For example, Dimova and Wolff

(2008) assess the factors that determine private transfers as well as their implications for a household's economic welfare in Bulgaria. They find proof of the 'altruistic hypothesis', which simply follows a rational of 'transfers generally being received by households of lower socioeconomic standing'. Furthermore "the receipt of transfers improves the living standards of the recipients and decreases their probability of being poor" (Dimova and Wolff, 2008: 548). They further indicate that there seems to be only a small positive effect of transfers towards expenditure gaps between households.

Even though private redistribution often being framed as informal practice has received considerable attention in the Global South, there seems to be a paucity of studies estimating its distributive effects on income inequality. This is particularly surprising, given that the importance of private redistribution on an individual's wellbeing has even led to re-classifications of welfare regimes (Bevan, 2004; Wood, 2004; Wood and Gough, 2006). Furthermore, studies primarily focus on changes in a household's budget, its expenditure and consumption levels. For example, Kazianga (2003) finds similar equalizing effects of private transfers in Burkina Faso owing to effects being greater for low income households, as well as amounts of transfers decreasing with increased household incomes. Within the context of South Korea and Taiwan, private transfers were found to play an important role in comparison to public transfers in reducing income inequality and poverty (Kim and Choi, 2011a). Conversely, others looking at changes in consumption and expenditure of households found only marginal effects on reducing poverty and inequality (Berg and Cuong, 2011). In South Africa, a study focused on whether private transfers yielded better health-seeking behaviour and consumption found that private transfers lead to higher rates of food and health consumption for receiving households, further indicating that private transfers might be more efficient in targeting the financial needs of poor households than public ones (Nagarajan, 2009). In sum, the results remain somewhat inconclusive regarding the effects of private transfers on income inequality as some find equalizing and others only marginal or negligible effects.

Further explicit links between the distributional effects of private transfers on poverty and inequality in the Global South are then almost exclusively devoted to the study of remittances – with again somewhat inconclusive results. While some argue that income inequality and international remittances enhance economic growth in Pakistan (Shahbaz et al., 2014), others, comparing 18 Latin American countries, stress that "increases in remittances have a negative... (and thus reducing) impact on overall poverty and inequality" (Vacaflores 2018, 254; see also Lopez 2007). Meanwhile another study, accounting for bi-directional flows from host country to country of origin and vice versa, found that while "migration to the US leads to (an) increase in middle-class households", in the host country "inequality appears to increase, likely because the middle-class benefits from US migration, while the poor tend to make it no farther than Costa

Rica” (Hobbs and Jameson, 2012: 2451). In Mexico, remittances sent from international migrants generally reduce inequality and poverty (Taylor et al., 2005) while in Nigeria, it was found that international remittances tend to have un-equalizing effects whereas internal remittances had the opposite effect (Olowa et al., 2011). In Ghana, both international and internal remittances were found to reduce inequality (Adams, 2008). However, remittances constitute a specific form of private transfer and often use households as the economic unit involved in such a practice.

In sum, studies on the effects of private transfers on income inequality typically control for either end of private transfers – that of recipients *or* providers. This can be linked to the absence of a networked approach and hence the missing link that connects sources with the destinations of private transfers. Nevertheless, potential socioeconomic orientations in these ‘matching processes’ can play an essential role in providing a more complete picture of the effects of private redistribution on income inequality. As previous discussions have shown, attitudes, preferences and behaviour reflect to some extent an individual’s socioeconomic position or perception of such. There are tendencies to favour friends over strangers, one’s ‘own group’ being preferred over ‘others’. Yet these tendencies are in part informed by socioeconomic characteristics – or at least embedded in a socioeconomic structure. For example, awareness about inequality and (perceived) knowledge about others’ socioeconomic positions influenced redistributive preferences and behaviour, and similarly the acknowledgement of others’ needs, which might be linked to socioeconomic standing.

Exploring the distributive aspect is thus motivated by the application of a network approach to economic support. First, I control for socioeconomic similarity in interpersonal transfer relationships. This builds on the general recognition of certain, un-written rules in social settings shaping practices of private transfers. Rather than paying attention to the nature of relationships, i.e. intergenerational aspects, I focus on degrees of socioeconomic similarity within support relationships. Second, I assess the distributive impacts of private transfers beyond remittances in the Global South. I thus combine literature that assesses the behavioural dynamics in interpersonal redistribution considering inequality more broadly with studies on private transfers and remittances in the Global South by asking:

How do relational dynamics based on reported behaviour of private redistribution influence income inequality?

In chapter 7, titled *The missing link of ‘from whom to whom’: a microsimulation of relational patterns of private redistribution and its effect on income inequality*, I compare two approaches to measuring the distributive impacts of private transfers on income inequality. The first, which is typically applied in previously discussed studies accounting for what an individual or household receives and provides. I term this approach the balance sheet approach. I then introduce a second,

novel approach, which accounts for relational patterns and thus from whom one is more likely to receive transfers and to whom one is more likely to provide transfers, based on socioeconomic positions. I term this the relational approach. In my empirical investigation, I use a microsimulation approach to compare both approaches. Through this comparison, I further acknowledge the interplay between structural conditions and behaviour and further assess whether accounting for such ‘mutual constitution’ yields different results regarding distributive effects.

Before proceeding with the empirical investigations, I turn to a description of the context of this study. I introduce Namibia as a case study, paying attention to historically grown and present inequalities and the Black Tax narrative, as well as the existing, yet scarce, knowledge about private redistribution and its embeddedness in an unequal context and social setting.

3 NAMIBIA: INHERITED INEQUALITIES, PRIVATE REDISTRIBUTION, AND THE BLACK TAX NARRATIVE

In this chapter, I introduce Namibia as the context of this research. I pay particular attention to its inherited inequalities stemming from the country's history of apartheid, empirical insights into private redistribution, as well as the Black Tax narrative. As academic readings on Black Tax are very scarce, particularly so for the Namibian context, I draw on literature focused on South Africa as well as Namibia. Owing to their common history of apartheid structures, general dynamics can be compared and discussed in both contexts.

Namibia is a country in Southern Africa. It shares borders with South Africa, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana. As a former German colony named German South West Africa from 1884 to 1946, Namibia remains the only African country that has been administered by another African country, first being occupied by South Africa in 1915 and coming under South African administration from 1915 to 1990. During the 1960s when former colonies and trust territories progressively gained independence, international pressure on South Africa grew to revoke its mandate over Namibia¹¹. However, it took another 30 years and a border war before Namibia gained its independence on March 21st, 1990. It was under the rule of South Africa that apartheid politics and policies were introduced in Namibia. Since its independence, Namibia continues to be one of the most unequal societies in the world.

3.1 THE FORMER APARTHEID REGIME AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Apartheid was a political system that institutionalized and reinforced ethnic segregation in South Africa and Namibia. It is a prominently discussed case of human rights violations and structural violence, conflict and power imbalances, as well as social stratification and economic inequalities (Fosse, 1997; Friedman, 2011; Leibbrandt et al., 2012; Matlosa, 1998; Seekings, 2003). Central to these debates are racial and ethnic identities, formerly utilized for social fragmentation and corresponding discriminatory measures. It still resonates as a predominant feature when exploring the causes and consequences of inequality in South Africa and Namibia, demonstrating its tacit yet continued patterns.

The apartheid regime was implemented under South African rule and lasted from 1920 up until Namibia's independence in 1990. Initially, South Africa followed the blueprint of the German colonial legacies, favouring white South Africans while forcing non-white Africans into becoming sources of labour (Jauch et al., 2009). Generally, the colonial government enforced

¹¹ South Africa was assigned administration of Namibia, formerly known as South West Africa, by terms of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Namibia was classified as a C Mandate by the League Council, which referred to countries deemed as being least developed; thus, South Africa was assigned full legislation and administration of the country.

ethnic identity based segregation by implementing differential taxation or pension claims (for an example see Appendix I). It further restricted the mobility of non-white Namibians, which was manifested in a multitude of government policies such as the 1963 Aliens Control Act or the Native Urban Areas Proclamation of 1951, particularly so for women and children by not allowing them to join the residence of their husbands and fathers living in urban areas (Jauch et al., 2009). Such policies led to a divide between rural subsistence farming and urban industrial workers along gender lines for many non-white African families in Namibia. Other discriminatory measures concerned educational outcomes. Following the Bantu Education Act in 1953, in 1958 non-white education entailed four years of primary schooling whereby only 20 percent were to proceed to higher levels. Furthermore, while white education was tax-financed, non-whites had to pay in the form of fees constraining access through affordability (O'Callaghan, 1977). Furthermore, the United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN) demonstrated that observed income differentials across white and non-white Namibians surpassed any variations that could have been explained by differing skill levels, thereby reflecting ethnic discrimination based on payment levels (United Nations Institute for Namibia, 1986). Yet, at the same time, on average the white population held permanent jobs across the public and private sectors, and had access to subsidised housing, healthcare and high-quality schools, as captured in “the expenditure of health care resources for the white population differed from that reserved for the black population at a scale of about 10:1” (Jauch et al., 2009: 14).

Though such policies were revoked when Namibia gained independence, the country's government and its people were faced with high levels of inequalities regarding wealth but also access to public services, opportunities, and resources. World Bank figures from 1991 estimated that roughly two thirds of Namibia's population found themselves living in absolute poverty, primarily constituted of non-white Namibians. This outcome was linked to former systems of labour exploitation and capped educational outcomes, which confined non-white Namibians to low-paid jobs (The World Bank, 1991).

Similar patterns seem to prevail up until today, reflected in high levels of inequality. On an aggregated level, income inequality measured by the GINI coefficient showed levels of 0.70, 0.60 and 0.59 in 1994, 2004 and 2010 respectively, ranking among the ten most unequal countries (World Bank, 2019). Only a minority of people depict the living standards expected in an upper middle income country (Namibia Statistics Agency and World Bank, 2017). About half of Namibia's population lives in rural areas (53.1%) with a trend of urbanization over recent years. However, a total of 32.9% of Namibia's population continues to live in traditional dwellings and 20.2% in improvised housing units (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2018). Further disparities exist when looking at the ownership of assets: having a car, a washing machine or a refrigerator applies

to a minority in the country whereas 53.2%, 76.2% and 51.8% have no access to the aforementioned (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2018).

Scholarly debates on inequality further often depict a comparative lens that primarily focuses on group differences. Framed as poor and non-poor, the recognition of ethnic differentiation finds the root cause in formerly unequal education systems and varying labour skills, leading to high rates of unemployment and income inequality (Aron et al., 2009; Seekings, 2007; Seekings et al., 2004). Within the context of South Africa, scholars found that while inter-racial inequality declined, intra-racial inequality increased (Seekings et al., 2004). Similarly, educational attainment appears to be a primary marker of between-group inequality, replacing ethnic identity in Namibia (Levine and Roberts, 2013). Given that individuals belonging to non-white ethnic identity groups were more likely to be poor owing to former oppression, these social groups are prone to show a wider socioeconomic spread after apartheid rules were revoked, which enabled some to advance and others to not. It is precisely the latter aspect which seems to occupy both South Africa's and Namibia's political agendas, demonstrating a series of efforts regarding affirmative actions discussed in the following section.

3.2 POLICY RESPONSES TO INHERITED INEQUALITIES

Namibia's constitution includes principles of solidarity and freedom (Republic of Namibia, 1990). Against the backdrop of a former institutional framework and system of ethnic segregation, achieving such remains a challenging undertaking. Acknowledging high levels of inequality has therefore continued to be on the political agenda. Since the country's declaration of independence, Namibia's administration has undertaken various political efforts to advance progress towards equality, particularly across race. A vast amount of post-apartheid policies has aimed to correct ethnic identity informed imbalances, e.g. in education, employment, and general socioeconomic standing. A few examples of such are a targeted intervention in employment in 2010, as well as more recently an equitable economic empowerment framework proposed in 2017, which I will briefly discuss below.

Namibia is often portrayed as a structurally underdeveloped economy that does not effectively translate its relative natural wealth and flow of foreign investment into inclusive, fair shares or job creation, often described as jobless growth. The only sector that has experienced a significant increase in formal employment has been the public sector following Independence owing to first, not dismissing existing public sector employees and second, creating a more representative public service (Sherbourne, 2014). In August 2010, the National Planning Commission of Namibia presented the Targeted Intervention Programme for Employment Creation (TIPEC), followed by a Targeted Intervention Programme for Employment Creation and Economic Growth (TIPEEG) in 2011 (Sherbourne and Institute for Public Policy Research (Namibia), 2013). This initiative

was a response to high unemployment rates of 33.8% in 2010 (Sherbourne and Institute for Public Policy Research (Namibia), 2013). The programme entailed substantial investments into targeted sectors to yield set targets of jobs to be created as a result of the actions being taken. Within the strategy document, it already explained that the programme is not the solution to unemployment in the country and did not reach its overall target of new – thereby mostly temporary – jobs (Jauch, 2013). Since then, employment creation, particularly in the manufacturing sector, remains on the government's agenda, as evinced by the Growth at Home Strategy (The Republic of Namibia, 2012). Despite such efforts, unemployment remains high at a rate of 28.1 % in 2014 and a youth unemployment is at 39.2% (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2014).

Recognition of apartheid induced inequalities resonates in political efforts such as the Namibian Economic Equitable Empowerment Framework (NEEEF) (Republic of Namibia, 2015). This government bill, aimed at superseding all other transformation and empowerment policies, makes explicit reference to racial segregation and resulting inequalities, stating

...under colonial occupation, race was used to control access to Namibia's productive resources and access to skills... (and) there remains anxiety about continuing income disparities, skewed ownership of assets, low level of participation in business by previously disadvantaged persons...continuing racial imbalance in the management and control of private sector enterprises, the economic status of particularly racially disadvantaged women, youth, and persons with disabilities, and the slow development of rural areas... (Republic of Namibia, 2015: 2).

It makes further explicit references to the constitutional mandate to provide assistance to persons who have been socially, economically, or educationally disadvantaged by former discriminatory laws and practices (Republic of Namibia, 2015). While race and ethnicity are presented as key features, the document however reflects an intersectional approach by acknowledging rurality, gender, youth, and disabilities as contributing to discrimination. It seems that 'previously disadvantaged' therefore functions as an umbrella term for multiple sources of past discrimination to address them in present times. However, such has also become one of the main criticisms of the initiative. Public critics argue that previously disadvantaged might not equate to currently disadvantaged individuals, while the measures of NEEEF were designed in a way so that previously but not necessarily presently disadvantaged¹² persons have the means to reclaim or fill positions, e.g. in management of private enterprises or to acquire assets (The Economist, 2017). Such has also been found in the evaluation of a very similar framework, named Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) framework in South Africa, which fostered the growth of a new elite rather than serving the majority of the currently marginalized (Freund, 2007).

From a governance perspective, Namibia somewhat reveals a struggle between a liberal economic stance and achieving social equality. On the one hand, it needs to create an investor-friendly

¹² Primarily referring to ethnic identity-based discrimination.

environment to remain competitive within the region. On the other hand, such efforts are not necessarily aligned with efforts to reduce inequality, which focus on the country's internal imbalances. For example, concentration on cost reductions, flexible work arrangements and sourcing the most qualified and educated as preferred by foreign investors might present a conflict to creating inclusive employment opportunities – particularly if educational outcomes and access to professional training and career advancement remain racially skewed (see also Klerck 2008).

Nevertheless, Namibia stands out for devoting almost half of its state budget to social programmes. The country further quickly eradicated racist disparities in direct transfer programs such as social pensions, a visible sign of its commitment to addressing apartheid inequalities (Devereux, 2001). A report jointly undertaken by the World Bank and the Namibian Statistics Agency finds that overall, corresponding policies are progressive and help to reduce poverty and inequality (2017). Further, the report states that "...the incidence of direct transfer spending is above the average for Sub-Saharan African countries..., the poor are more likely to receive transfers, (and that) ...transfers matter more for the poor, being generous in that they make up a larger share of total income..." (Namibia Statistics Agency and World Bank, 2017: 2). Thereby, the main contributors to reductions in income inequality were in-kind transfers. A pre-post comparison of incomes reveals that 78.2 % of the GINI coefficients reduction stems from in-kind transfers in the field of education and health, 16.4% from direct transfers such as old age pensions, children's or disability grants, and 5.4% to direct and indirect taxes and subsidies (Namibia Statistics Agency and World Bank, 2017).

A recent publication by Oxfam, introducing the Commitment to Reducing Inequality (CRI) index further states that Namibia, along with South Korea and Uruguay are "taking strong steps to reduce inequality" (Lawson and Martin, 2018: 2). The authors describe such as "high levels of social spending... and some of the most progressive taxation policies... (and being) no longer the world's most unequal country" (Lawson and Martin, 2018: 9). However, these controversial portraits of Namibia remain puzzling. Focusing on specific policy initiatives and attempts – particularly attempts at structural reforms of the country – paint a rather critical if not gloomy outlook regarding inequalities; but placing Namibia within international, regional and time comparisons exhibits positive progress towards reducing inequality.

While 'being no longer the world's most unequal country' is certainly progress, such statements might also carry an overly optimistic connotation: not being the last one in the race does not necessarily equate to overall performing well. For instance, Namibia is acknowledged for showing the second-highest public spending on education as share of GDP worldwide (Lawson and Martin, 2018). However, the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture commissioned an investigation into its spending whereby PricewaterhouseCoopers revealed that around 6.000 cases

of so called ‘ghost teachers’ exist – referring to teachers receiving salaries from the government’s payroll scheme while not carrying out any teaching, thereby derailing about 100 million NAD every month (Nhongo, 2015). Such examples stress the importance of critically engaging with the efficiency and quality of spending beyond its quantity and on a comparative level. Thus, while overall inequality has decreased over time, the inefficiencies detected when zeroing in on specific policy initiatives reveal that significant challenges remain, particularly in the context of the structural inequalities inherited from the apartheid regime. I now turn to discuss what is known about private practices of redistribution in Namibia.

3.3 GENERAL INSIGHTS ON PRIVATE REDISTRIBUTION IN NAMIBIA

This section will provide an overview of the present state of knowledge about private redistribution, mostly framed as social support or resource sharing in Namibia. I will offer relevant insights on support practices within the domains of health, orphanhood, migration, rural communities, informal settlements and (from a governance perspective) informal labour within the Namibian context.

A multitude of studies can be found within the field of physical and mental health, particularly related to HIV. Authors of such studies focus on elements like stigma, self-esteem, anxiety or general mental health needs of children, youth and adolescents living with HIV. The role of social support has generally been found to present an important coping mechanism for affected individuals (Besthorn et al., 2018; Gentz et al., 2018; Kalomo, 2018). Kalomo (2018) found that social support as caregiving particularly applies to older persons who take on roles as caregivers for individuals living with HIV. Others assessed the health outcomes, such as chronic stress, of Namibian refugees, finding that social support helped to reduce negative health outcomes (Shisana and Celentano, 1987).

Scholars have also assessed the role of social support through a network lens within the context of unemployment. Plattner and Gonzo’s study on social support, self-image and future outlook among poverty-stricken unemployed men revealed that respective men “...received very little social support from family and friends, which they attributed to their joblessness; ...they perceived their position within their social networks as low and degrading.” (Plattner and Gonzo, 2010: 1). Ruiz-Casares (2010), also applying a network perspective, looked at the role of kin and youths in the social networks of youth-headed households. She finds “a strong presence of and satisfaction with kin and peers as supporters, which challenges the assumptions that these households have few functional ties to family and that adults are the sole providers of support” (Ruiz-Casares, 2010: 605). These contrasting findings indicate that social support exists to varying extents and forms for individuals of different social or economic positions within the Namibian context.

Social relations and exchange through them have also been studied within the context of urban-rural migration. A study based in Northwest Namibia explored the opposite flows of younger generations moving to urban areas owing to education and employment opportunities whereas older generations return to the countryside to care for livestock and homesteads (Greiner, 2010). Greiner (2010) shows how these movements create streams of urban rural remittances and resource transfers, which are substantial for maintaining both rural and urban livelihoods. However, in another study, the author also points out that – apart from contributing to poverty alleviation, rural-urban networks expand forms of urban stratification to rural areas, thereby increasing socioeconomic stratification overall (Greiner, 2011). Across the rural-urban dimension, Frayne (2001) assessed urban-rural linkages within the context of food security, finding that such linkages help improve urban food security for poor urban households. In his research based in Windhoek, Namibia’s capital, the author however finds that “...informal coping mechanisms that include borrowing, piecework and credit are pervasive in rural areas of Namibia, intra-urban sources of food are poorly developed, and outside of kinship circles, social networks within Windhoek are used sparingly, even in times of greatest need” (Frayne, 2004: 489). Accordingly, households without active rural-urban linkages are most prone to food insecurity, demonstrating how exchange patterns are not necessarily one-directional. Transfers flow from urban to rural areas but they also occur the other way around, particularly concerning food (Frayne, 2004). Further acknowledging these interwoven relationships and dynamics between individuals living in rural and urban areas, Greiner (2012) proposed going beyond ‘multi-local households’ and proposes the term ‘translocal livelihoods’ contesting the boundaries of the domestic unit and emphasizing high rates of mobility within rural-urban networks.

Focusing more on the rural space, Schnegg (2015) assessed the dynamics of food transfers by contrasting two perspectives: whether such transfers are based on either a notion of sharing or a notion of exchange. The author shows that within the Namibian context,

... sharing and reciprocal exchange are dynamically interrelated in actual food transfers. As a local norm, people can demand food from anyone, and they are typically given food in response to demand. However, in practice, food transfer networks emerge ... that are highly reciprocal and fit the exchange model much better.... (Thereby) interpersonal dynamics account for why some of those ties (exchanges) become strongly reciprocal and others do not. (Schnegg, 2015: 313)

Schnegg (2015) terms such dynamics as reciprocity on demand. Another study also adopting a network perspective on community-based natural resource management looks at water sharing and sanctioning practices among pastoralists in Namibia (Schnegg and Linke, 2015). The authors find that social networks within small communities can function as a mode of social control: water governance functioned without the enforcement of formal sanctions because social control fulfilled the role of sanctions instead (Schnegg and Linke, 2015). Most recently, applying the

concept of institutional multiplexity, Schnegg further shows that individuals “cannot separate the sharing of water from sharing in other domains” (Schnegg, 2018: 9), pointing to the overspill of designed practices and programmes into other domains of individual livelihoods.

Lastly, from a governance perspective, social support as a form of informal social protection was discussed in a paper by Shindondola-Mote and Ohlsonn at the Social Protection for the Informal Economy Conference in 2013 in South Africa. The authors discuss informal social protection as a source of social protection for individuals in informal working arrangements, however without a discussion on specific forms or internal mechanisms within such (Shindondola-Mote and Ohlsonn, 2013). Adopting a more system-based lens, earlier studies suggested that informal transfers were partially reciprocal, including gifts at weddings, contributions to the costs of funerals and interest-free loans from relatives and neighbours (Subbarao 1999). Concerning actors involved in informal redistribution, Subbarao (1999) also pointed to the role of grandparents sharing their social pension in times of need. Another study within an urban setting, namely Oshakati, compared social relations of support within the context of poverty, paying attention to different household compositions (Tvedten and Nangulah, 1999). Their findings show the relevance of the contextual setting as well as how support practices can take on different forms and functions depending on an individuals’ attributes and positions, further paying attention to urban-rural dynamics. The following passages provide insights into support practices in informal settings, as well as a comparison between different household compositions and their linkage to rural areas¹³:

The importance of social relations is immediately evident in the informal settlements. In the morning many people leave the shanty area to meet people at work-places, in the informal market of Omatala, in hospitals, in schools, or in the Oshakati Town Council. Others leave the areas simply to seek occasional work and see if other “good things” may happen from incidental encounters. Among those who remain men sit in groups in front of shacks talking and drinking tombo. Women cook food together for own consumption or okapana and watch each other’s children. Poor old men walk from dwelling to dwelling asking for food or other items. (Tvedten and Nangulah, 1999: 27)

Urban male-headed households with employment and income are in the outset in the best position to maintain relations with their extended family and rural areas of origin, but they are also most susceptible to claims from the extended family. (Tvedten and Nangulah, 1999: 32)

Women and female headed households are again in a special situation. Their ties with the extended family are to a large extent based on children as extended family property. Children are often sent to the rural areas to be taken care of by the mother’s matrilineal family, which is also expected to support the urban based women with mahangu or other agricultural products. (Tvedten and Nangulah, 1999: 33).

Collectively, these statements show that social support is a dynamic that is interwoven with an individual’s daily practices, social spaces, habits, or incidences. These findings further stress that

¹³ For a further discussion, see also “As long as they don’t burry me here: social relations of poverty in Namibian shantytown”, a book published in 2011 by Tvedten I. and Bollig M.

social support is not necessarily a well-crafted mechanism, or non-written script; through interaction, collective patterns can emerge as a layer above the particularities of individual stories.

The following section introduces a particular social narrative about present support practices. It illustrates the experiences and to some extent meaning making of support practices from the perspective of individuals who grew up with and are actively partaking in such practices. After discussing the Black Tax narrative, I illustrate how it speaks to the empirical findings discussed in this section but also the broader theoretical debates of this study detailed in section 2.4. I further show how it facilitates the construction of a different empirical perspective on private redistribution in Namibia's context in section 3.5.

3.4 UNEQUAL CONTEXTS: THE BLACK TAX NARRATIVE AND PRIVATE REDISTRIBUTION

Here, I provide a detailed understanding of the Black Tax narrative. Black Tax is a colloquial term that exists in Namibia and South Africa alike. While there is a paucity of empirical studies on Black Tax in Namibia, it nevertheless features prominently in the country's public discourse and media. I thus primarily draw on Namibian national media outlets and the available wider literature from South Africa to understand the Black Tax narrative more broadly. Given the intertwined history regarding apartheid as discussed in section 3.1, the aspects of Black Tax discussed below were found in both contexts.

Black Tax is a recent term in Namibia and South Africa. Before the term itself existed, it used to revolve around 'old African traditions' that entailed mutual caretaking of families, kinship and community. It was seen as family duty, family responsibility, but also family upliftment (Mhlongo, 2019). While the term 'Black Tax' does not necessarily seem to be known or used by older generations (Busani-Dube, 2019), some attribute its origin to economic recessions and socioeconomic implications that affected black individuals differently.

A traditional way of life – or communal life as African way of life – seems to depict a somewhat negative connotation for younger generations. Material caretaking used to be a 'neutral' practice across the lifecycle. External challenges due to economic recessions and resulting unemployment in the late 2000s increased economic pressure for those who are typically referred to as black middle-class. Considering decreasing resources to cater for one's own and other's needs, the sharing of resources became referred to as 'tax' (Mhlongo, 2019). For some, Black Tax "unintentionally demonise(s) the idea of family upliftment by calling it some kind of Black Tax" or an "abusive cultural practice, (including) a burden on black people's progress" (Mhlongo 2019: 82). Further, the author describes that some black individuals felt the pressure to retreat from a traditional way of life.

In her master's dissertation, Magubane (2017) generally describes two schools of thought when referring to Black Tax. In one, it seems to be attributed to the discrimination of the apartheid system and the continued inequality as a result of such. The other primarily focuses on the black middle-class and their financial support to extended family members in light of continued inequalities resulting from apartheid. While both do not differ in identifying the cause, namely historical inequality, the latter points to the fact that shifting up in terms of socioeconomic class bears consequences for black individuals. In fact, Busani-Dube (2019: 17) states that "success comes with expectations; it comes with the responsibility to send the elevator back down to fetch the others".

However, whether these responsibilities, expectations or consequences more broadly are perceived as a positive or negative dynamic differs. While some acknowledge that "Black Tax is not our culture, it has everything to do with the position (apartheid has put non-white individuals in)" (Busani-Dube 2019: 19), some state that it has been an "intimate part of my life; I did not even give it a name" (Sithole 2019: 158). Others see it as a flawed social construct whereby calling it 'tax' is "premised on the selfish, capitalist attitude of 'me first' and I was not raised that way. Therefore, I reject it with contempt" (Mofokeng 2019: 109). More positive stances refer to it as family investment with potential multiplying effects, as well as being a tool to address inequality (Mncube, 2019). In sum, the term itself has no universal understanding, let alone definition, nor is it accepted and used by everyone.

Regardless of whether it is seen as a burden or a blessing by some and not others, there are a few more general dynamics, which refer to the previously introduced perspectives of this study. Central is the element of individual merit, as economic success in the form of educational attainment and employment as well as one's age. Such individual merit comes with the expectation to be divided and sub-divided through economic support given to extended family members. Such can cause one to "defer your dreams in order to accommodate the immediate and pressing needs of others within your orbit" (Khumalo 2019: 30) but also to pay (or literally repay) attributes to those who have helped realise one's economic success. Such comes with unwritten rules of 'family first' or 'not saying no to those who raised you' (Busani-Dube, 2019), but also to ensure that "family roots and communal structure are not destroyed by the so-called alien civilization of an individualistic lifestyle" (Mhlongo 2019: 85). This also indicates a collision between traditional norms and lifestyles and modern lifestyles within the same economic and social context.

In sum, while framed as a normative, social script that individuals follow within the compounds of family, why and between whom Black Tax is mobilized seems to be associated with changing socioeconomic statuses among family members. For instance, such can be found in statements

which describe it as “(a practice which) ...many young black working professionals have to endure as part of their career successes in the modern world” (Mushaandja, 2015: 1) as well as a “cultural and moral obligation that people feel towards their families... (which) feeds an expectation that a person may be liable to carry a burden if they studied and found a job” (Mtolo, 2018: 1).

Similarly, a recent article suggests that Black Tax is an “affective term that is associated with shifting social identities” (Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley, 2019: 444) whereby this shift is then understood as becoming or being ‘better off’, causing individuals to support “...their economically disadvantaged family” (Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley, 2019: 447). Therefore, the authors point to the fact that “balancing one’s own personal growth ambitions against cultural and social pressures can create internal conflict” for those who provide support (Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley, 2019: 456). More broadly, it has further been argued that “Black Tax does the real work of income redistribution in the country”, which deals with “apartheid(s)... socially engineered black poverty...and makes the need for Black Tax a reality” (Ndinga-Kanga, 2019: 1).

3.5 A NOVEL FRAMING OF PRIVATE REDISTRIBUTION IN NAMIBIA

This section serves to link empirical findings on private redistribution in Namibia to aspects of the Black Tax narrative. I demonstrate how the Black Tax narrative brings a particular lens to discussions on private redistribution, namely that of horizontal and vertical inequality. It provides a unique opportunity to explore a social narrative, which is meaningful for and resonates in the experiences of Namibians. While it speaks to previous empirical findings in the Namibian context, it also addresses the broader theoretical debates on the mutual constitution of structural conditions and interpersonal behaviour, as discussed in section 2.4.

There are substantial and valuable insights into support practices in Namibia, including interpersonal practices across urban and rural spaces as well as within the hazardous settings of HIV, orphanhood and health-related outcomes. It is interesting that each of these specific areas – urban poverty and informal settlements, the urban-rural linkages, the rural setting, household compositions, as well as the social and economic position of individuals – tell different stories about interpersonal support. Collectively, these insights show the multiplexity of social support practices, whereby patterns can be found but seem to be dependent on individuals’ context. Similarly, Black Tax is not a uniform mechanism. As discussed in the previous section, it is dependent on an individual’s position but can also have a different meaning and understanding attached to support practices in general.

Furthermore, most empirical studies are based in smaller, rural settings and only a few within the urban context of Windhoek. While they provide valuable insights on the dynamics of practices

and the content thereof, they reveal less about the collective patterns and implications across socio-cultural groups; in particular regarding such patterns shaping and being shaped by unequal contexts. Closest to my approach is a study situated in Windhoek (Frayne, 2004) focusing on the urban space, as well as Tvedten and Nangulah's research contrasting social relations of poverty across individuals of different household compositions and socioeconomic standing (Tvedten and Nangulah, 1999). Black Tax furthers the debate by calling upon social group differences across racial or ethnic identities but also the varying extent of socioeconomic heterogeneity and potential necessities and responsibilities to provide support within such groups. It introduces a lens of horizontal and vertical inequalities to explorations of private redistribution and calls for a comparative approach.

Black Tax is thereby in line with empirical findings that stressed the importance of social relations for support practices (Tvedten and Nangulah, 1999) as well as what has been termed reciprocity on demand (Schnegg, 2015). Social relations and networks appear to be fundamental channels for economic support, particularly within the extended family. Furthermore, the aspect of 'repaying' who has helped one 'on the way up' speaks to the notion of reciprocity of demand, whereby present support can create future responsibilities to repay or simply cannot be denied towards those who 'have raised you' (Busani-Dube, 2019). Such has also been discussed in the need to show gratitude once one fares economically well or better than others (Mhlongo et al., 2019).

While generally being associated with poverty among non-white individuals, Black Tax is thus equally a story about vertical and horizontal inequality: vertical inequality between non-white individuals who are better off than others, finding themselves in positions to support others – which might speak to the notion of 'sending the elevator back down' (Busani-Dube, 2019); and horizontal inequality in that such support dynamics seem to apply to non-white and not white individuals, but also in that they respond to economic disadvantages for non-white, and not white individuals. It therefore provides an interesting case to explore a bi-directional relationship: inequality through interdependencies between systems and behaviours – comparing within-group behaviour against the backdrop of systematic between group differences, as detailed in section 2.4.

Accordingly, Black Tax speaks to the three perspectives detailed from section 2.4.1 to section 2.4.3. It imposes a lens of inequality on personal meanings of support to re-explore motivations to redistribute, as discussed in section 2.4.1. It particularly assesses how inequalities are reflected in individuals' narratives and meaning making when talking about support practices that are taking place or have taken place in their life. For example, it has been stressed that Black Tax can respond to both internal challenges such as broken family structures as well as external ones such as unemployment (Magubane, 2017). It further addresses the aspect of relative socioeconomic

positions as discussed in section 2.4.2, focusing on support relationships by exploring to what extent prosocial behaviour is dependent on socioeconomic positions, more so for some ethnic identity groups than others. Exploring such captures the notion of ‘sending the elevator back down’ once someone has studied or found a job (Busani-Dube, 2019). Lastly, Black Tax is also linked to debates of income redistribution in Namibia and South Africa (Mushaandja, 2015); hence, the significance of exploring whether relational dynamics of economic support yield different outcomes regarding income inequality, as discussed in section 2.4.3. Doing so can further methodological approaches to measuring the effects of private redistribution.

My research also adds a contemporary perspective by including individuals across a range of modern, urban livelihoods and socioeconomic statuses in Windhoek. In addition, it combines a multitude of different types of support and – while exploring dynamics within such practices – also explores patterns and effects on a systemic level to account for a mutual constitution of behaviour and unequal systems more broadly. Through incorporating the political and economic dynamics of Namibia’s context, my study is unique in that it pays attention to grown structural conditions of inequality within the space of personal relationships by contrasting support practices across ethnic identities.

In the following chapter, chapter 4, I detail my methodological approach and research process followed by my empirical investigations, detailed and discussed in chapter 5 to 7.

4 METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROCESS

In this chapter, I detail my methodological approach as well as the research design and process of my study. I begin with describing the rationale of using a mixed method approach to personal networks to study private redistribution followed by the applied framework, which sets the definition and scope of economic support considered in this research. I then describe the research design and processes by elaborating on the corresponding survey documents, sampling design and strategy as well as the implementation of my research design, paying particular attention to the recruitment, training and collaboration with research assistants, as well as their and my own positionality within the Namibian context. Lastly, I include a descriptive section of my data informing this research.

4.1 A BRIEF OUTLINE OF MIXED METHOD RESEARCH

Mixed method research generally contests disciplinary separation in the social and behavioural sciences and bridges the two main theoretical, empirical, and analytical approaches: qualitative and quantitative research (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). It has been described as a research paradigm which constitutes:

a type of inquiry... where an intentional mixture of both qualitative and quantitative approaches is used in a single research study... to provide a more complex understanding of a phenomenon that would otherwise not have been accessible by using one approach alone (Shannon-Baker, 2016: 321)

Mixed methods research combines the strength of quantitative and qualitative approaches regarding “intents, research questions, data sources, analytical techniques, and interpretations” (Clark, 2017: 305). While generally quantitative approaches can detect structures and predictors of such structures, it often fails to reveal underlying mechanisms shedding light on “situated meaning and experiences” (Clark, 2017: 305). By bridging quantitative and qualitative approaches during all or selected stages of the research process, from research questions to analysis and interpretation, mixed methods can also be seen as an effort to establish interdisciplinary approaches, which has also been referred to as ‘de-disciplining’ (Richardson, 2000). It thus allows researchers to merge concepts across disciplines, i.e. introducing concepts of psychology to economic studies to establish a behavioural lens (within the context of this research, see for example Fong, Bowles, and Gintis 2005; Luebker 2014; Fuchs and Thurner 2014).

The sequencing of qualitative and quantitative approaches can follow different designs in mixed methods approaches. Such can be described as sequential, parallel, fully integrated, embedded and conversion design (Creswell and Clark, 2017). Generally, these distinctions rest on differences in the order and combination of qualitative and quantitative data throughout the different stages of the research process. For instance, a sequential design begins by collecting and

analysing quantitative data first followed by a qualitative exploration thereafter, whereas within a parallel design, both data types would be analysed separately but simultaneously (Creswell, 2015; Creswell and Clark, 2017; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009).

Given the theoretical approach of exploring inequality through structural conditions and behavioural dynamics, mixed methods research enables an empirical exploration that captures both. Thereby, the quantitative aspect broadly caters to mapping structural conditions of inequality; within the context of this study, socioeconomic positions across ethnic identity groups. It can also capture patterns of interpersonal relationships and relative positions of individuals within such. Qualitative information can then provide more in-depth information about ‘situated meaning and experiences’ as indicated above. It therefore complements quantitative aspects, i.e. in this research by allowing for and exploration of the personal meaning of support practices. The combination of quantitative and qualitative information thus also enables a two-fold perspective on inequality by quantitative exploration of how patterns are intertwined with unequal systems, yet also from the perspective of an individual situated within such patterns. In the following, I discuss elements of the relational perspective applied in this study.

4.2 ESTABLISHING A RELATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

In this study, I generally explore social mechanisms of private redistribution to revisit historically grown inequalities. At the centre of my empirical investigation is thus the interpersonal space: this being social relationships between individuals that function as social channels for private redistribution. This research thus follows a general recognition that a person’s life and wellbeing are connected to others (Lin, 2002; Simmel, 1955). To reflect such, I apply social networks as a corresponding methodological framework to my theoretical lens, capturing the mutual constitution between inequality as system and behaviour, which I will detail below.

4.2.1 *Social network research*

Social networks can be seen as both a philosophical foundation of viewing social phenomena through an interactionist and socially connected perspective but also as a methodological tool that comes with a corresponding set of methods and tools to establish such a perspective. Applying a focus on social relationships and their dynamics has led to new social theories, i.e. the strength of weak ties referring to connected individuals who otherwise do not have a high degree of overlap in their friendship networks (Granovetter, 1973) or related to social cohesion, structural holes referring to systemic absences of interpersonal connections (Burt, 1992). A network perspective has also been used to study a variety of questions and concepts such as social capital as mobilization for social support, studying norms and trust relations among individuals (Cook, 2005), the mediating role of social relationships when facing hardships such as poverty and health

outcomes (Cattell, 2001), as well as the influence of kinship relations on the consumption and savings decisions of individuals (Di Falco and Bulte, 2011).

A network lens can further establish a theoretical and methodological perspective for research accounting for the role of social identities. Social identity is a relational and interactionist concept, which can exhibit dynamics such as “social influence and group norms, leadership within and between groups, ..., deindividuation and collective behaviour, (or) social mobilization and protest...” (Hogg, 2016: 8). It thus exists within the very space of social interactions and relationships, exhibiting social markers which can create cohesion, feelings of social belonging, and notions of ‘bounded solidarity’ for individuals (Hogg, 2016; Parkin, 1974; Sanders, 2002). Accordingly, a focus on social identity as well as a network perspective understands individual behaviour within the realm of their social relationships and social groups. Differences and commonalities in behaviour then also reveal and shape group membership and its boundaries, as well as dynamics within and across groups. It thus functions as a suitable perspective to understand private redistribution across ethnic identity groups as well as within.

4.2.2 A mixed methods approach to social network research

Applying a mixed methods approach to network research captures the structure and content of relationships and relationship patterns; within a social setting, this is evidenced by who is linked to whom, in which way, when, why and how. On the one hand, it can evince quantitative, structural properties of networks such as the number of social connections or their frequency of occurrence (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). On the other hand, it can offer qualitative information about the associations and mechanisms which underly structural properties, helping us to understand the social process that creates social patterns and connections (Sarason and Sarason, 2009). Research studies following such approaches are thus generally interested in gaining a deeper understanding of the dynamics of social relationships (Domínguez and Hollstein, 2014; Edwards, 2010; Lumino et al., 2017). For instance, Lumino et al. (2017) explored to what extent individuals feel integrated in their own networks by drawing on statistical modelling, conventional network measures and in-depth interviews to complement their structural findings. In doing so, they were able to provide a more detailed account of the experiences and meaning of relationships.

Mixed method approaches thereby generally exhibit a process of triangulation across qualitative and quantitative findings as well as applying multiple levels for interpretations of respective analyses to combine “the actor perspective... (being) interaction-oriented... with a structural perspective on prevailing constellations of interaction and overall framework conditions” (Domínguez and Hollstein, 2014: 90). This again speaks to the previously mentioned notion of

inequality as a structural condition as well as individual behaviour shaping and being shaped by such conditions.

4.2.3 Personal networks as sub-classification of social networks

A further distinction can be made between sociometric social network analysis and personal network analysis. The former generally refers to analyses of complete networks, capturing all connections among subjects of interest, whereas the latter only includes connections in the immediate social environment of an individual (Perry et al., 2018). Complete networks, or sociometric data, can provide information about wider social structures as well as individuals' positions within such. This includes, for example, the centrality of actors, i.e. an individual who has a higher number of connections than other members of the network can be identified as a more central actor – similar to an airport hub providing multiple connections to other more loosely connected airports (Borgatti, 2005). Measures of network density, centrality or closeness between certain individuals thus broadly account for individuals' levels of interaction and their overall connectedness (for specific measures, see Newman 2010). However, a main limitation of sociocentric network analysis is its highly time-consuming data collection process. Owing to its linked nature, with each individual mentioned, the potential associated connections increase exponentially. As such, in-depth information about individuals and their connections themselves often remains limited.

Personal networks generally contain the immediate contacts of an individual (first level) and can also display connections among such contacts (second level). Thus, personal networks do not capture a complete social network in a given setting. They rather constitute a set of networks, namely one for each respondent. Personal networks can be a more feasible framework when collecting primary network data owing to some of the following reasons. As people typically form relationships across various social domains, say their workplace, a sports club or their household and extended family, adopting a lens of personal networks versus domain-specific network studies can include individuals across multiple domains (Crossley et al., 2015). The prominent theory of weak ties is in fact one that stems from research on personal networks based on an in-depth understanding of the diversity of relationship types and interactions with contacts surrounding individuals (Granovetter, 1973).

Furthermore, the exponential increase during the collection of data on complete networks does not apply to personal network approaches. Instead, one can sample randomly from given populations and the number of immediate contacts mentioned by an individual “tends to be fairly small... leading to data of manageable proportions” (Perry et al., 2018: 28). Another advantage is that the subsequent analysis of personal networks can employ standard statistical methods as opposed to specialized technical software of sociocentric network analysis and respondents and

their contacts can remain entirely anonymous without limiting the interpretability of results (Perry et al., 2018). Personal network approaches also come with limitations including a high response burden for study participants, particularly if the content of such networks tends to be complex, information being stated through the respondents' perspectives only, which can therefore display biases and inaccuracies, and lastly a mapping of the broader social structure within which personal networks are embedded is not possible (Perry et al., 2018).

Again, returning to the purpose of this research, exploring the interdependency between structural conditions and behaviour calls for a more in-depth understanding of relationships and associated social dynamics. On the one hand, this is generally reflected in applying a mixed-method approach. On the other hand, using first-level personal network data focuses on the relationships between the owner of the network and each respective contact, also referred to as dyadic relationships. Doing so enhances the collection of more in-depth information about interpersonal connections including aspects of motivations and reasons to engage in support – and thus can generate a more detailed account of the nature and meaning of relationships (Domínguez and Hollstein, 2014; Sarason and Sarason, 2009).

4.3 SOCIAL SUPPORT ALIGNED WITH ECONOMIC WELFARE

In this section, I provide the framework and rational underpinning the conceptualization of support within this study. As previously mentioned in section 4.2, I am discussing social support within the space of social relationships. More precisely, between two individuals also referred to as dyadic relationships in network terminology. Accordingly, I do not focus on forms of (semi-)formalized support, e.g. through institutional settings. I begin with a broader conceptual space of social support before narrowing it down and aligning it with empirical insights on private redistribution and economic support more broadly.

Social support is a broad field with various applications. Veiel (1985), for instance, challenges the application of social support as a single commodity and proposes a multidimensional framework, accounting for the type of support, the role of the underpinning relationship as well as how such is being measured. For example, the type of support can be understood as being instrumental, such as informational, as well as everyday support, such as social integration, or psychological, for example emotional support (Veiel, 1985). Underpinning relationships are then also often referred to as source of support, which can be found in empirical studies classifying social support as family support, friendship networks or mutual assistance groups (Cappellari and Tatsiramos, 2011; Kim and Choi, 2011b; Laslett, 1988; Oduro, 2010). How social support is being measured is then often reflected in terminology such as degrees of importance, frequency of interaction, as well as availability or adequacy of interactions (Veiel, 1985). Particularly within the context of the Global South, studies focus on inclusion or exclusion of individuals in

respective practices, whether they create advantages for some but disadvantages for others or the ability of social support patterns to cope with external shocks (Arnall et al., 2004b; Di Falco and Bulte, 2013; Werger, 2009).

The content of support practices studied in the Global South often remains an economic one, mainly paying attention to material transfers such as financial and in-kind transfers (Calder and Tanhchareun, 2014; Devereux, 1999). These studies often define social support through an economic lens, i.e. cash and in-kind transfers, which might also be owing to mapping them against formal social provisioning reflected in national social policies of welfare states (for example, see Oduro 2010). For example, Devereux (1999) describes activities where households provide one other with financial assistance and gifts to help with shortcomings as well as measures of food rationing or dropping out of school to save on school fees. Calder and Tanhchareun (2014) on the other hand exclusively focus on financial transfers. Another body of literature that would classify social support as financial transfers only would also entail studies on remittances (Nagarajan, 2009; Russell, 1984). Others set a focus on the source rather than the content of social support by discussing the role of kinships and the evolution of new family relations (Magunha, 2012).

This research, however, begins with a definition of the type, and not the source of support. The underpinning sources, or relationships, then become a function or derivative of the support type. As previously mentioned in the discussion of personal networks, I follow the rationale that individuals have contacts across a variety of social domains such as their family, their neighbourhood or their workplace (Crossley et al., 2015). If I had defined social support based on the social relationships through which it travels, I would have possibly missed out on a more complete picture of an individual's personal support networks – whereby different individuals can fulfil different types of support. This particularly matters when imposing a lens of 'behavioural inequality' as it provides a broader glimpse into an individual's socioeconomic context and reality beyond the scope of family, friendships, or colleagues.

How social support can then be understood as private redistribution, stems from two aspects. First is the focus on the dyadic space of relationships and thus practices between individuals typically being non-written or non-institutionalized and to some extent ad-hoc in nature (Laferrere and Wolff, 2006). Second, through its economic nature, by being able to theoretically resemble corresponding rationales of formal social provisioning through the state (Oduro, 2010). Within the scope of this study, social support was clustered into four thematic areas. This clustering largely stems from empirical insights into practices of private redistribution in the Namibian

context.¹⁴ Previous studies found evidence for various types of support salient in people's lives and socioeconomic contexts.

This includes general caregiving and shared household arrangements, including the role of elderly as caregivers towards vulnerable children (Kalomo, 2018). Greiner (2010) also pointed to the trend of younger generations moving to urban areas owing to education and employment opportunities whereas older generations stay in rural areas, which results in different household compositions in urban and rural areas. Further, Tvedten and Nangulah (1999) describe the practice of sending children to rural areas for childcare purposes, as well as 'watching each other's children' among urban neighbours. In addition, Ruiz-Casares (2010) found evidence for peer-to-peer support among younger individuals living in youth-headed households. In order to account for different household living arrangements and care practices in Namibia, I include the thematic area 'co-habitation, unpaid labour, and care', covering shared living arrangements, household and work assistance as well as caregiving for the elderly and children.

Another observation concerns financial support. An earlier study observed the practice of financial contributions in Namibia around certain life events including funerals and weddings, but also the general practice of interest-free loans among relatives and neighbours or sharing social pensions (Subbarao, 1999). More broadly, the framing of Black Tax itself primarily concerns financial support as a form of care (see for example Mncube 2019). Therefore, I include financial support to capture transfers of different amounts to reflect both contributions to smaller daily expenses as well as larger sums as contributions to life events.

Alongside financial support, in-kind support equally plays a role. Studies found evidence for the practice of providing food across the urban-rural space (Frayne, 2001, 2004) among individuals (Schnegg, 2015). Furthermore, Tvedten and Nangulah's study (1999) observes the sharing of other non-food items such as agricultural products, clothes or tools depending on a person's need. Furthermore, gifts for weddings and other life events can also be given in the form of livestock (Bond, 2011; Subbarao, 1999). In addition, land is a long-disputed issue regarding access and ownership, remaining skewed towards former colonial structures and associated ownership (Melber, 2005). The thematic area 'in-kind support' will control, on the one hand, for observed, non-durable and durable in-kind support as well as larger transfers of 'wealth' concerning livestock in connection with certain life events, as well as land transactions regarding ownership structures.

Lastly, Tvedten and Nangulah's (1999) account of support practices also described the 'seeking of occasional work' or 'other good things'. While this area is less explored and defined in

¹⁴ Only land transactions were included after pilot-testing the corresponding survey instrument outlined in section 4.4.1.

Namibia, the thematic area of ‘opportunity sharing’ builds on general evidence of job information sharing and referrals among individuals (for a review of job information networks, see for example Ioannides and Datcher Loury 2004). The thematic area ‘opportunity sharing’ thus primarily focuses on the sharing of vacancies, job contacts, and assistance during one’s education. Table 4-1 provides a general oversight of included thematic areas and associated activities within such.

Table 4-1 An economic welfare-based framework for social support

| Thematic areas | Corresponding activities |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Co-habitation, unpaid labour, and care | Sharing of accommodation including or excluding bills |
| | Household assistance, e.g. helping with household chores, gardening, repairs, etc. |
| | Caring for elderly/ caring for someone else’s children, e.g. providing food, shelter, spending time |
| | Unpaid assistance at work, e.g. covering shifts, sharing of knowledge, helping with tasks |
| Financial support | Varying amounts from 100 NAD ¹⁵ to more than 5000 NAD |
| In Kind support | Land |
| | Livestock |
| | Non-durable goods, e.g. food, clothing, fuel, other consumables |
| | Durable goods, e.g. furniture, building material, transport vehicles, fridge, TV, etc. |
| Opportunity sharing | Sharing of job vacancies and contacts |
| | Hiring through (personal) contacts |
| | Assistance when applying for jobs, e.g. reference letters, help with application forms, mentoring |
| | Sharing of educational opportunities, e.g. about trainings, scholarships, etc. |
| | Assistance when applying for education, e.g. filling out forms, reference letters, etc. |

Source: author’s own classification, building on empirical studies in the Namibian context.

In sum, the function of support provides anchorage for my data collection process, which I shall detail in the following section. As Perry et. al. describe, function can refer to the “types of exchange, services or supports accessible through ties to alters” (2018: 109). Overall, the type of social support activities defined in this research are closer to conceptualizations of economic welfare as compared to other classifications of social support, e.g. psychological and emotional support. The applied framing situates activities of social support alongside prominent domains of (primarily economic) human needs such as shelter and work, and corresponding social policies related to housing, education, health, and employment as well as financial and in-kind transfers

¹⁵ NAD refers to Namibian Dollar, whereby 1 USD amounts to approximately 18 NAD (April 2020).

(Hewitt 1998; also discussed in Dean 2010; ILO 2009). This framing then also brings the debate of social support practices closer to previous studies on informal social support in the Global South.

4.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCESS

Before describing the components and contents of the applied survey instrument, I situate my empirical approach within mixed methods studies. Hereby, I distinguish the phase of data collection and data analysis.

As outlined in section 4.1., mixed method classifications take various stages of the research process into account including research questions, data collection, and analysis. To explore inequality through a lens of mutual constitution between systems and behavioural dynamics, a mixed-method approach as outlined in section 4.2.2. was deemed suitable. The corresponding empirical study employed an integrated approach during data collection, followed by a parallel approach during data analysis. An integrated approach implies the simultaneous application of qualitative and quantitative approaches (Creswell, 2015; Creswell and Clark, 2017). Concerning the data collection stage, it implies collecting qualitative and quantitative data at the same time, which I will detail in the following. A parallel approach typically entails a separate analysis of qualitative and quantitative data to triangulate findings and interpret them jointly afterwards (Creswell and Clark, 2017; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). With regard to mixed methods studies of social networks, it is a useful approach “for triangulating data and checking for complementarity, that is, to gain a more complex and complete picture of the subject matter” (Domínguez and Hollstein, 2014: 14). I shall detail the applied approaches to data analysis in each of my empirical chapters, namely chapter 5, chapter 6, and chapter 7. In the following, I detail the research design, instruments, and process, followed by general reflections on research challenges.

4.4.1 *Survey instrument*

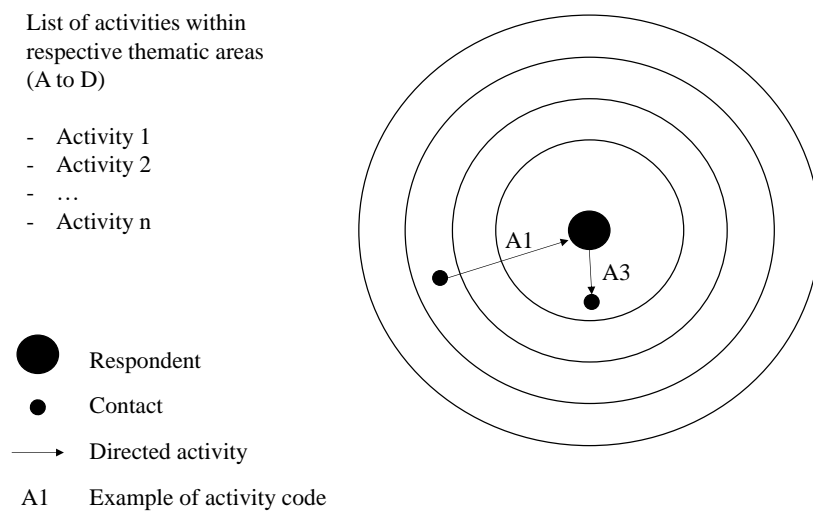
To collect data to inform this study, I designed a survey instrument, included in the Appendix II which allowed me to capture qualitative and quantitative data simultaneously. More precisely, I employed a two-stage survey instrument.

The first stage of the survey instrument employs two established methods of gathering network data; namely the resource generator (Van Der Gaag and Snijders, 2005) and the target method (Spencer and Pahl, 2006). The resource generator generally provides individuals with a defined list of activities whereby the individual then indicates whether and with whom she engages in a particular activity. Using the resource generator facilitated the application of an economic welfare framework for social support in that it allowed for generating a pre-defined list of activities, as introduced in Table 4-1, to elicit contacts across multiple activity types. The target method on the other hand places the respondent in the middle of concentric circles whereby circles present

varying degrees of certain attributes of contacts. Accordingly, respondents would situate their contacts within different circles around them, within the context of this study depending on how close they are to a mentioned contact. Thus, the most inner circle would entail ‘very close’ contacts and the most outer circle ‘very distant’ contacts. An illustration of the utilized survey document is included in Appendix 2 and a stylized illustration is presented in Figure 4-1.

Applying the target method was based on two rationales. First, fostering a level of interaction between interviewer and respondent through an interactive mapping process whereby both parties would collaboratively draw a person’s resulting network across these circles. Second, a notion of who is considered close in relation to the respondent themselves as well as in relation to previously placed contacts. While respondents might interpret ‘social distance’ differently, this relative mapping technique creates consistency within their own network of contacts, e.g. after situating the first contact, where would that place contact two and so forth.

Figure 4-1 Illustration of survey instrument - stage one



Source: author’s own illustration

The first stage of the interview process would entail completing one map, as shown in Figure 4-1, for each of the four thematic areas introduced in Table 4-1¹⁶. For instance, study participants would first map all relevant contacts in the thematic area of ‘co-habitation, unpaid labour and care’ before moving on to map all relevant contacts in ‘financial support’. This was done to achieve an easier overall recollection of relevant contacts by focusing on one thematic group of activities at a time, as well as a greater clarity about contacts being mentioned multiple times across different support activities.

¹⁶ See Appendix II.

The second stage of the survey instrument followed a structured survey design which I termed ‘factsheets’ (see Appendix II). Using a table-format, respondents would answer closed and open questions about their contacts as well as the support activity. The information would be captured for each activity recorded in stage one and thus each activity drawn on the personal network maps. This included socio-demographic and economic characteristics of their contacts, such as their education level, profession, age or gender, as well as characteristics of their social relationships, for instance, how long they have known each other, the type of relationship or whether they live in the same household. Aspects of the support activity then included the frequency of interaction, a scale of importance, and source of support. These closed questions constitute the quantitative data generated by the survey. The open questions present the qualitative data generated by the survey. They include the stated cause for an activity to occur, the respondent’s motivation to undertake the activity, as well as any expectations attached to the particular activity. These open questions were mainly captured for support activities that were provided by respondents to capture a consistent perspective on the drivers of individual behaviour rather than an interpretation of someone else’s behaviour¹⁷. Overall, factsheets also functioned as a validation of responses given during the first stage (mapping) as respondents would revisit recorded activities and provide detailed information about them (further described in section 4.4.3).

I further captured general information about the respondents including sociodemographic indicators as well as economic ones; for example, their age, gender, professional and educational attainment, and monthly income but also their ethnic affiliation and most spoken language. Lastly, and to control for activities falling outside the pre-defined framework, I include a section which provided a space for respondents to include additional activities, as well as general comments on the interview and subject matter. Furthermore, the completion of the survey was audio-recorded as well. In the following, I will elaborate on the process of data collection before detailing the interview process itself.

More broadly, being presented with reported and not observed behaviour, I captured the respondents’ perspectives, which allows me to detect the source of human behaviour to a certain extent only. However, personal network data, and particularly a mixed-method approach thereto, reflects structures and individual characteristics, as well as content of meaning within and across positions and structures. It therefore allows for a general approach to the topic at hand by applying a bi-directional lens on individual behaviour, which again speaks to the notion of mutual constitution and the theoretical outset of this study.

¹⁷ Open questions were asked that were linked to provided activities. If they had been asked about received support as well, the respondent would have interpreted someone else’s, namely the provider of that support’s, cause, motivation and expectation. This would thus not have been consistent with stating their own perspective.

4.4.2 *Data collection: timeframe, sampling strategy, sites and collaboration*

I detail the timeframe of my fieldwork, the sampling strategy, chosen research sites as well as the recruitment and collaboration with ten researchers as assistants throughout the process of data collection below.

4.4.2.1 Timeframe and pilot phase

The process of data collection took place between September 2017 and August 2018 and lasted for a total of ten months. While October was used for pilot-testing the survey instrument, December was taken as a break for first reflections and data entry and owing to the fact that most respondents would be travelling or engaged in holiday activities. The data collection process thus began with a set of a first batch of ten interviews completed in November 2017. The remaining interviews were then conducted between January 2018 and July 2018 with a phase of data capturing and finalization taking place in August 2018.

Throughout the first four weeks, the proposed survey instruments underwent a pilot testing phase. I began conducting partial and full interviews with five ‘test participants’, who were subsequently not included in the overall sample. Test participants included individuals of different age groups, gender, and socioeconomic standing with whom I had been in contact during my previous professional appointments in Namibia in 2015/16. During the pilot-testing phase I revisited proposed categories of support activities and pre-defined ranges of closed questions. I further practiced using the survey instrument as a mode to generate a conversation rather than a mechanical exercise of going through a list of questions and statements. Apart from testing the document in interviewing processes, I also received feedback from colleagues at the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) in Windhoek, who provided me with an office space and collaborative platform throughout my fieldwork. The initial survey document only underwent minor adjustments by including land transfers as support activity and changes in the proposed monthly income ranges. Furthermore, I realized that a visual representation of support activities would facilitate a more consistent and quicker understanding of the relevant type of support activities. This also led respondents to focus less on the survey document itself but talk more freely about the relevant activities. Accordingly, I made corresponding ‘picture maps’ visualizing and describing support activities included within the four thematic areas (please refer to appendix). Overall, the usability of the design instrument proved itself as highly efficient in generating in-depth information about personal networks of support.

4.4.2.2 Sampling strategy

For the purpose of this study, I was interested in recruiting respondents of different ethnic identities and socioeconomic backgrounds. Instead of directly sampling by indicators of socioeconomic status, for example a person’s education level, profession, or monthly income, I

chose to apply ‘proxies’ or ‘associated characteristics’ with such. This is motivated by the fact that socioeconomic indicators are sometimes less accurate, in particular income is often over- or understated in survey research. Furthermore, being familiar with Namibia’s context to a certain extent, I was aware that terms associated with education levels or professions can be used in an arbitrary way. For example, the apprenticeship to become a care worker could be classified as a tertiary degree but equally so for an individual who obtained a university degree. Further, an individual could carry the title of manager owning a (potentially non-registered) copy shop, but manager would also apply to the head of a multinational corporation. These seemingly similar labels would most likely depict considerable differences in individuals’ earnings, the neighbourhood in which they reside or the schools they attended – and thus not necessarily place them on equal socioeconomic positions.

In addition, I was interested in establishing a balanced sample across ethnic identities. As discussed in their work on economic stratification and ethnic differentiation, Haller and Eder point to the intermingling of ethnic identity and economic class as well as the concentration of certain ethnic identities within a given socioeconomic level, which has also been referred to as ‘ethno-classes’ (Haller and Eder, 2016). Namibia’s history and the ripple-effects of the apartheid regime, in which race constrained the socioeconomic attainments of non-white individuals, makes a case for socioeconomic status being a function of other attributes rather than vice versa. I thus applied the following sampling criteria shown in Table 4-2, whereby socioeconomic criteria were secondary criteria.

Table 4-2 Sampling criteria

| Sampling criteria | Rationale |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Gender identity | An overall balanced sample across gender to account for gender differences in private redistribution and socioeconomic positions |
| Individual age | Adults of five different age groups to account for lifecycle dynamics, starting at 18 years and above |
| Ethnic identity | Six selected ethnic identity groups constituting sub-samples. Including Ovambo, Herero, German, Afrikaans, Nama/Damara and Caprivian identity ¹⁸ |

Source: author’s own illustration.

In setting the scope of my sample, I initially anticipated following a random-path sampling design whereby subsequent study participants would be randomly selected from the contacts mentioned by the previous study participant (Newman, 2010). However, after the first round of interviews,

¹⁸ For a discussion on selection criteria for ethnic identity groups please refer to Appendix II.

I noticed a substantial degree of ethnic identity closure whereby most contacts mentioned by a respondent would be classified as ‘being from the same ethnic identity group’. Additionally, in some cases mentioned contacts also exhibited some similarities in terms of socioeconomic status and were often part of the (extended) family. If I had applied random path sampling, the ‘seed study participant’, as the first study participant, would influence who would be included as subsequent participants. Given the initial observations, I would have possibly generated a sample containing lower degrees of ethnic identity heterogeneity and remained within the space of linked families and potentially similar socioeconomic strata.

While random path sampling deems itself useful if one is primarily interested in how personal networks are embedded in a wider social setting, I was not seeking to construct a complete network but a saturation sample regarding behavioural variety and patterns of support across ethnic identity groups. Accordingly, I applied discretionary and sequential sampling techniques and anticipated including 35 respondents per ethnic identity group, yielding a total sample size of 210 study participants. Discretionary sampling is reflected in purposefully selecting participants whereby ethnic identity was used to construct sub-samples, within which age and gender would then be applied to generate a balanced sample across both criteria. A sequential design is reflected in adjusting recruitment techniques of research assistants as well as study participants. Research assistants were responsible for the recruitment of study participants in line with sampling criteria. Therefore, at least two researchers would collect data on one ethnic identity sub-sample, whereby I would first assess the type of socioeconomic profiles the first assistant generated before hiring the second assistant. Assistants would naturally have different access points to different individuals. I thus hired independent researchers with differing profiles to create a diversified sample with minimal overlaps. For instance, I used neighbourhoods as a proxy for research assistants’ socioeconomic profiles as well as their spatial sampling focus to minimize the chance of repetition, replications, and overlaps.

Applying discretionary and sequential sampling thus allowed me to apply inclusion criteria. Doing so enabled creating a more diversified sample but also prevented selection biases owing to sampling along a previous person’s characteristics and minimized subjective judgements of researchers regarding the inclusion of participants (Newman, 2010). In addition, when personal network data is being collected, one aim is to contain a set of non-overlapping networks for each respondent (Marsden, 2005). Such is a primary condition for statistical analyses, i.e. hierarchical modelling techniques, which are a useful technique for analysing behavioural patterns. However, applying non-random sampling techniques imposes limitations on the extrapolation of findings, as the sample is not randomized nor necessarily representative of the wider population. Such will be accounted for in the discussion of the empirical findings.

Another limitation I encountered was that sampling criteria were distinct in theory but not necessarily as workable categories. I encountered that while some sampling criteria turned out to be well defined, others turned out to be rather ambiguous. For instance, gender identity did not appear to be a contested or mis-specified category with respondents comfortably claiming either of the binary categories. Respondents were also comfortable stating their age in complete years. Ethnic identities were primarily useful to sample data from individuals whose primary language was not English. However, the concept generally appeared to be highly multi-layered. Ethnic identity seemed to be a bundle of sub-identities with cross-identifications and thus imposed some difficulties when using it as a distinct sampling criterion. To better reflect an individual's identification, I applied the initially defined ethnic identities in generating sub-samples but collected a second variable, which contains the individual's interpretation of their ethnic identity. Doing so allowed me to revisit ethnic identity affiliations in a subsequent step. This also led to the merging of the originally distinct ethnic identity groups being 'German' and 'Afrikaans¹⁹' into a blended group of 'German, Afrikaans and English'. This blended group however reflects an equal degree of 'blending' in comparison with other ethnic identity groups, e.g. the Ovambo ethnic identity group is composed of Ndonga, Kwambo, and Kwanyama ethnic identities. Consequently, the sample comprises five instead of six broader ethnic identity groups that contain ethnic sub-differentiation within.

4.4.2.3 Research site

Windhoek was selected as the primary research site for urban spaces in Namibia comprising about 13 percent of the country's population (World Population Review, 2020). Windhoek is not only the only urban agglomerate exceeding 100,000 inhabitants in Namibia, but also a 'socio-cultural' and economic melting pot, which allowed me to access different gender, age, ethnic identity groups and socioeconomic strata of individuals residing in often close proximity. Access to different ethnic identity groups within a feasible geographic range was particularly useful as other areas of the country often exhibit homogeneity of ethnic identity. Some geographic areas in Namibia are predominantly populated by one ethnic identity group, e.g. Caprivians even carry the name of a geographic region of the country and some geographic areas carry the label of certain ethnic identities. While Windhoek is a space of social mingling, it still exhibits visual boundaries of social stratification and gentrification – partially owing to former apartheid structures discussed in chapter 3. It further provides an assemblage of formal, informal, and semi-formal neighbourhoods, which carry such former apartheid segmentation. For example, the informal settlement named Katutura (roughly translating from Otjiherero to 'the place where people do not

¹⁹ Owing to Afrikaans and English being a commonly spoken language across ethnic identity groups, it is important to mention that this comprises individuals who identify as English/British and White Afrikaans/Afrikaner.

want to live’) arose owing to a forced resettlement of non-white citizens from the centre to the outskirts of the city. I further consider Windhoek as the space that reflects the most recent developments in Namibia’s modern society – where urban citizens reinvent and reinterpret rural linkages and generate different life models for the urban Namibian. It therefore presents an existing and dynamic context for this research – given trends of urbanization – in a space and social setting that will continue to be of relevance for a growing share of the population.

4.4.2.4 Research assistance

Throughout the fieldwork process, I employed ten research assistants to assist with data collection, more precisely the recruitment of study participants and the interviewing process. The steps of transcription and data entry into digital formats were carried out by me. I held three rounds of recruitment to employ research assistants: the first one via personal contacts, the second one via vacancy boards at a local university and the third one via vacancy posts on Facebook groups. These three rounds were necessary as potential candidates signed up for the job but owing to various reasons – particularly from the first round – were unable to complete the assignments. While the first round was the most ‘informal’ one in terms of the hiring process it produced a high workload, so I proceeded with formalizing the process to decrease the workload from 30 to 15 interviews per person hired. Research assistants were selected using the following selection criteria as shown in Table 4-3:

Table 4-3 Criteria for the selection of research assistants

| General criteria | Aspects paid attention to |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Previous experience with face to face interviews | General understanding, engagement, challenges overcome |
| Work attitude | Working without or little supervision and finishing tasks on time |
| Availability | Other existing commitments, other expected commitments, hours available per week |
| Approach | Recruitment of study participants, planned approach and anticipated locations |
| Language | Good knowledge of English Good knowledge of at least one local language spoken by an ethnic identity group included in the sample |

Source: based on interview selection process carried out in January 2018 by author

The primary requirement for selection was knowledge of a local language, particularly as I was unable to converse with potential study participants who were not fluent in English. Indeed, older generations of individuals with a lower educational background would have been otherwise excluded from the study owing to language barriers. Research assistants thus worked on a

specified sub-sample defined by their local language expertise, within which they would then sample across age groups and gender (see Appendix II).

Apart from job interviews, I also organized a training and assessment centre where assistants would familiarize themselves with the survey documents at hand and the ethical guidelines, as well as perform test interviews. Before signing contracts, research assistants would conduct one full interview without supervision. This step was included to assess the quality of interviews and accuracy in filling out documents delivered and helped me to decide whether to sign an agreement with them. Each selected research assistant was then given a contract stating deliverables, timeframe for completion, material provided and financial compensation. I met each assistant on a weekly basis to examine completed interviews, assessing general progress, highlighting achievements as well as potentials for further improvements, as described in section 4.4.3. Across all recruitment waves, my team included four male research assistants and six female research assistants. All of them had prior experience in conducting face to face interviews, either through having worked as an enumerator for the Namibian Statistics Agency or currently being a graduate student having participated in fieldwork before.

4.4.3 Interviewing process

I now move on to the interviewing process and cycles and conclude with means of quality assurance and methods of triangulation.

Generally, interviews were conducted in public spaces, which were comfortable for the respondents as well as researchers. The duration of interviews varied between one and up to five hours. A few interviews had to be interrupted and were completed over two or three sessions owing to the respondent's availability. As a first step, the researchers would explain the content and context of the study and record the respondent's consent. We would then begin with the completion of the survey and the audio-recording thereafter.

Researchers would explain the first stage of the survey instrument to study participants. The first stage constitutes the mapping exercise across the four main thematic areas of support. When completing the mapping exercise, we ensured to go through all listed activities but also to capture different directions of support activities. More specifically, by probing whether a respondent would also provide a received activity, or vice versa to the same or a different contact. Thereby, I anticipated individuals' inclination to present themselves in a certain way, e.g. as generally 'more giving' or 'more generous' and thus report more provided support activities than received ones. Probing in both directions was especially helpful to reduce potential biases in reported support directions. Lastly, respondents also had the opportunity to add support activities that were not listed on the survey documents.

After completing all mapping exercises, the researchers would move on to the factsheets linked to each recorded activity. Researchers would then follow the structure of the factsheet by first asking about characteristics of the contact followed by specificities about the support activity. Specifically, the latter included questions that would probe whether the stated support activity took place by asking for further details about the frequency, importance, reasons, sources, and motivations of respondents. Thereby, on a few occasions types of support activities were recoded. For example, initially labelled financial transactions were occasionally a transaction of livestock instead and thus re-labelled from financial to in-kind transfer. The financial aspect would then be recorded in the cause or as an additional note.

In order to assure quality across researchers, I met each research assistant on a weekly basis to discuss each completed interview. Thereby, I paid attention to different criteria. First, general variations in the extent and balance of responses across different respondents. If variations within interviews were considerable, I would ask about question or answer fatigue and take note of potential implications for the interview content. If variations were large across respondents of the same research participant, I would ask about the general level of comfort and willingness to share information of the respective participant, taking note of potential implications for the interview content. Second, I paid attention to the depth and detail reflected in answers to open statements, as well as their accuracy and completeness of sentences as a general indicator of researchers' engagement with respondents. In addition, I would listen to sections of the audio-recordings. I would further compare the amount of information generated by each interview of each research assistant in comparison to their previously conducted interviews to spot a potential decline in quality and engagement at an early stage. I further paid attention to whether responses were balanced across the four main thematic areas of support. In the rare cases that a completed interview showed, e.g. no in-kind transactions, I would investigate whether such is verified by the respondent or whether the section was accidentally skipped in the interview process using the audio-recording or follow-up contact. Lastly, I tested for the accuracy and completeness of overall information by controlling whether there was one fact sheet for each activity recorded on the different maps and whether all questions were sufficiently answered. Only fully completed interviews were included in the final sample.

When engaging with respondents in the interviewing process, I also encountered various challenges. Owing to the quite intensive and lengthy process, drawing on an individual's memories and encountering pleasant as well as challenging events, interviews could be exhausting for respondents. Further, interviews could last up to five hours with a high degree of repetition in questions, particularly during the second stage when filling out the factsheets. Considering these factors, I could observe some answer fatigue towards the end of the interview. In order to not let the overall quality of the interview suffer, I made sure to first complete the mapping exercise to

have a full list of relevant support activities and connections. That way, I was able to interrupt and continue interviews at a later stage more easily, using the complete mapping exercise as a reference to pick up the lengthier process of recording details for each activity. I would further observe the respondent and act according to their needs, whether that meant interrupting the process for a break or continuing another day. Overall, this proved to be a viable approach as roughly the same amount of support activities were reported across all four thematic areas without a decline across the support categories that followed later in the process.

4.5 RESEARCH ETHICS

This research has obtained ethical approval from the University of Sussex. In this section, I reflect on sensitive questions and inquiries posed in this study. Generally, participation involved disclosing how much support one provides and how much support one receives from whom. The revelation of such information can result in positive feelings such as pride and generosity if someone is able to support others; but it also triggers negative feelings such as pressure, shame, resentment and exclusion if one feels they have to, cannot, or were denied support.

Another topic classified as sensitive for study participants is ethnic identity²⁰. During a previous twelve-month assignment in Namibia working and engaging with Namibian people of different socioeconomic standings, professions, ages and genders, I found that even though it has never been specifically addressed, ethnic identities feature as part of professional and personal conversations, e.g. mentioning the place of one's upbringing, local customs and rituals, dances and music, colours and style of traditional dresses, differences in languages and so forth. These are all elements of daily life and interactions in Namibia's ethnically diverse society. I perceived ethnicity as a strong source of identification creating a sense of belonging as well as being a source of pride. This is not to deny tensions and historical and present marginalization of ethnic identity groups adding political sensitivity to the topic. To handle sensitive areas as well as to ensure comfort and informed consent regarding the research subject, I applied the following steps.

Study participants were asked to freely give their fully informed consent by being provided with both an information sheet and a consent form prior to their engagement in any research exercise. Such documents were translated into local languages to assure that all participants were fully informed. The information sheet contained:

- The aims of the study including theoretical foundations and purposes of empirical analysis,

²⁰ University of Sussex, research ethical review questions; high-risk questions, see: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/staff/research/governance/apply>

- The means of study participation including required information, format, and components of interaction between the researcher and the study participant,
- Confidentiality and security of information conditions, such as who will have access to the information, purposes for which the provided information will be used, how data will be anonymized and how long it will be stored,
- A statement regarding their rights before, during and after participation including the right to withdraw at any point in time without giving any reason,
- A section pointing to potential harms, risks, and benefits for participants, and
- Contact details for the ethics committee at the University of Sussex to allow for a separate channel for complaints.

The consent form recorded the understanding of the information sheet, the possibility to ask questions, rights of withdrawal, and voluntary terms of participation, understanding and preferences of confidentiality, data usage, and whether the study participant agreed to an audio-recording of exercises under the given terms. Both forms were provided to the participant before any engagement in research exercises for them to read, understand and, if they agreed to, co-sign with researchers. Only after the recorded consent did I provide the study participants with the survey instruments as described earlier on.

Both stages of the survey instrument were provided at the same time, so that the participant could decide whether he or she wants to take part in all study components. While participation in both is essential, the participant could however decide to what degree he or she wants to reveal information in each of them, i.e. which questions he or she wants to answer and how many contacts he or she wants to record in the participatory mapping exercise. Further, the completion of both documents was carried out jointly and in dialogue with the researcher. All 205 respondents were comfortable giving their written consent recorded on the consent form. Around 18% of interviews were conducted using the survey only and without audio-recording responses in addition. No recruited respondents opted out of or did not fully complete the interview process. However, as described above, owing to the length of the interviewing process, some were interrupted and continued at a later stage. This applies to approximately 25% of interviews, which were either completed during multiple sessions within one day and six were completed over the course of a week in two sessions on two different days.

Interviews took place in public spaces that were safe for researchers and study participants, including office facilities, cafés, and restaurants. Within these settings, the privacy of the study participant was ensured by finding partially secluded places to prevent third parties from overhearing private conversations. Before any engagement, even before being provided with the information sheet or consent form, study participants were able to withdraw from any (interest in)

study participation without providing any reason why they wish to do so. Withdrawal was accepted via oral communication or any channel of previous communication as well as through their absence and subsequent declaration of withdrawal. Furthermore, study participants were able to stop the study exercise at any point, requesting their withdrawal as well as the deletion of all information collected until the point of withdrawal. However, this did not occur during the data collection process.

Collected data including soft copies of a list of personal contacts, signed consent forms, signed information sheets, completed questionnaires, completed mapping exercises as well as audio-files and transcripts were stored on personal password protected devices, including my personal laptop, a password protected hard drive, and the protected OneDrive platform of the University of Sussex. All documents except the lists of contacts were anonymized through unique identifiers, ensuring that any information captured cannot be related to nor identify an individual and hence does not classify as personal data. Hard copies of the above-mentioned documents are stored in a locked facility in Namibia and will only be kept for the duration of five years. Furthermore, I informed respondents about the use of their personal information including processes of anonymization, security, and privacy.

4.6 REFLECTIONS ON RESEARCH CHALLENGES

In the following section, I reflect on research challenges encountered during the sampling and interviewing process followed by positioning the self in the research process.

Generally, my research subject seemed to be relatable and accessible to the extent that respondents were seeing the exercise and questions presented to them as ‘surprisingly simple’. Particularly so, as respondents generally seemed to have a preconceived idea of being interviewed about more sensitive or more stigmatized topics, e.g. alcohol abuse or sexual behaviour and HIV. Thus, I generally encountered a high level of willingness, comfort, and openness from respondents to engage in this study.

However, regardless of content, the design of my survey and exercise has both advantages as well as limitations. One is, that I relied on the memory of respondents to recall support activities they engaged in as well as the socioeconomic characteristics of individuals with whom they engaged in support. Accordingly, I depended on the accurateness of the respondents’ knowledge of their contacts’ socioeconomic profiles, e.g. their education. While this might have been easier to recall for close contacts, e.g. contacts with whom they had more frequent interactions, for more distant contacts information might display some inaccuracies. Another limitation is the missing triangulation of information. As personal networks were collected with minimal, and if only random overlaps, I did not include recorded contacts as subsequent respondents. Thus, while the respondent might have recorded a support activity with a respective contact, I do not know the

perspective of the contact, i.e. whether he or she would confirm and describe the activity in the same or similar way. Furthermore, I did not include contact-contact ties. Thus, I do not know whether certain activities happened or did not happen because a contact is linked to other contacts, thus being able to ‘pass on’ or potentially ‘retain’ support. I thus do not claim to draw conclusions about the entire network dynamics.

I will now turn to my own position within the research process to draw out potential challenges and limitations as well as discussing how I tried to minimize or overcome them. I begin with a quote from my fieldwork diary. I used this diary throughout my fieldwork as a space to revisit and reflect on my experiences, encounters, and decisions.

...this collision between one’s image of oneself and what one is, is always very painful and there are two things you can do about it. You can meet the collision head-on and try and become what you really are, or you can retreat and try to remain what you thought you were, which is a fantasy, in which you will certainly perish. (Noted in my fieldwork diary, statement from Baldwin 1993)

When writing about my fieldwork experience in Namibia, it is important to state that I did not start with a blank slate. Instead, I was able to reconnect with previous contacts during my past assignments in Namibia during 2015/16, which turned out to be very helpful. Being based at the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) provided me with a platform and office space to develop a work routine, attend policy events and discussions, and to meet previous contacts. However, I also realized that I was an ‘outsider subject’ of my own research, as captured by the example below:

It took a direct hint and involvement for me to realize that you get sucked into and become part of the system quicker than you imagine or intend to. I sat outside for lunch with Ndamona . Paula approached us: “Ndamona, my dear, you got a loan for me of 200 NAD?” – “No, my funds don’t allow me that.” A bit of silence, a bit of talk. Then Paula asked me instead. I hesitated – will I ever get the money back? What is the deal? I ask her. A bit of talk. I will get it back early next week. A deal is made with Ndamona as eyewitness (I thought to have an eyewitness was a joke – turned out it was not). I fetch the money and give it to Paula. Lunch is over. ... Later this afternoon, Paula is back. She needs to speak to me and Ndamona. Paula and I walk over to Ndamona’s desk. Paula: “So I met someone who owed me money, so there you go. Thank you very much for your kindness.” I got the 200 NAD back in front of the eyewitness (it was serious). (Author’s fieldwork diary, entry of 02.10.2017)

This small encounter – and a few more – between Paula and me compared with ‘borrowing’ among Namibians made me realize that my understanding of (financial) support is very different from practices here. I had a lot to observe and learn to understand the different mindset around support. The very fact that I was concerned about ‘getting money back’, the need for a concrete agreement about ‘when it would be returned’ and maybe Paula’s response of including an eyewitness to alleviate my uneasiness, made me realize that people will engage with me differently and potentially also talk to me differently about support. Furthermore, owing to my educational, national, and economic background it was easier to access some socioeconomic

classes but not others. The hiring of research assistants thus helped me to not just overcome language barriers but also barriers to socioeconomic classes, as well as contextual understandings.

4.7 GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA

I now give a brief description of the primary data collected between November 2017 and July 2018. Overall, this study includes 205 adult Namibians primarily residing in Windhoek. In the sections below, I pay attention to disaggregating data by sampling criteria, socioeconomic criteria and lastly network measures. This will provide a general understanding of the data before moving on to empirical explorations and discussions.

4.7.1 *By sampling criteria*

The following section disaggregates data by sampling criteria and thus age, gender, and ethnic identity. I draw a focus on sample composition and balance to discuss potential limitations. It is important to note that sampling criteria are mainly applied as control variables in subsequent empirical investigations. They constitute essential contextual variables.

4.7.1.1 An individual's age²¹

The sample contains respondents with an average age of 44 years. The youngest respondent is 18 years old and the oldest is 84 years old (see Table 4-4). Different ages capture individuals at different stages in their life: from young college students or recent graduates, to retired elderly persons. Building on previous insights of cross-generational practices of support and different positions within constructs of private redistribution (Alger and Weibull, 2007; Cox and Raines, 1985; Laslett, 1988), a variety in age can provide insights into age-related practices; for example, whether specific transfers are generally passed from younger to older members or vice versa. Even though age is not a primary focus in this study, it is an important contextual attribute.

Table 4-4 Respondents by age groups

| Age | Obs. | Mean | Std. Dev. | Min | Max |
|-----|------|-------|-----------|-----|-----|
| | 205 | 43.96 | 15.42 | 18 | 84 |

Source: author's own calculation, primary data collected 2017/18

4.7.1.2 An individual's gender

The study included both female and male adult Namibians (see Table 4-5). The final sample includes 95 female respondents (46.4%) and 110 male respondents (53.6%). The slight imbalance is owing to the recruitment of study participants whereby research assistants seemed to be able to

²¹ Generally, age, gender and ethnic identity are referred to as 'identity' as they represent self-acclaimed identities by respondents, mostly captured in open questions or if closed, including an open category 'other' and 'define'.

recruit a higher share of male respondents and sometimes showed difficulties in matching age and gender criteria when selecting participants. Across ethnic identity sub-samples, gender balances range from 41.7% female respondents for the Herero group to 55.6% for the Nama/Damara group. Hence, for some ethnic identity groups there might be a higher representation of behavioural patterns of men than women. Accordingly – concerning structural analysis – I include gender as a control variable to account for this.

Table 4-5 Respondents by gender

| Gender | Female | Male |
|--------|------------|-------------|
| | 95 (46.4%) | 110 (53.6%) |

Source: author's own calculation, primary data collected 2017/18

4.7.1.3 An individual's ethnic identity

Lastly defining sub-samples and comparative social groups is ethnic identity. Ethnic identity proved to be a useful tool in generating sub-samples across multiple language groups. As previously mentioned, it is not as clear-cut as expected and led to a blend of the initially proposed categories, particularly Afrikaans, German and English-speaking white individuals (see section 4.4.2.2). As shown in Table 4-6, the sample contains a balanced number of participants within each group with a maximum deviation of three.

Table 4-6 Respondents by ethnic identity

| Ethnic identity | Afrikaans German English | Caprivian | Damara Nama | Herero | Ovambo |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|------------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | 40 (19.5%) | 39 (19.0%) | 42 (20.5%) | 42 (20.5%) | 42 (20.5%) |

Source: author's own calculation, primary data collected 2017/18

In quantitative analyses, particularly in chapter 6, titled *Vertical relationships and group disparities in personal networks of private redistribution*, ethnic identity groups are aggregated as non-white and white. This aggregation does not represent a homogenization of ethnic identity groups in terms of their cultural practices and social dynamics. What gives meaning to this dualistic lens is the focus on historically grown inequalities. Whether historical systems discriminated against some ethnic identities and not others can present a binary answer: yes, systematic discrimination applied to non-white ethnic identities and no, this systematic discrimination did not apply to white ethnic identities. I thus account for ethnic identities owing to their former instrumentalization in generating differentiated access, rights, and opportunities. Such has created unequal socioeconomic positions for individuals, which followed a systemic, politically crafted rather than an opportunistic or individually driven process.

It is this rationale that informs the methodological distinction into non-white and white ethnic identities. This distinction does not represent social identities in themselves: no respondent in the study self-reported non-whiteness or whiteness. In that it remains a methodological distinction, which captures historical lines of horizontal inequalities. This is in part also the reason why I refer to both groupings as white and non-white versus white and black. While ascribing a label to the privileged, I chose to exhibit more caution in assigning a label to the formerly oppressed. Non-white is a term that emphasizes the aspect of ‘not belonging to’ rather than assigning individuals to an ‘opposing’ category. Considering apartheid, such phrasing seems to capture lines of discrimination without re-ascribing Blackness when individuals have not claimed it themselves.

However, results are not interpreted in a way which claims that behavioural patterns apply to all non-white ethnic identity groups equally; rather, they apply more to formerly discriminated (non-white) than to non-discriminated (white) ethnic identity groups.

4.7.2 *By socioeconomic criteria*

I now turn to socioeconomic criteria, namely education level and professions followed by monthly income ranges and neighbourhood of residence as additional information. I will elaborate on the underlying rationale and context applicability, as socioeconomic criteria form important lines of comparisons and distinctions in subsequent empirical analyses.

4.7.2.1 *An individual’s education level*

It has been generally recognized that education can be indicative of an individual’s socioeconomic standing, in that it can reflect and influence potential earnings and future opportunities for different types of professions (Machin, 2011). With the data collection process primarily being conducted in Windhoek and surrounding areas, it comprises a significant share of tertiary degree holders (43.9%) (see Table 4-7). Generally, socioeconomic statuses are higher in urban than rural areas in Namibia (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2017). This might be one explanation as to why the study’s sample shows a higher share of tertiary degree holders. Another aspect could be – as previously mentioned – that technical degrees were considered as tertiary degrees in the Namibian context, leading to greater assignment of individuals to the category of tertiary degree holders. While I will account for such in the interpretation of the results, it also provides an opportunity to assess private redistribution among ‘middle to higher’ socioeconomic status individuals. As stated previously, such remains particularly underexplored in the Global South, where similar studies often focus on the lowest socioeconomic strata.

Table 4-7 Respondents by education level

| Education level | None | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
| completed | 17 (8.3%) | 33 (16.1%) | 65 (31.7%) | 90 (43.9%) |

Source: author’s own calculation, primary data collected 2017/18

4.7.2.2 An individual's professions coded by ISCO-08

Professions were recorded using an open question format. Therefore, I applied the ISCO-08 framework proposed by the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2008). To match respondents' job descriptions with the respective categories, I also cross-checked stated professions with recorded education levels as a control criterion of classification. This step was taken to not assign, for example 'manager of a copy-shop' with primary education and 'manager of international corporation' with tertiary education to the same professional level. As reflected in education levels, the sample shows a considerable share of respondents classifying as managers and professionals (20.3%), followed by technicians, associates and clerical support staff (11.7%), which are generally professions that can be associated with tertiary degrees (see Table 4-8). Furthermore, a combined share of 21.5% of respondents are currently not in the labour force by either being retired or in education. Another category that was important to add given Namibia's context is 'informal and unpaid labour', which includes professions in non-registered businesses²², domestic work or performing household duties. Lastly, 8.8% of our respondents are currently unemployed, which is a small proportion given Namibia's overall unemployment rate of 33.4% (TradingEconomics, 2018).

Table 4-8 Respondents by professional levels (ISCO-08)

| Professional levels aligned with ISCO-08 | Total |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Managers and Professionals | 60 (29.3%) |
| Technicians, Associates and Clerical Support | 24 (11.7%) |
| Services, Sales, Craft and Related Trade | 15 (7.3%) |
| Skilled Agriculture, Plant and Machine Operators | 17 (8.3%) |
| Elementary Professions | 18 (8.8%) |
| Informal and Unpaid Labour | 9 (4.4%) |
| In Education | 17 (8.3%) |
| Retired/ Pensioner | 27 (13.2%) |
| Unemployed | 18 (8.8%) |

Source: author's own calculation, primary data collected 2017/18

Overall, the sample of this study can be seen as generally capturing socioeconomic strata of urban Namibians; holding higher shares of individuals who could be classified as being of middle- or higher socioeconomic status. However, Namibia's socioeconomic context is complex and not one

²² These include for example street sellers, copy-shops, Shebeens (local bars), repair shops, domestic workers, or gardeners.

attribute alone can be used as a sole indicator of socioeconomic status. To dive deeper into the general socioeconomic composition of the sample, I also provide insights on respondents' monthly income ranges as well as the type of neighbourhood in which they reside.

4.7.2.3 An individual's monthly income ranges

Regardless of the higher share of tertiary degree holders and higher professional levels represented in the sample, income ranges are fairly balanced across respondents who do not earn less than 1.000 Namibian Dollar (NAD) a month to respondents who earn about 20 times as much (see Table 4-9). However, income is often prone to inaccuracies in survey research, often being over- or underreported. In sum, these variations across indicators in the sample once more demonstrate that the combination of multiple criteria forms a more adequate assessment of socioeconomic status within the context of this study. In the subsequent analysis, I thus combine professions and education levels as well as education levels and income ranges in the given data availability for respondents and their contacts, as well as secondary data sources.

Table 4-9 Monthly income ranges of respondents

| Income level | None or | > 1.000 | > 3.000 | > 6.000 | > 10.000 | > 20.000 |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | < 1.000 | <= 3.000 | <= 6.000 | <= 10.000 | <= 20.000 | |
| | 37 (18.1%) | 37 (18.1%) | 32 (15.6%) | 21 (10.2%) | 39 (19.0%) | 39 (19.0%) |

Source: author's own calculation, primary data collected 2017/18, amounts expressed in Namibian Dollar

4.7.2.4 Neighbourhoods

In addition, I briefly discuss neighbourhoods included in the sample. Neighbourhoods were classified along degrees of formalization using neighbourhood profiles provided by geographical data in the work of Weber and Mendelsohn (2017). Generally, neighbourhoods – particularly given Namibia's former apartheid structure which reflected spatial divides – can be associated with varying livelihoods and socioeconomic profiles in Windhoek (WHK). The sample includes 31.2% of respondents residing in informal neighbourhoods of Windhoek, 32.2% of respondents residing in formal neighbourhoods of Windhoek, and 20.5% of respondents residing in blended neighbourhoods of Windhoek (see Table 4-10). It also includes 5.4% of individuals who reside in villages, 9.2% who reside in towns and 1.5% living on farms surrounding the Windhoek area. The subsequent analyses thus primarily refer to dynamics in urban areas of Namibia.

Table 4-10 Respondents by neighbourhood

| Residence | Formal WHK | Informal WHK | Informal/Formal blended WHK | Surrounding WHK |
|-----------|------------|--------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| | 32.2% | 31.2% | 20.5% | 10.8% |

Source: author's own calculation, primary data collected 2017/18

4.7.3 By network measures

Lastly, I discuss certain network measures reflected in the sample of the studies. Network measures generally reflect the properties of personal networks such as how many contacts a respondent recorded (degree²³), the balance of support directions (in and out degree) as well as the degree distribution across the four thematic areas of support, being co-habitation, unpaid labour and care, financial transfers, in-kind transfers and opportunity sharing. I refer to a respondent as 'ego' and their contacts as 'alter' which represent common terminology in the field of personal network research.

4.7.3.1 Degree

On average, egos reported 27.9 support activities across all four thematic areas of support (see Table 4-11). This is not equal to the number of unique alters that egos mentioned. Alters could be mentioned multiple times for being involved in different types of support activities. Thus, only accounting for each alter mentioned once, egos reported an average of 12.2 of unique individuals in their personal support networks.

This demonstrates the depth of information the applied survey instrument provides as well as the ability of the resource generator to sample contacts across a variety of social domains, i.e. friends, colleagues or family. Typically, research suggests that personal networks include an average of three close confidants and about twenty people with whom individuals interact on at least a weekly basis (Bidart and Charbonneau, 2011). With 12.2 individuals mentioned, this sample indicates that it does not just cover the closest or most inner circle of one's support network but potentially also includes contacts acquired on different social platforms, with varying degrees of interactions and closeness. However, the amount of support activities as well as the number of individuals mentioned varies across egos with some personal networks being as small as only seven activities or three contacts mentioned to as many as 105 activities or 47 contacts recorded. This might in part be due to the design of the survey document: as stated, individuals could

²³ Degree generally refers to a connection (as relationship or interaction) between individuals. In the terminology of network studies, individuals are referred to as nodes and the connections between them as edges. Both nodes and edges carry attributes. For example, a node attribute can be a person's age whereas an edge attribute can be the direction or frequency of an interaction. Degree then denotes how many edges, overall or by attribute, are typically associated with a given node. Degree thus generally depicts how many (one type of) connections an individual has (or a group of individuals have) on average.

mention multiple contacts associated with the same activity, e.g. say providing financial assistance to each of their six grandchildren.

It further demonstrates that despite being presented with the same set of support activities, individuals do not engage in them to the same extent or with a similar range of individuals. Given the purpose of this study in finding a saturation sample reflecting different behavioural patterns of support, exploring these variations represents an important element of this research.

Table 4-11 Degree – support activities and contacts mentioned

| Degree | Ego level |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Support relationships | Mean (sd) |
| Including multiple mentioning of alters (total connections) | 27.9 (16.1) |
| Net of multiple mentioning of alters (total of contacts) | 12.2 (6.9) |

Source: author's own calculation, primary data collected 2017/18

4.7.3.2 In and out degree

When recording support activities, research assistants and I also paid attention to whether the particular activity was provided, received or non-directed by the respondent. This is especially important when discussing social support through a lens of redistribution – who provides and receives which type of support is a crucial element when looking at how resources of different types are being ‘re-shuffled’ among individuals. In network studies, when connections (or nodes) between individuals are directed, one can distinguish between in- and out-degrees. Within the context of this study, an in-degree represents the number of received, an out-degree the number of provided, and a non-directed degree the number of mutual support activities. In total, the sample contains 5731 support activities across all 205 study participants. At first glance, it looks like egos were generally reporting a higher average of provided support, representing about 54.0% of the total recorded activities, whereby only 27.9% and 18.1% are received or mutual support activities (see Table 4-12). While I asked about provided, received or mutual support, respondents could have had the incentive to report more provided support to appear more generous and thus capture a notion of self-representation rather than the actual composition of their support network (see discussion in section 4.4.3).

However, I found that if one considers only adult to adult support, thus between egos²⁴ and an alter who are at least 21 years of age²⁵, in and out degrees are in fact almost balanced. When comparing directed support only, 54.0% of the activities are provided and 46.0% are received activities. Accordingly, the generally higher share of provided support can be attributed to care obligations and support given to minors. To account for such, I use age as a specification to draw on sub-samples of the overall data set, for example when testing socioeconomic distance in support relationships (see chapter 6).

Table 4-12 In and out degree – directions of support

| Direction of support | Total activities observed | Mean | Std. Dev. | Min observed per person | Max observed per person |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|-------|-----------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Out degree: Provided support | 3093 | 15.08 | 12.9 | 0 | 85 |
| In degree: Received support | 1603 | 7.81 | 6.8 | 0 | 37 |
| Non-directed: Mutual support | 1035 | 5.04 | 6.3 | 0 | 40 |
| Total | 5731 | 27.91 | 16.1 | 7 | 105 |

Source: author's own calculation, primary data collected 2017/18

4.7.3.3 Degree across thematic areas of support

Lastly, I discuss the average amount of reported activities across the four thematic areas of support, which were defined using an economic welfare-based framework. The amount of specific support activities listed in each thematic area was balanced, varying between four and six specific activities. An equal balance is reflected in the resulting data: shares range from 25.4% opportunity sharing to 22.8% in-kind support (Table 4-13). Let us assume, one would have observed considerably more financial support than in-kind support. Knowing that the number of specific activities does not differ much, one could infer that activity levels are generally higher for financial than in-kind support. However, the sample of this study does not show this kind of deviation across the thematic dimensions of support. This generally indicates that all four dimensions were relevant to respondents as none show considerably lower or no activity levels. This allows for aggregation across thematic dimensions of support to speak about support patterns more generically, whereby general patterns are not skewed towards one particular area of support.

²⁴ In the sampling process, a legal age of 18 was used to ensure the participation of only adults, in line with the ethical guidelines of UK higher education institutions. The legal age of egos and alters is thus not entirely consistent. However, as only one ego aged 18 and thus below the legal age of 21 was included in the study, I did not drop observations owing to this incompatibility.

²⁵ 21 is considered the age of majority according to the 1972 state law act called the Age of Majority Act (see <https://www.lac.org.na/news/pressreleases/pressr-ageofmajority.html>)

Table 4-13 Degree across thematic areas of support - dimensions of economic welfare

| Type of support | Total activities (%) | Mean | Std. Dev. | Min | Max |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-------|-----------|-----|-----|
| Co-hab., unpaid labour, and care | 1445 (.23) | 7.04 | 4.8 | 1 | 33 |
| Financial support | 1527 (.27) | 7.44 | 5.0 | 1 | 31 |
| In-kind support | 1306 (.23) | 6.37 | 4.5 | 0 | 28 |
| Opportunity sharing | 1435 (.25) | 7.08 | 5.3 | 0 | 30 |
| Total | 5731 | 20.08 | 13.1 | 7 | 105 |

Source: author's own calculation, primary data collected 2017/18

In sum, the primary data collected provides in-depth information and patterns for exploration. It also poses certain limitations, as discussed in each section above. Generally, these relate to external validity, sample composition and potential disaggregation, as well as aggregation across directions and types of support and across respondents. Such aspects will be acknowledged and reflected on in the interpretations of findings of the empirical investigations.

4.7.4 National survey data as additional data source

Lastly, the third empirical chapter (chapter 6) further employs the Namibian Household Income and Expenditure Survey (NHIES) conducted in 2015/16. While the network data, the contents of which shall be detailed in the following section, provides socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of individuals, the sample is generally not large enough to obtain a representative income distribution of the area studied. Yet, for measures of income inequality relevant in the third empirical chapter, income distribution is pertinent. I thus use cross-sectional survey data, which allows me to use a representative income distribution net of private redistribution to simulate the wider implications of behavioural patterns stemming from network data. In this way, I provide a first methodological step to understanding the wider implication of network patterns on income distributions and income inequality.

5 UNVEILING PERSONAL SYSTEMS OF MEANING WITHIN PRIVATE REDISTRIBUTION

This chapter presents the first empirical investigation of this study. It is based on an explorative approach whereby the Black Tax narrative sets a scope in assessing structures and meanings of private redistribution. It generally starts from a premise of meaning-making and contextuality within the realms of personal networks – that is, how persons make individual and collective sense of social support. As stated in section 4.2, networks consist of structures as well as social processes and dynamics that give rise to the former (Sarason and Sarason, 2009). I explore the structures of networks along specific criteria to understand emergent patterns but also engage with personal statements that provide information about motives and intentions to offer support. Specifically, I look at age and socioeconomic criteria as well as the type and temporality of support relationships and how such differ across ethnic identity groups. This is to explore whether differences can be detected across former lines of discrimination across white and non-white ethnic identities. I discuss such group differences more deeply by employing the personal statements of respondents. I document that while some patterns seem to hold uniformly, there are a few significant differences for non-white ethnic identities. These include differences in patterns concerning the temporality of support, the role of generations as well as socioeconomic differentiation and assimilation among individuals. Personal statements enhance insights into such variations.

The chapter is structured as follows. Section 5.1 provides an introduction, including a brief review of relevant literature and the research question. Section 5.2 discusses the analytical framework employed in the subsequent analysis. Section 5.3 details the scope and analytical strategy of this chapter, specifically describing the mixed method approach using network measures and personal statements and describes the relevant data. Section 5.4 discusses the results and section 5.5 concludes the chapter.

5.1 INTRODUCTION AND RELEVANCE

It was found that private redistribution, often framed as informal social protection, is a fundamental component of the ‘welfare package’ in the Global South (Bevan, 2004; Oduro, 2010; Wood, 2004; Wood and Gough, 2006). While a vast amount of literature has explored its dynamics in modern societies, ideas around private redistribution within frameworks of kin, family or friendships remain primarily understood within rationales of economic decision theory (see (Alger and Weibull, 2007; Fehr and Schmidt, 2005; Laferrere and Wolff, 2006). They thus might prescribe rationales to practices meriting different motives and intentions. In addition, literature on the Global North or South often does not systematically compare practices, motives, and intentions across social identity groups within the same context. However, group membership

was found to have an influence within and across group behaviour (Hogg, 2016; Parkin, 1974; Simmel, 1955).

The Black Tax narrative further suggests that practices of private redistribution exhibit different dynamics that respond to between-group economic inequality stemming from former apartheid structures. Private redistribution might be based on different motivations and intentions for non-white individuals as compared to white individuals. I begin with a general exploration of personal networks of support of non-white and white individuals, asking:

How do structures, motives and intentions differ within personal networks of private redistribution across ethnic identities?

This chapter thus links to the motivational aspect of private redistribution as detailed in section 2.4.1. It addresses the overarching research question on ways in which socioeconomic inequalities are entangled with practices of private redistribution, by examining how motivations differ across ethnic identity groups. This comparison thus particularly acknowledges the nature of socioeconomic inequality in the Namibian context where ethnic identities have been instrumentalized to shape, and for non-white Namibians formerly restrict, socioeconomic attainments across the white and non-white distinction. Thereby, this chapter represents an explorative approach which investigates an assumption that there are notable differences in patterns and meanings of support practices across white and non-white Namibians. It does so by employing network measures (patterns) and qualitative statements (meaning), further disaggregating them by ethnic identity groups which I shall detail in section 5.3.

Emergent structural differences in network composition are further explored through personal statements of respondents around their motives and intentions to provide support. I provide an in-depth account of the structures and processes of private redistribution, further accounting for the translation of such practices into individuals' daily lives, contexts and social relationships. By comparing network measures and personal meaning across ethnic identity groups, I provide first indications of how horizontal inequalities might be reflected in meanings and practices of private redistribution and highlight first implications for vertical inequality. In the following section, I will detail how the Black Tax narrative sets the focus of exploring personal networks, followed by the analytical strategy employed as well as relevant data informing this analysis.

5.2 THE BLACK TAX NARRATIVE THROUGH NETWORK COMPOSITIONS AND SUPPORT MOTIVES AND INTENTIONS

Black Tax is a colloquial term within collective narratives resonating in individual conversations, social media as well as public outlets such as newspapers in Namibia and South Africa. The phrasing itself might not be coined by the particular space within which it prevails, but it presents

a context-specific connotation rooted in everyday experiences and lived realities of individuals. It broadly addresses a notion of increasingly taking care of others if one appears to be in a ‘relatively better’ position to do so (Mushaandja, 2015). It carries a somewhat contested perspective among individuals. The Black Tax’s narrative seems to differ from the general narrative of (African) family support in that it is to some extent associated with a sense of ‘burden’, ‘have to endure’, ‘social pressure’ and ‘internal conflict’ (Mangoma and Wilson-Prangle, 2019; Mushaandja, 2015; Ndinga-Kanga, 2019).

While I do not embark on a discourse analysis of Black Tax per se, I use its narrative to understand a broad idea that exists within the everyday lives of individuals. First, I aim to provide a more nuanced account of intentions and motivations in practices and networks of private redistribution. However, given the multiplicity of individuals’ identities (Turner, 1987) and complexity of their daily realities, the Black Tax narrative provides a grounded framework to narrow the focus. Thereby, I interpret Black Tax as a social script that speaks to collective realities and practices of individuals within particular social groups. I focus on the following in defining an interpretive entry point.

First is the role of an individuals’ age. Writings on Black Tax repeatedly refer to ‘young professionals’ being primarily affected – yet at the same time, younger and older generations generally seem to play different parts in support systems within Namibia’s context, grandparents in particular (Kalomo et al., 2018; Ruiz-Casares, 2010). Therefore, I pay attention to the age compositions of respondents and their contacts within personal networks to see which patterns emerge and whether they differ across ethnic identity groups.

Second is the role of socioeconomic positions. Recent research frames Black Tax as a practice of ‘the black middle-class’ in South Africa (Mangoma and Wilson-Prangle, 2019). Further, there is even the pejoratively used term of ‘black diamonds’ referring to the emergent black middle-class in South Africa (Magubane, 2017; Ndinga-Kanga, 2019). While no empirical studies exist on Black Tax in the Namibian context, its public discourse features the same narrative²⁶. For instance, it addresses elements of ‘having a job’ or ‘having a tertiary degree’, which can be seen as markers of higher socioeconomic positions (Mushaandja, 2015). I therefore look at network compositions across educational outcomes, depicting the level of education completed and an individual’s labour status, distinguishing whether an individual has an income source through labour, is currently not in the labour force, or is currently unemployed.

Third is the aspect of similarity. Similarity generally speaks to processes of assimilation and differentiation – within terminology of network studies often referred to as homophily or in other

²⁶ For a more detailed discussion see chapter 3 section 3.1, section 3.5

words: ‘birds of the same feather flock together’ (Currarini et al., 2016; McPherson et al., 2001). One aspect giving importance to similarity between respondents and their mentioned contacts is the fact that most support activities remain within the same ethnic identity as one’s own (about 81% on average)²⁷. This suggests that parallel systems of support are in place that do not interact much across ethnic identities, which gives further reason to explore dynamics within groups first before comparing them across groups. Therefore, I also assess whether such similarities exist across previously discussed aspects such as age but also socioeconomic position in general, as well as within ethnic identity groups – further speaking to notions of socioeconomically shifting identities mobilizing Black Tax.

Lastly, I pay attention to the temporality of support activities. Temporality depicts the timeframes individuals use when interpreting personal life events, further enabling us to understand how they place such events within their life course (Zhang and Howell, 2011). For example, Grant et al. argue that temporality remains a neglected perspective on caregiving, thereby disregarding “evolving experiences...over the life course” (2003: 342). While often being understood as past, present and future, I assess temporality as ongoing versus past and thus discontinued support, as well as whether it is regular, occasional or a single or rare event. My approach is therefore more aligned with notions of “immediacy and chronicity” (Tucker and Lavis, 2019: 135). It thereby speaks partially to the age dimension of Black Tax but can also depict varying levels of commitments – capturing the notion of burden or endured access – to support. Since I draw on reported behaviour, temporality represents a fixed observation relative at the time of the interview and not an evolving perspective across multiple observations in time. I continue by detailing the scope of this study and the analytical strategy employed.

5.3 SCOPE AND ANALYTICAL STRATEGY

In the subsequent analysis, I adopt a bi-directional perspective as proposed by Sarason and Sarason (2009). The authors view “... social support from a bidirectional perspective that integrates what people bring to situations with what situations do to them. Personal relationships grow in a mixture of the objective (what happens) and the subjective (what each person is thinking about, able to do, and looking for)” (Sarason and Sarason, 2009: 115). More precisely, I combine network measures with personal statements. In other words, I pair more structural, objective measures of individuals’ situations with the subjective experiences of such. This approach thus allows me to compare patterns and meaning across ethnic identity, associated with different socioeconomic standing. In the following, I will describe measures of structures as well as the exploration of personal statements in more detail.

²⁷ This is based on the question: “Do you consider (name) being from the same ethnic identity group with which you identify?” The percentage applies to the sample of this study.

5.3.1 *Network measures*

Network measures typically function to describe the composition of networks along various criteria. Measures that can be applied to ego-centric or personal networks – as in this study – are somewhat limited. Personal networks do not provide information about the larger structure of social networks per se but rather localized zooms into larger structures or – in case they only contain first level edges as in this study – they only represent the immediate environment of the individual. In network terminology an edge represents a relation. It thus connects two nodes, whereby nodes present the entities connected by an edge (Newman, 2010). Within the context of this study an edge thus captures a reported support activity, and a node presents an individual, being a provider or receiver linked through that activity.

I apply the following network measures to sketch and provide a general overview of personal networks of support in line with the focus detailed in 5.2. I focus on edge dispersion and ego-alter similarity. Here, ego refers to the person who reported their personal networks whereas alters are contacts the ego mentioned as being part of their network.

Edge dispersion refers to the distribution or variation of relations across egos, or ego, edge or alter attributes (Crossley et al., 2015). In this study, they capture how many edges – on average – an ego reported given specific criteria, as I shall explain in the following. For example, edge dispersion can indicate how many edges an ego has depending on whether the ego is a young adult or elderly person. It can also be disaggregated by edge attributes, for example how many regular versus occasional versus single event support activities an ego reported on average. I primarily focus on ego attributes including the ego's age and socioeconomic indicators as well as selected edge attributes being support temporality and the type of support activity.

Ego-alter similarity is then a summary measure of edge dispersion. It captures the degree of similarity between the ego and their mentioned alters across various criteria. For instance, similarity can capture whether most of an ego's alters are in the same age group as the ego. Considering this, it is interesting to see certain social markers of assimilation or indicate whether – on average – a person is more likely to engage with some individuals but not others. My data showed that, when explicitly asked about similarity, ethnic identity turned out to be such a marker – suggesting that there are parallel systems of private redistribution. Through exploring similarity, I explore whether there are other markers within these systems and how they differ, applying the criteria outlined in section 5.2. A prominent measure for such is the External-Internal Index (EI) developed by Krackhardt and Stern (1988). It takes the number of edges external to a certain group (say support activities to alters who are not of the same age group as the ego) minus the number of edges that are internal to that group (say support activities to alters who are of the same age group as the ego) and divides that balance by the total number of edges (and thus all observed

support activities of that ego). The EI index can range from -1 to 1, whereby -1 indicates that all edges are internal (e.g. same age group), 0 indicates that there are as many external as internal edges (equal amount of the same and different age groups) and 1 indicates that all edges are external (e.g. different age group). Typically, the index ranges in between and is displayed as a fraction, i.e. 0.7 would indicate a balance displaying more external edges.

5.3.2 *Thematic analysis using personal statements*

The purpose of this analysis is to explore the fullness of meaning – and thus the variety of what seemingly ‘the same’ support activities mean for different people. Naturally, there are some patterns that can emerge on different layers. I intend to use them as themes within which there is still room for a discussion of variety. I therefore follow an approach similar to the six steps of thematic analysis suggested by Braun and Clarke (2012). Generally, thematic analysis “is a method for identifying, analysing, and interpreting patterns of meaning (‘themes’) within qualitative data” (Clarke and Braun, 2017: 297). It thereby provides a flexible approach with regard to meaning generation as it “...can be used to identify patterns within and across data in relation to participants’ ... views and perspectives, and behaviour and practices; [it is] experiential ... to understand what participants think, feel and do” (Clarke and Braun, 2017: 297). Within the context of this study, it provides a useful tool to explore the variety as well as meanings of support activities across individuals and within broader social groups by race. In the following, I follow the steps proposed by Clarke and Braun (2017).

Based on an inductive approach, I begin with a familiarization of the data. To recall, personal statements are mainly linked to support activities that were provided by respondents. Questions about ‘why one supports’ somehow naturally capture the perspective of the provider. I specifically use the structural findings on network compositions to guide my focus as well as sub-selections of personal statements considered in respective explorations. For example, if a network pattern indicated a particular difference across social groups (by race) with regard to a certain support activity attribute, say its regularity, I would select all support activities and associated statements which carry the attribute ‘regular support’. Thereby the regularity of support is derived from quantitative information capturing the frequency of support.

Second, I would identify emergent themes, for example do statements reflect the content and function of support, do they mention the underpinning social relationship, a notion of obligation or dependency within such relationships, or similar? Thereby, I would look for certain phrasings and repeated words and meanings within personal statements.

Third, I generated themes based on pairings of initially identified emergent themes. For instance, to see whether mentioned underpinning relationships also entailed mentioning the function of

support. Doing so allowed me to combine different meanings of respondents reflected within statements rather than focusing on just one element within such.

Fourth, I reviewed evolving themes. I paid attention to whether they were largely distinguishable without too much overlapping or which type of overlapping they would display. For example, which other combinations were to be found when mentioning underpinning social relationships and if these alternatives are different from the pre-identified ones. Apart from consistency, I also paid attention to how they match the structural findings found in the exploration of network compositions to be able to link structure and meaning during the interpretation stage.

Fifth, I defined and named themes within the focus areas. I used labels and descriptions of the emergent as well as generated themes to demonstrate how final meanings and general patterns therein build on multiple elements. Defined themes are based on initial wordings of respondents and can be seen as a heading for such, capturing variety within them rather than a defined scale or classification. Lastly, I write about themes by incorporating different stages of coding and themes to add transparency and illustrate variety within them. I also include overviews of steps and examples taken in the process in the Appendix III.

I draw on personal statements of individuals associated with provided support activities. I only asked about the motives and intentions when they provided support owing to a general perception that the provision of support is more an action requiring a decision than receiving support from someone else. Asking respondents about someone's motives and intentions from whom they received support might mix a process of self-reflection with reflections about other's behaviour and thus cause inconsistencies in exploring one's own motives. The interview included questions on 'what was the cause to provide ... activity' as well as 'what was your motivation to provide ... activity'. The first one can be understood as someone's intentions, capturing the purpose of a given support activity. The second one can then be understood as one's motives being the reasons for engaging in a certain activity. Both provide different angles on why a support activity took place – from a more pragmatic sense (intentions) as well as a potential emotional place (motives). Using those personal statements and their chosen phrasing can represent a nexus of meaning, context, and action and thereby a more complete picture about different dynamics and practices meriting different labels for different individuals within the realm of private redistribution.

5.3.3 *Relevant data*

In this study, I draw on the information presented in the collected 205 personal networks. Across those personal networks, individuals recorded a total of 5,732 support activities. To recall, apart from collecting content about the characteristics of the mentioned alter and ego, such as their age, education or similar, I also asked about particulars of the support activity. This was to test and confirm whether the activity did take or is taking place in a person's life.

Furthermore, I asked about how often the activity takes or took place, but also about the motives and intentions associated with the activity. Some of the listed activities were more specific and thus resulted in a narrower range of related motives and intentions. For instance, sharing accommodation with someone was linked to a more specific range of intentions, e.g. moving for a job or more broadly, affordability of housing in a given area. Providing someone with an amount of money showed a greater range of motives, i.e. it has been used for education, leisure, starting a business, buying a car, or contributing to someone's funeral. A greater span of intentions might also make a support activity more likely to be recorded owing to various applications in an individual's life. The nature or value of support might further impact on the frequency of mentioning a given support activity. For instance, transfers of land typically happened as an activity associated with one particular alter whereas caring for an elderly person or caring for someone else's children could involve multiple different people and thus generate multiple support ties.

The following table (Table 5-1) provides an overview of variables of interest in this chapter. Each column displays the percentage of either egos or alters observed for a particular category, say the percentage of egos who hold a secondary degree or equally so the percentage of alters who hold a secondary degree. Such information is then disaggregated across the ethnic identity groupings as discussed in section 4.7.1.3. I summarize the main patterns that can be initially observed across age, education, and labour status. An individual's age in completed years is aggregated into age groups, which were also employed during the sampling process; hence age compositions do not differ significantly across non-white and white egos. While the sample only included egos above the age of 18, egos were able to report alters below that age threshold. Hence, for alters there is an additional category which employs Namibia's legal age of 21 years to distinguish minors from young adults. To recall, egos were on average 44 years of age with the youngest being 18 and the oldest being 84 years old (see chapter 4, Table 4-4). From the perspective of the ego, one can see that support tends to have a 'downward orientation' in terms of age. Combined, 43.% of support activities involve alters who are minors or young adults. Such is plausible as some support activities might be linked to parental care obligations. This pattern significantly differs when disaggregating alters by whether they are tied to a white or non-white ego. The combined share of support for minors and young adults amounts to 44.7% for alters of non-white egos compared to 35.0% for alters of white egos. A slightly higher share for non-white ethnic identities might reflect larger family sizes or a wider understanding of family and care obligations as well linking back to the fluidity of household boundaries, as has been previously observed in Namibia (Greiner, 2010, 2012).

Education is defined as completed education level and ranges from having no education to tertiary degree holders. Regarding observed alters, shares of education levels might be a function of age:

with alters including minors, a larger share might also hold lower educational levels since they might still be pursuing a degree. Though it is noteworthy that there is a significant difference whereby alters associated with white egos hold a tertiary degree more frequently than non-white egos (51.8% versus 27.5%). However, regarding egos including adults only, education levels might be more conclusive in terms of their socioeconomic standing, particularly across ethnic identity groups. Overall, the sample includes a considerable share of tertiary degree holders (50.4% of all egos). As previously discussed in section 4.7.2., this might be owing to most sampling taking place in Windhoek. What is noteworthy is the significantly different spread of education levels across ethnic identity groups. Among white egos, the sample does not include any individuals who have either completed no or only primary education with most (77.5%) holding a tertiary degree. While this might in part be owing to the sampling location and accessibility of study participants, it might also reflect the absence of former discrimination regarding educational outcomes for white ethnic identities. Among egos, there is a share of 10.3% and 20.0% of non-white egos who completed no and/or primary education only with 35.8% holding a tertiary degree.

Lastly, labour status captures whether an individual has a source of labour income. It employs the categories laid out in the ISCO framework and distinguishes them to broadly compare whether an individual has a source of income via labour, or whether they are currently unemployed in the labour force. This thus presents a broader comparison rather than zooming in on professional levels per se. A more detailed approach is taken in the subsequent chapter (chapter 6). Similar to the education levels observed, a considerable share of egos has an income source via labour (66.5%). Overall, 7.9% of egos are unemployed whereas 25.6% are currently not in the labour force, being retired or in education. The share of reported alters who are unemployed is slightly higher overall, amounting to 15.7%. This could indicate that a share of support activities might respond to needs resulting from the absence of labour income. Again, shares across labour status vary across ethnic identity groups. Again, among white egos, the sample does not include any individuals reporting unemployment. Among non-white egos, 10.9% are unemployed. Further, the share of egos having an income via labour is slightly lower at 64.2% (non-white) versus 85.0% (white). Furthermore, no white ego reported support activities with an unemployed alter whereas this amounts to 9.6% of support activities for non-white egos.

Generally, these comparisons are insightful to get a brief overview of socioeconomic and demographic compositions of the sample. However, percentage shares remain inconclusive about the aspect of who tends to be linked to whom – a primary aspect of network data. For example, is an ego with a tertiary degree more linked – through support activities – to an alter who also holds a tertiary degree? Subsequently, I explore such dynamics through the mentioned network statistics.

Table 5-1 Key variables age, education, and labour status across ethnic identity groups

| Sample characteristics | All | | Non-white and white egos ²⁸ | | | Non-white and white alters | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| | Ego n=205 | Alter n=5732 | NW n=165 | W n=40 | Chi sq. n=205 | NW n=4714 | W n=1018 | Chi sq. n=5732 |
| Age group | | | | | χ^2 (5) | | | |
| Minors | . | 15.4 | . | . | 1.44 | 22.3 | 10.8 | 78.76 |
| Young Adults ²⁹ | 20.3 | 27.6 | 20.9 | 17.9 | p = 0.836 | 22.4 | 24.2 | p < 0.001 |
| Lower Middle-Aged Adults | 20.8 | 18.8 | 20.3 | 23.1 | ϕ = 0.08 | 19.1 | 16.7 | ϕ = 0.12 ^a |
| Upper Middle-Aged Adults | 21.8 | 12.8 | 20.9 | 25.7 | | 12.3 | 13.3 | |
| Older-Aged Adults | 18.3 | 10.4 | 19.6 | 12.8 | | 9.7 | 13.9 | |
| Elderly | 18.8 | 15.4 | 18.3 | 20.5 | | 14.3 | 21.1 | |
| Education completed | | | | | χ^2 (3) | | | |
| None | 6.8 | 19.8 | 10.3 | 0.0 | 26.22 | 21.3 | 13.4 | 244.10 |
| Primary | 12.6 | 21.2 | 20.0 | 0.0 | p < 0.001 | 23.3 | 11.4 | p < 0.001 |
| Secondary | 30.2 | 27.2 | 33.9 | 22.5 | ϕ = 0.35 ^a | 28.1 | 23.5 | ϕ = 0.21 ^a |
| Tertiary | 50.4 | 31.8 | 35.8 | 77.5 | | 27.5 | 51.8 | |
| Labour status ³⁰ | | | | | χ^2 (2) | | | |
| Income from labour | 66.5 | 46.1 | 64.2 | 85.0 | 9.09 | 61.8 | 83.6 | 283.74 |
| Unemployed | 7.9 | 15.7 | 10.9 | 0.0 | p = 0.028 | 9.6 | 0.0 | p < 0.001 |
| Not in labour force | 25.6 | 38.2 | 24.9 | 15.0 | ϕ = 0.21 ^a | 28.6 | 16.4 | ϕ = 0.22 ^a |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18. Notes: Testing differences across ethnic identity groups using Chi square tests of independence, ϕ = effect size (Cramer's V), ^a Constitutes a significant difference with an effect size \geq to Cohen's definition of 'small'.

²⁸ NW = Non-white, W=white

²⁹ Minors are individuals aged below 18 (applies to alters only). Young Adults are individuals aged 18 to 30 years. Lower Middle-Aged Adults are individuals aged 31 to 40 years. Upper Middle-Aged Adults are individuals aged 41 to 50 years. Older Aged Adults are individuals aged 51 to 65 years. Elderly are individuals above 65 years. These age groups were also applied in the sampling process.

³⁰ Labour status is coded along the rationale whether the individual has a source of income via labour. Income from labour includes the following categories (derived from ISCO 2008): managers, professionals, technicians and associates, clerical support workers, services and sales support workers, skilled agricultural workers, craft and related trade workers, plant and machine operators, elementary occupations, armed forces occupations, and informal labour. Unemployed included individuals who stated that they were currently unemployed and typically have no income via labour. Not in the labour force includes individuals below the legal working age, those who are retired or pensioners, those who perform unpaid labour (e.g. household chores), or who are currently in education.

5.4 RESULTS

I begin by sketching the composition of personal networks, paying attention to network size, type of support, temporality of support, as well as ego-alter similarities across age, education level and labour status. Moreover, I pay attention to the main aspects of structural differences across white and non-white ethnic identities. These structural findings provide entry points for a more in-depth exploration when drawing on personal statements in the qualitative analysis that follows.

5.4.1 *Compositions and structure of personal networks*

Across all personal networks, the sample comprises a total of 3,365 unique alters who are mentioned across the mentioned 5,732 support activities. These support activities are spread across the four thematic dimensions of support categories defined in section 4.3. Most ego-alter relations were deep in term of duration, closeness, and importance. Generally, out of mentioned alters in their respective support network, 41.7% were individuals that the egos have known since their birth. They felt very close to more than half of their mentioned alters (56.3%) and, on average, considered 73.1% of their support activities as being very important to them.

Table 5-2 displays measures of network compositions. Most figures except for network density explained in the following refer to the average number of support activities observed. For instance, network size displays the average number of activities (mean degree) observed across all egos. Subsequently, mean degrees are disaggregated by type of support, temporality of support and socioeconomic characteristics of the ego. Mean degrees thus then refer to the average number of support activities observed only looking at financial support activities or only looking at egos who hold a secondary degree, for example. Overall, personal networks were fairly extensive in terms of activities mentioned, covering on average about 28 support activities.

However, networks also show a moderate density, and thus a tendency to be somewhat closed. Density also understood as network closure is a measure of social heterogeneity by calculating the number of unique individuals (nodes) divided over the total number of support activities (edges) of an ego. Accordingly, if an ego mentioned 12 unique alters and 12 support activities, density would amount to one and indicate total social heterogeneity. Lower values thus indicate that an ego engages with fewer alters across multiple support activities. In this study, the network density amounts to 0.62, which indicates that on average 60% of support activities are linked to a unique individual in personal networks whereby 40% then involves re-mentioning previously stated alters. It can be said that different support types seem to draw on a more diverse set of contacts, however, a considerable amount of multiple mentioning of alters occurs.

Table 5-2 Compositions across personal networks

| Composition across personal networks | All Egos (N = 205) | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------|
| Network measures | Mean Degree ³¹ | SD |
| Degree | 27.9 | 13.01 |
| Density | .62 ³² | .19 |
| Effective size | 16.4 | 8.2 |
| Type of support | | |
| Co-hab., unpaid labour, and care | 7.0 | 4.83 |
| Financial | 7.4 | 4.95 |
| In-kind | 6.4 | 4.53 |
| Opportunities | 7.1 | 5.15 |
| Temporality ³³ | | |
| Regular | 14.5 | 10.79 |
| Occasional | 6.5 | 6.28 |
| Single/ rare event | 7.0 | 5.71 |
| Ongoing (ref.cat.: past) | 18.5 | 10.96 |
| Age – Ego | | |
| Young Adults | 27.4 | 12.17 |
| Lower Middle-aged Adults | 27.3 | 14.00 |
| Upper Middle-aged Adults | 27.4 | 12.13 |
| Older Aged Adults | 26.4 | 16.50 |
| Elderly | 32.8 | 24.28 |
| Support edge with minor | 3.8 | .37 |
| Education completed | | |
| None | 27.2 | 18.73 |
| Primary | 22.8 | 11.34 |
| Secondary | 26.4 | 17.39 |
| Tertiary | 31.1 | 15.44 |
| Labour status | | |
| Income source labour | 27.2 | 13.58 |
| Unemployed | 25.0 | 11.70 |
| Not in labour force | 31.2 | 22.62 |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18, author's own calculation

Also illustrated in Table 5-2, the average number of activities mentioned across types of support does not vary considerably; only in-kind support activities tend to be a bit lower on average. Hereby, egos reported 6.4 support activities on average as compared to about 7 for the remaining categories. Further to this, the highest average is observed for regular support activities (14.5 on average) as well as being labelled as ongoing (18.5 on average). Given the average network size of egos, this amounts to an average of 51% regular and 68% ongoing support activities in personal support networks. This might also be explained by the very type of support included in this study. Similarly, the number of observed support activities does not differ much across age groups.

³¹ Note that this covers both, received and provided support. Mean degree displays the average number of support activities observed across personal networks.

³² Expressed as the average of (unique alters/ total activities observed within each personal network)

³³ Regular refers to daily, weekly and up to monthly activities. Occasional are activities that occur every 3 to 4 months, twice a year, annually or bi-annually. Single or rare events are support activities that took place once in a respondent's life.

Networks appear to be slightly larger for elderly egos (32.8) and slightly lower for older aged adults (26.4). Tertiary degree holders tend to have slightly larger networks (31.1) as compared to lower education levels (between 22.8 for primary education and 27.2 for no education completed); the results are similar for egos who are currently not in the labour force (31.2 versus 27.2 income source via labour and 25.0 unemployed).

Table 5-3 displays results regarding Ego-Alter similarities. The figures represent mean percentages of the difference between external minus internal activities over total activities observed (see section 5.3.1. for further explanation). External refers to the alter falling into a different category than the ego, i.e. if the ego is a young adult, an external link would be to an alter who is *not* a young adult. Egos mainly engage in support activities with alters of different age groups rather than their peers, particularly among older cohorts. While young adults tend to interact with peers or younger alters (external links only exceeding internal links by 25%), on average older aged egos show a higher share of support activities being linked to different age groups than their own (with external links exceeding internal links by 81% and 70% respectively). Egos further tend to have support relationships with alters of the same education levels, particularly so for tertiary degree holders (external links exceeding internal ones by only 18%). While unemployed egos interact comparatively more with alters of a different labour status (external links exceeding internal by 40%), egos with labour as an income source tend to interact with alters of the same labour status (external links exceeding internal ones by only 15%).

Table 5-3 Ego-alter similarities in network composition

| Composition across personal networks | All Egos (N = 205) | |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------|-----|
| Similarity – Ego & Alter ³⁴ | Mean % | SD |
| Young Adults _{EI} | .25 | .38 |
| Lower Middle-aged Adults _{EI} | .54 | .29 |
| Upper Middle-aged Adults _{EI} | .73 | .19 |
| Older Aged Adults _{EI} | .81 | .17 |
| Elderly _{EI} | .71 | .22 |
| No Education _{EI} | .12 | .48 |
| Primary Education _{EI} | .31 | .43 |
| Second. Education _{EI} | .31 | .42 |
| Tertiary Education _{EI} | .18 | .42 |
| Income source labour _{EI} | .15 | .40 |
| Unemployed _{EI} | .40 | .36 |
| Not in labour force _{EI} | .32 | .55 |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Mean % represents average EI Index observed for each similarity pair.

³⁴ EI Index calculated as the number of edges external to a certain group (defined by a given attribute) minus the number of edges that are internal to that group and divides that balance by the total number of edges observed.

Thus, while some social identities might constitute a marker of peer to peer support (i.e. education for no education and tertiary education completed) others show a higher link for interacting with different alters (especially if the age of the ego increases). In the following, I will pay attention to significant variations across ethnic identity groups distinguished by whether former discrimination took place (non-white) or not (white).

First, as displayed in Table 5-4, egos of non-white ethnic identities reported significantly higher shares of regular support activities than egos of white ethnic identity, whereby the median of regular support activities is greater (12) for non-white than for white egos (9). This is interesting as it hints at different levels of daily, weekly, or monthly commitments to provide or receive support. Shorter frequencies of activities might be more closely linked to everyday needs such as buying food, household chores, or paying the monthly rent.

Second, as displayed in Table 5-5, non-white elderly individuals depict significantly larger personal networks than white elderly individuals. The median number of connections amount to 27 for non-white as opposed to 18 for white egos. This might be related to the general care obligations that elderly non-white individuals take on within families, e.g. sharing their pension income and taking care of their grandchildren (Du Toit and Neves, 2009; Subbarao, 1999).

Third, and this also encompasses the fourth difference, concerns age similarity between egos and their alters, as shown in Table 5-6. Both non-white young adults and non-white lower-middle aged adults have comparatively fewer links to other age cohorts compared to their white peers (external links only exceeding internal links by 19% versus 53% and 50% versus 63% respectively). More precisely, a white young adult's support activities are mostly with alters from different age cohorts. Although non-white young adults are linked to other age cohorts, in comparison they have more links with peers than white young adults. This might be owing to more inter-generational support among cousins and a wider family network. I further tested if the average number of minors reported in personal networks varies across non-white and white ethnic identities and it emerged that non-white egos report significantly more, namely 4.5 support activities with minors, compared with white egos with only 1.3.

Fifth, as also shown in Table 5-6, educational similarity between an ego and alters with tertiary degrees diverges across ethnic identity groupings. White egos holding a tertiary degree are linked significantly more to others with tertiary degrees whereas the opposite holds true for non-white ethnic identity egos. For white ethnic identity egos, the number of internal links (same degree) even exceeds external links (different degree) to a small extent. With tertiary being the highest level of education and primarily linked to other degrees thus also implies that non-white tertiary degree holders have more ties with lower degree levels compared to white egos.

Table 5-4 Support temporality across ethnic identity groups

| Composition across personal networks | white (N= 40) | | non-white (N= 165) | | Equality of median |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|------|--------------------|-----|------------------------------|
| | Median | IQR | Median | IQR | |
| Temporality | | | | | |
| Regular | 9*** | 7 | 12*** | 8 | χ^2 (1) 8.14, p = 0.004 |
| Occasional | 4.5 | 6.5 | 5 | 7 | χ^2 (1) 0.00, p = 0.945 |
| Single/ rare event | 5.5 | 5.5 | 6 | 6 | χ^2 (1) 0.66, p = 0.415 |
| Ongoing (ref.cat.: past) | 14 | 15.5 | 16 | 11 | χ^2 (1) 1.12, p = 0.289 |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Y (temporality) discrete-count variable on ego-level, reporting median and interquartile range as non-parametric measures. Differences in groups tested using k-sample equality of median test, values equal to the dropped for comparison, Pearson's χ^2 corrected for continuity, significance levels: * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table 5-5 Age composition across ethnic identity groups

| Composition across personal networks | white (n= 40) | | non-white (n= 165) | | Equality of median |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|-----|--------------------|------|------------------------------|
| | Median | IQR | Median | IQR | |
| Age – Ego | | | | | |
| Young Adults | 22 | 15 | 28 | 13 | χ^2 (1) 0.00, p = 1.000 |
| Lower Middle-aged Adults | 18 | 14 | 25 | 12 | χ^2 (1) 0.00, p = 0.930 |
| Upper Middle-aged Adults | 17.5 | 16 | 28 | 11 | χ^2 (1) 0.13, p = 0.717 |
| Older Aged Adults | 25 | 19 | 23 | 16 | χ^2 (1) 0.00, p = 1.000 |
| Elderly | 27** | 36 | 18** | 13.5 | χ^2 (1) 4.23, p = 0.026 |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Y (degree) discrete-count variable on ego-level, reporting median and interquartile range as non-parametric measures. Differences in groups tested using k-sample equality of median test, values equal to the dropped for comparison, Pearson's χ^2 corrected for continuity, significance levels: * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table 5-6 Ego-Alter similarity across ethnic identity groups

| Indicators (same versus different group) | Ego-Alter similarity (dyads) | | | |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------------|------|--------------------|------|
| | white (N= 40) | | non-white (N= 165) | |
| | Mean | SE | Mean | SE |
| Young Adults _{EI} | .53** | .129 | .19** | .064 |
| Lower Middle-aged Adults _{EI} | .69* | .069 | .50* | .054 |
| Upper Middle-aged Adults _{EI} | .73 | .045 | .73 | .036 |
| Older Aged Adults _{EI} | .87 | .042 | .80 | .033 |
| Elderly _{EI} | .65 | .073 | .72 | .043 |
| No Education _{EI} | . | . | .12 | . |
| Primary Education _{EI} | . | . | .31 | . |
| Second. Education _{EI} | .29 | .168 | .31 | .055 |
| Tertiary Education _{EI} | -.03*** | .081 | .29*** | .045 |
| Income source labour _{EI} | -.01*** | .068 | .20*** | .037 |
| Unemployed _{EI} | . | . | .40 | . |
| Not in labour force _{EI} | .57* | .079 | .28* | .056 |

source: primary data collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Differences in groups tested using two-sample t-tests, EI scores (continuous) computed on ego-level per personal network. Significance levels: * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Sixth, Table 5-6 shows that the same pattern holds true with regard to labour status. White egos with an income through labour tend to have more links to individuals of the same status. Non-white egos with an income from labour have significantly more links to others who are not in the labour force or are unemployed, which might in part be explained by a higher share of minors within their personal network. Lastly, egos who are currently not in the labour force have more ties to egos of a different labour status; however, the share of ties to different statuses is significantly higher for white egos not in the labour force, meaning they have more links to alters who have a source of income through labour.

In sum, the personal networks of non-white ethnic identities tend to show a higher share of regular support, a greater downward orientation in terms of support when holding a tertiary degree or having an income through labour, whereas the elderly tend to have slightly larger networks overall and younger adults more peer connections in terms of age, potentially explained by higher shares of minors as part of their network. More incidences of support and downward rather than peer orientation for higher education levels and labour status speaks to the narrative of Black Tax – particularly its association with taking care of worse off members of the extended family. Personal statements around support activities allow me to explore this in more detail in the following section.

5.4.2 Differing motives and intentions: regularity, generations and socioeconomic status

Using the initial findings discussed in section 5.4.1 allows me to set the scope for a more in-depth exploration of differences across ethnic identities, drawing on motives and intentions as reflected in personal statements of egos. I will particularly focus on whether ethnic identities experienced former discrimination or not (white and non-white) and their continued experiences of inequality. More specifically, I explore the latter through differences across white and non-white identities in relation to regular support, intra-and cross-generational dynamics as well as socioeconomic differentiation in terms of education and labour status. As such, these differences can overlap. Regular activities are part of intra-and cross-generational dynamics and socioeconomic differentiation can occur across different regularities and generational dynamics of support. In this way, they represent different entry points to discuss personal motives and intentions.

5.4.2.1 Regular support activities

Regular support was more common in network compositions of non-white than white ethnic identities. ‘Regular’ refers to support happening on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis. Generally, while some activities seemed to be almost non-distinguishable from ‘how one passes their days’, others are more distinct practices playing a particular role in one’s life. Regular practices represent actions that are embedded in an individual’s daily life and reality. They capture – to some extent

– how one spends time, with whom, where and within which social and physical spaces individuals spend a vast share of their daily lives. Particularly for non-white egos, support activities constituted a more substantial share of reported activities than for white egos. Before detailing further, this might indicate that ‘support’ includes short-term gestures, necessities and need for non-white egos. In the following, I describe two themes that emerged when engaging with the meaning reflected in qualitative statements, which I configured as *habits* and *arrangements*. I considered the pairing of relationship types (i.e. mother, friend, grandmother) and places (domestic, work, leisure) with mentioned notions of positive emotions (love, care, respect, etc.), necessity (problem, bills, struggles, etc.) and dependency (have to, choice, need to). The following section describes what defines and distinguishes them based on a pairing of such personal motives and intentions.

i. *Habits*

Habits are generally so embedded in an individual’s life that respondents often struggled to answer why support activities take place and what motivates them to engage in such activities. It appears that there is a deeply embedded understanding related to ‘what one does’ and thus to support practices that have been – to some extent – normalized through a collective, or widely accepted, understanding, common sense practice or general expectations. These habits were particularly found to be associated with marriage, nuclear family bonds and parental care. Often, intentions and motives reflected nothing other than the stated social bond one has with the respected person, such as ‘because she is my wife’, ‘family’, ‘being a parent’ as well as references to shared spaces such as ‘it is my parents’ house’ or simply, “I do not think I need to be motivated to care for my very own daughter” (ego#82_nw_m_58³⁵). They tend to reflect positive feelings and emotions such as love, encouragement, respect and caring. Some acknowledge these feelings as functional for someone else’s wellbeing, for instance “if a kid doesn’t get help and love from a parent, then they become bad” (ego#77_nw_f_51). There is also a sense of companionship, e.g. “to be together and it is just on my own free will” (ego#75_nw_f_69). Thus ‘habits’ do not seem to be associated with necessities in the pragmatic sense. They fulfil certain functions for individuals but depict a lower link to the general necessities and material needs in life.

ii. *Arrangements*

Arrangements on the other hand can be seen as support activities with a more explicit framework between two or more individuals. What distinguishes them from habits is a sense of more explicit dependency or shared benefits on either or both sides. Thereby the reason for dependency on the other can vary and can be different for both individuals within such arrangements. They are also

³⁵ Codes indicate the individual identifier of the ego (ego#n), their ethnic identity group whereby nw denotes non-white and w denotes white, their gender (m/f), and age in complete years.

more tied to general necessities such as ‘living arrangements’ or daily needs such as ‘household assistance’ or ‘paying one’s bills’ but also mention general ‘problems’ or difficulties. In their function, they seem to respond to external challenges rather than ‘fulfilling an internal bond’, whereby the latter becomes the means to cope with challenges. For example, general difficulties with housing affordability in Windhoek caused individuals to share accommodation: “We were not working when we came to Windhoek. So, we (cousins) decided to share a room to make life easier. We had to share and help each other” (ego#83_nw_m_55).

Furthermore, within the domestic sphere this can also include fulfilling parental duties for children whose parents, for various reasons, are unable to take care of them: “Some people simply bring their children and you cannot say no to a child given to you. You cannot stay in a house alone. (It is due to) poverty” (ego#78_nw_m_51). Taking in children and giving them a place to live can also correspond to one’s own needs, especially during old age, for example “they are my eyes” (ego#80_nw_m_70) or “so that one day, they support me in the future” (ego#193_nw_m_33). Apart from home as a place to live, these arrangements also include paying for water and electricity or food, as mentioned in the motives of respondents. However, they also exist in the professional sphere of individuals. Dependency in such arrangements becomes less a matter of catering for basic needs such as housing or general care and more a matter of membership. Partaking regularly in certain networks – daily and beyond – seems to determine access to information, contacts and employment more broadly: “it is like a Namibian thing. It is just sometimes you do need to know someone and then you help. That ‘who knows who’ principle. It is so broad – for all things like help, information, contacts. It is efficiency; helps to connect the right people with the right people” (ego#116_w_f_32). Access to potential (better) jobs is then – for some – not just associated with one’s own but also other’s benefits: “we share employment information because we are still looking for promotions. If you get a better job, it is good for both of us” (ego#114_nw_m_32). However, it is also beyond mutual benefit for some whereby having access to employment and being employed was also found to be associated with obligations: “I am employed, and so I have to help her out. It is something I have to do” (ego#130_nw_m_32). Conversely, regular arrangements such as the passing of information and contacts also gain importance in the absence of employment: “I tell my sister about the jobs every time because she is unemployed, and I want her to get a job” (ego#52_nw_f_25).

However, external challenges and a sense of (mutual) obligation seem to resonate more in the personal statements of non-white as opposed to white egos. Habits and their deeply ingrained embedding in social relationships do not differ much per se. Marriage and parental obligations, feelings of love, care, respect, and encouragement were found in both groups. This is not to say that individuals’ understandings of these dynamics do not differ within groups. They certainly reflect different notions, roles, and understandings dependent on the individual herself. However,

a cross-group difference is less apparent than when looking at arrangements. Arrangements for white egos seem to depict a more pragmatic sense of ‘best solutions’ given the circumstances, whereas circumstances do not depict ‘challenges of poverty’ or ‘inabilities to cater for a basic need’. For example, when talking about a shared accommodation arrangement, statements show a notion of ‘the natural thing to do’, ‘choice’ or ‘temporal solution’: “It is very convenient for her and cheaper than her own accommodation. It is nice to have her. It is more her need than mine, she makes the choice. It is for her to decide whether she wants to be there or not. It will be OK if she wants to move out; it is nice to have her but (she) must move out at some point” (ego#42_w_f_65). This pragmatic sense of ‘best solution’ seems to be more strongly paired to obligation and necessity as well as to implicit dependency for non-white egos. The phrasing ‘have to help’, ‘no choice’ and the acknowledgement of hardship such as ‘needing to find a job’, ‘needing a place to stay’ or ‘needing to help out’ is more prevalent. Whereas implicit dependency is based on a sense of want for white egos – “it is a reciprocal situation. It is not something that is ever abused. We want to help each other; it is just easier” (ego#105_w_f_25) – for non-white egos, it is more a sense of need: “I have to help her; she is unemployed and has a child to support” (ego#68_nw_m_35); “They are my family. I have no choice. I have to help them” (ego#73_nw_m_63); or “I am employed, and I have to help her out. It is something I have to do” (ego#130_nw_m_32).

Moreover, there are comparably fewer explicit references made to a potential expectation to fulfil collective standards reflected in ‘one’s culture’ in the personal statements of white egos. However, non-white egos do mention such as in “it is in my culture to do so” (ego#54_nw_m_42) or “it is culture, this is how we have always functioned. You help, they must help you back” (ego#68_nw_m_35). These notions especially hint towards more broadly accepted understandings and practices but also a certain pressure to fulfil them in order to remain part of these reciprocal systems. These observations have been previously coined as swapping (Stack, 2003), not leaving others behind (Stewart, 2016) or reciprocity on demand (Schnegg, 2015) regarding non-white community dynamics. Comparatively stronger obligations might further correspond to greater short-term needs, leading to higher engagement in regular support activity for non-white egos.

5.4.2.2 Intra and cross-generational dynamics

Personal network compositions also depicted some differences with regard to age dynamics when compared across non-white and white egos. Especially, personal networks of elderly non-white egos tend to be larger in size whereas younger non-white adults appear to have more peer support or support with minors. I begin with an exploration of motives and intentions of elderly egos before moving on to young and lower-middle aged adults.

Personal support networks of elderly egos³⁶ spanned a wide range of family relationships, often including their own children but also their grandchildren. What is noteworthy is that most provided support seems to be ‘downward oriented’ towards younger generations and less elderly peer support is observed. Primarily taking place within the boundaries of the extended family, there is a certain recognition of family positions and relationships when talking about support activities. There are references to ‘my first born’ , ‘my grown children’ or ‘my grandchildren’ whereby in some cases these family roles seem to be associated with certain roles as supporters: “she is my first born and she gives me money from time to time for food and petrol for my cars” (ego#31_nw_m_68); but also former roles being replaced by younger generations, e.g. “I take care of them daily, because they are my grandchildren and all my children are grown; so, my grandchildren help me around the house” (ego#108_nw_m_75). While the latter statement represents a sense of mutual benefit, there also seems to be a strong sense of obligation towards family members for some. This is demonstrated by evolving obligations across the lifecycle, such as “they are my grandchildren and it is life. I have to take care of them” (ego#75_nw_f_69) or “I have to take care of them (grandchildren). I cannot throw them away” (ego#78_nw_m_65). These almost unquestioned commitments particularly hold true towards one’s grandchildren. Some felt there was ‘a duty’ or ‘obligation’ to take care of them, simply stating “I felt obliged to provide” (ego#175_nw_f_81) or more circumstantially describing “She is my great granddaughter and it is my duty to take care of her after school” (ego#108_nw_m_75). In addition, there can be a continued sense of commitment to supporting one’s adult children, though a sense of obligation seems to be comparably weaker or transforms itself into a gesture around ‘a feeling like doing so’ or ‘entitled to do so’. They often depict a notion of ‘regardless of their age’ or ‘in spite of being grown-ups’. This can simply be observed in comments like “I still provide for them because they are my children” (ego#31_nw_m_68), “I give [to] her on occasion...because I feel like doing so” (ego#59_nw_m_65), as well as acknowledging that “she did most of it on her own, she is very sure that she knows better what she needs; she makes her own mistakes” (ego#42_w_f_65). But also continued support, which responds to difficulties and challenges, e.g. “as much as she might be old enough, she does not work and I try to help her with a small amount (of money)” as well as “They do not have any income and I feel entitled as a father, even though they are grown” (ego#184_nw_69). It can involve financial matters such as “they could not pay for something, so I had to help” (ego#50_w_m_72) or “I give my children money, less than 100 for credit (airtime) and taxis all the time if there is a need” (ego#92_nw_m_67), as well as “he needed a car and after getting married, I bought him a new one” (ego#59_nw_m_65).

More broadly, I found three themes, which I termed companionship, responding and future perspective for support relationships, in which at least one party constitutes an elderly respondent.

³⁶ Egos aged above 65 years of age.

These themes are not necessarily distinct, and an individual can reflect companionship in one support activity and future perspectives in another. They might further overlap in that some support relationships – and their associated statements – might capture elements of more than one theme. I therefore intend to align them yet leave space for the uniqueness within to depict differentiated meaning in motives and intentions. Support for companionship depicts a recognition of mutual social presence and positive emotions such as ‘love’, ‘joy’ or more broadly ‘togetherness’. Though that might be an implicit feeling in many support relationships, there are some where this notion is a dominant feature. On the other hand, responding is more aligned with the previously discussed notion of arrangements. They often depict a description of necessity and hardship, whereby one plays a role to handle or ease the latter. These statements are often explicitly tied to their function, often linked to basic needs as well as external challenges. Future perspectives are slightly different in that there is a sense of on the one hand, mutual dependency but on the other hand a strong orientation towards the future of younger generations. These statements often demonstrate a forward-looking perspective of ‘taking care of a family member’s future’ but also recognizing their increasing needs owing to ‘old age’ going forward. However, I do not claim that they primarily apply to elderly non-white egos. Similar notions were found and overlap with distinctions of habits versus arrangements, as discussed in section 5.4.2.1.

i. *Companionship*

Support around companionship sees explicit mention of positive emotions such as ‘love’ or ‘joy’ as well as ‘pride’ and ‘happiness’. Providing support seems to be associated with the social presence of other family members, which in turn results in a positive feeling. For example, “they like it when they are with me and they are my source of joy” (ego#95_nw_m_67), but also “I used to take care of my mother in the past because she liked living with me” (ego#108_nw_m_75). While these relationships seem to be associated with forging positive social connections in one’s life through which support travels, they can also facilitate support: “She is my sister and we understand each other well. That is why I assist her with physical things around the house” (ego#103_nw_f_72) and “I know their mother very well. I want to help their mum, contribute to fight poverty in Namibia” (ego#141_w_f_66). General positive feelings about one’s children can also feature as a motive for support, i.e. “she made me a proud father” (ego#125_nw_m_65), as well as acknowledging the source of pride: “She raised two children. She adopted them because her sister passed away. I am very happy and proud of her to raise the orphans” (ego#168_nw_m_61). There is also the notion of ‘passing on happiness’ through support; i.e. “I want her to be happy (god-child)”, as well as the recognition of one’s own wellbeing: “I am so well-off; so, I do what I can so that others can generally improve as well” (ego#141_w_f_66). Though more circumstantial, positive emotions can also facilitate support when needed, e.g. “My

son works in a close-by town and I help him take his children to school because I love them” (ego#184_nw_m_69).

ii. Responding

Support that can be associated with a response, or being a responder, shows the notion of mentioning the function and external circumstances – or necessities – when talking about motives and intentions. Functions can range from basic needs such as food, toiletries, accommodation, school fees, furniture, or financial assistance. Often, mentioning such needs comes with a recognition of external circumstances – either to ease or prevent them. “I bought food for my father every month because he was not working. So, I had to take care of him” (ego#31_nw_m_68); or “I used to take them for health check-ups when they get sick” (ego#59_nw_m_65), which reflects easing an adverse situation, whereas providing food “to eat and be healthy to have strength for school and to prevent malnutrition” (ego#76_nw_f_65) or “I arranged for him to get social grants and accommodation to stay in” (ego#92_nw_m_67) represent preventing an adverse situation. There can also be a recognition of someone else’s care obligations, thereby supporting someone to support others, such as “I gave him the land to plough and feed his family” (ego#95_nw_m_67) or “I used to give my cousin money to feed his family before he got a job and after he married” (ego#108_nw_m_75). These life events, such as marriage, can also create temporary arrangements such as “when she got married to my brother, they came to stay in my house while they built their own” (ego#108_nw_m_75). Support can also be a response to broken family structures and resulting needs to ‘fill in’ absent positions of support and care. They mention the death of a parent, an inability to provide, rejection or abuse. The absence of a parent reflected in “his father passed on” (ego#175_nw_f_81) or “his mother (and my sister) passed away. I am caring for him. He has no one to care for him” (ego#110_nw_m_64) seems to pass care obligations to other family members, or the elderly more specifically. It can also be a coping mechanism to handle adverse situations such as “they (grandchildren) are mishandled by their stepfather and my daughter is working all the time” (ego#28_nw_f_72); “I took them from their mum as she cannot care for them (reasons undisclosed)” (ego#59_nw_m_65); or “I take care of him because his father rejected him (since) childhood” (ego#92_nw_m_67). Support motives can also reflect the merging of families, i.e. “I provided for them when I married their mother until when they grow up to be on their own” (ego#31_nw_m_68). For others, however, it can be a general recognition of others’ behaviour, less of a reflection of necessity or hardship, but simply doing a favour: “There is always something the kids want or need but are too responsible to get” (ego#100_w_m_64).

iii. *Future perspectives*

Support offered for someone's future reflects some sense of mutual dependency as well as a long-term outlook. This is related to the respondent's own potential future needs as well as a sense of securing the wellbeing or bettering of younger generations. A prominent feature is the role of education. It can be linked to the role of being a temporary supporter during the period of attending school or university, being a source of advice as well as authority in educational outcomes, and education as a means to enable the provision of future support. Support during education can simply entail providing accommodation, e.g. "he stayed with me while he attended university. She (also) came to live with me while she attended secondary and tertiary education" (ego#31_nw_m_68) or "I supported him as he was staying with me while he attended school" (ego#88_nw_f_84). It can also mean paying for someone's school or tuition fees, or general financial support for living expenses, e.g. "I used to give them money to support them throughout their school and university" (ego#108_nw_m_75) or "I paid school for him and supported him until when he got a job after completing school" (ego#92_nw_m_67). It can also reflect a notion of recognition, such as "It is my son's education. He needed the money for tuition fees and accommodation" (ego#175_nw_f_81) or certain expectations, i.e. "a good academic title and graduation" (ego#141_w_f_66) or "finish their degrees" (ego#205_w_m_80). However, there is also a sense of authority in some of these support activities. This sense of authority reflects a notion of ensuring that expected outcomes are met in some ways. For example, it can ensure attendance, e.g. "I personally take my children to school to ensure that they attend, and I advise them to be serious and complete school" (ego#31_nw_m_68), passing information, e.g. "I provided information on education opportunities to my children because I needed them to take school seriously and to succeed" (ego#92_nw_m_67), oversight such as "to monitor her and ensure that she completes her studies" (ego#95_nw_m_67) or simply advice, e.g. "(I) always advised my children about education because I wanted them to finish school" (ego#108_nw_m_75). In turn, educational outcomes are then sometimes tied to the expectation of future support, e.g. "(I want) my granddaughter to finish school, and also help me in the future" (ego#76_nw_f_65) or paying school fees "...because I know one day she will also take care of me" (ego#125_nw_m_65) as well as the recognition of current practice, e.g. "he already shows that he will support people after he is finished with his study" (ego#127_nw_m_69). Apart from having a potential future source of support, there is also a general motive of 'having a better future' or 'becoming something in life'. Sometimes, this is set in relation to not becoming what is perceived to be a 'lower profession', for instance "so they can study and not just be bush workers" (ego#88_nw_f_84), or preventing them from having no profession at all, e.g. "If I do not help them, they will run around in the streets. Now they become something in life"

(ego#200_nw_f_75). In this way, finishing education can be seen as a means to a better future: “I want them to complete school and have a great future” (ego#31_nw_m_68).

Other important elements of securing future wellbeing and related support activities concern livestock, land and for some, trust funds. Livestock is often passed as support from older to younger generations to secure economic independence in the future, as well as securing the ‘circle of passing on’ across future generations. For example, egos wanted their children to have “livestock to farm with when they grow old or start working” (ego#59_nw_m_64), to have “..his own and also give his children in the future” (ego#95_nw_m_67) or to have “...cows so that they could have more by the time they grow up” (ego#108_nw_m_75). Generally, there is a belief that livestock is needed for future use as well as the sense of it multiplying over the years. It is often tied to life events such as the birth of a new family member, e.g. “I give all my children cattle at birth so that they could have their own cattle by the time they grow up” (ego#92_nw_m_67), which is also reflected “in our tradition (of being) a mother, each child must have livestock from (their) parents” (ego#103_nw_f_72). It is also linked to marriage, e.g. “I gave him [cattle] when he got married and the rest was for his own farming purposes” (ego#59_nw_m_64). Similarly, land plays a role for securing future economic wellbeing as well as continuing traditions. For example, egos stated that “I farm on communal land and I just want to ensure that my children are secure before I die” (ego#184_nw_m_69), but also “passed on some land to them” (ego#100_w_m_65) or “because I got my farm from my parents. So, I am doing the same for them” (ego#175_nw_f_81). Livestock and land can also depict a grand gesture and evoke memories, as shown in the statement of a respondent talking about his grandfather and father who gave him livestock and land: “They played a big role in my life. Today, I am a person though I am not working” (ego#170_nw_m_65). For others, livestock and land are rather replaced by financial investments such as trust funds: “There is no need for it, but I deposit into a trust fund for them” (ego#100_w_m_65).

While notions of companionship did not seem to differ vastly, support via responding to hardship was more often to be found in personal statements of non-white egos. This might just be in line with the general observations already detailed in section 5.4.2.1. What is further noteworthy is that particularly the passing of livestock as a source of future support and wellbeing is exclusively found in personal statements of non-white egos, whereas a trust fund was mentioned in the statements of a white elderly ego. More broadly, this reflects that support around in particular future care seems to be strongly tied to an entanglement of tradition and economic function for non-white egos, especially cross-generational support. Livestock is associated with life events such as childbirth, marriage (and funerals). Whereas traditions are a separate topic to discuss per se, within the framing of this study, it shows that support categories can have different salience and functions for different individuals. Similarly, although education seems to be important in

general, the explicit notion of emphasizing education to secure a better future and potential future support was more prominent in non-white personal statements than white ones. Notably among the older generation, this might be owing to the fact that obtaining higher education in particular was not always an opportunity for non-white Namibians in the past, especially during apartheid.

A lot of what has already been observed would be repeated when exploring support activities of younger adults. This especially concerns parental obligations towards minors, as discussed in relation to habits and arrangements within the daily lives of individuals. Further knowing that the share of support for minors is about four times as high for non-white egos as it is for white egos, a lot of these variations might simply be explained by different family structures, sizes, and understandings. One such different understanding that emerged, however, and is worth exploring is the role of cousins for non-white egos.

Not only do cousins seem to feature more prominently in support relationships for non-white egos, they also seem to cater for a variety of functions such as reciprocal peer support, daily assistance, substituting or helping with other care duties, concern for others, as well as friendship. For example, support gets ‘passed on’, e.g. “I learned from older cousins, received the same from my older cousins” (ego#2_nw_f_21); or ‘substituted’, e.g. “the other cousin who lives with him doesn’t help him out. She cooks but I help out with other things like laundry” (ego#5_nw_f_20); or “I used to take care of my cousin’s boy. I provided for all his needs, buying food for him, washing him and cooking for him” (ego#84_nw_f_31). There is also concern, such as “I want my cousin to get a job and become better in life” (ego#84_nw_f_31), as well as “I help my cousins from time to time with information on educational opportunities such as colleges that offer short term nursing” (ego#14_nw_f_27). Support can also revolve around closeness or friendship, e.g. “she is my closest cousin and I know she would do the same if I need it” (ego#45_w_f_32) as well as “we lived together and shared accommodation because we were best friends and we shared rent. We are also cousins” (ego#113_nw_m_42).

5.4.2.3 Socioeconomic differentiation

Lastly, I turn to the fact that non-white tertiary degree holders had significantly fewer support activities with educational peers than white tertiary degree holders – similarly so for non-white egos with a labour income. In part, this might again be explained by a higher share of minors within their personal networks, as minors typically have no source of income through labour nor do they have a tertiary degree. Thus, this might in part be a structural pattern, which can be explained by family size and composition as well as potentially considering a broader range of family members and generations when reporting one’s support relationships. On the other hand, higher degrees of regular support and a greater response to basic needs and adverse circumstances such as unemployment might generate more support links to members who have no income or a

tertiary degree among non-white egos. As previously demonstrated, having a job or employment can create a sense of responsibility and obligation to offer support among non-white egos and this features explicitly in their personal statements. Studies and universities degrees on the other hand were mentioned often with an expectation of future support and general economic improvement – whereby the former can result in support obligations once studies have been completed, as shown in the statements related to future perspectives. There is a sense of implicit socioeconomic differentiation within statements of non-white egos, when describing educational attainments as source of future support or support obligations tied to one's employment status.

I have been the sole supporter of the family for four years. I was the only one working in the clan after my brother and cousin died. (ego#6_nw_m_43) discussing financial support to their family.

So that in the future we can be relieved from helping and they can be able to support themselves. (ego#181_nw_f_38) discussing financial support to their aunt to send her niece to school.

5.4.2.4 Talking about 'the other': a perspective of white egos on ethnic identity differentiation
In sum, personal statements hint at different dynamics within personal networks of support of non-white as opposed to white egos. While this exploration provided some evidence through a personal perspective primarily linked to one's own (recall that 81% of support happens within the same ethnic identity group), there are some observations regarding who is perceived to be 'the other' in terms of ethnic identities. The exploration below provides further insight into the methodological distinction of white and non-white ethnic identities. However, I only observed notions regarding former lines of discrimination of white and not of non-white respondents. These notions were not explicitly asked for but voluntarily presented. Whereas non-white and white groups seem to depict a sense of togetherness and support, what is considered as such, where boundaries are drawn, and who is part of what group do not seem to always match.

Helping each other is vital in our community where we live together and have to help each other. (ego#103_nw_f_72)

No family member depended on outside help, there has always been support within the family. (ego#10_w_m_32)

Generally, within the perspective of white egos there seems to be a sense of differentiation in terms of 'not feeling welcome', 'reverse racism' or 'guilt'. This is revealed in comments such as "I am not welcomed as a white person anymore" (ego#154_w_m_46) as well as "I was educated with a guilt feeling of supremacy due to the colonial past. I try not to distinguish the have and have nots by race but by individuals" (ego#10_w_m_32). However, these notions of guilt can at the same time depict certain beliefs held about others, particularly non-white egos. In the below, the participant is talking about financial support to his domestic worker as being part of the Herero ethnic identity:

Guilt, I guess... I do owe her, (they) allow themselves to become very useless, (it is a) weird cultural thing. She has six kids that she still supports, they are all useless... Spent her life cleaning after me, my love for black music is because of her (she played the radio while cleaning). I am bothered when she asks me about 300 bucks now and then and I worry about my trip to Europe at the same time... (I wish) that her f**king children start supporting her... (ego#159_w_m_30)

There also seems to be a notion of fatigue, if not neglect, about racial profiling, ethnic differentiation and the discussions that revolve around it. It almost hints at a certain desire to see individuals as 'the same' to some extent or to draw attention to different factors such as economic differences, possibly also in an effort to conceal former discrimination and associated privilege for white individuals. Below are two examples of remarks on this topic:

Some people are very ethnic based. So, I give my opinion but not waste my energy. Most people are not open to think about it. People are all the same. People are more differentiated by class rather than ethnic group, colour, etc. There are people of my ethnic group that I cannot relate to at all and some are exactly the same regarding values, what we do and how we live. (Whites) are so different but have the same skin. (ego#42_w_f_65)

My ethnicity is not that strong. (ego#105_w_f_25)

Nevertheless, practices are different when directed to an out-group versus in-group member in terms of ethnic identity or class, as shown in this example comparing giving food and money to beggars and street children versus sharing food with friends or at social events:

It does not improve it in the long term. It creates further expectations that people can continue begging and make a living of it. But that is not what you want. Difficult to 'say no but not do anything directly about it (street beggars and children). I don't know. Because it is almost like a group friendship dynamic. You want to be a fully accepted member of that group and with that comes unwritten rules. It is a contribution or expectations. It is not a force but having good manners (friends). (ego#134_nw_m_38)

5.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter represents an explorative, in-depth engagement with personal support networks regarding their composition as well as motives and intentions reflected in personal statements. I paid particular attention to markers mentioned in the Black Tax narrative as well as to associated literature, particularly similarity and temporality in social interactions. A primary aim as reflected in the research question on how structures and intentions differ within personal networks of private redistribution across systemic discrimination was depicting differences in meaning-making of support activities – within personal networks and broader social groups.

Network compositions differed across non-white and white ethnic identities in a few aspects and some differences were more interpretable than others. First, is the greater regularity of support activities observed in non-white as opposed to white egos and the larger networks of elderly non-white egos. Second, differences also included more peer-to-peer support for higher education levels and having income via labour for white egos. Third, non-white egos holding these higher

positions were more associated with support towards lower situated alters (education) or unemployed alters as well as those who are not in the labour force. This also resembles the claim of Black Tax, whereby having studied or having a job means taking care of those who did not study or are unemployed.

These entry points allowed for an exploration of different notions in motives and intentions. The breadth of meaning in motives and intentions of support is remarkable. Though certainly these statements only provide a glimpse into broader stories, they reflect some of the notions and prevailing ideas of egos. Most notably, non-white egos' personal motives and intentions depicted a stronger sense of necessity, dependency and responding to external challenges such as unemployment, poverty, lack of capability to cater for basic needs and similar conditions related to poverty or being comparatively worse off in economic terms. Similarities could be found in notions of affection regarding companionship and while elderly egos depicted future perspectives when supporting younger alters, not only did the means differ (i.e. livestock for non-white versus trust funds for white egos) but also the expectations about whether such support pays off in terms of future reciprocity for non-white egos.

Conceptually, an exploration of personal motives and intentions also revealed that support categorization can overlook important distinctions across an individual's socioeconomic realities and social positions: the obstacles and circumstances they face, the opportunities they have or foresee for someone, as well as how they make sense of, tackle or utilize them.

While in this chapter, I set out to explore the diversity of support practices, I dedicate the following chapter to exploring the structural notion of Black Tax and thus – rather than focusing on vertical inequalities implicitly captured in personal statements – assess such using socioeconomic markers of individuals. In doing so, I am further comparing within-group dynamics and their broader implications between group differentiation while focusing primarily on patterns across social relationships and interactions.

6 VERTICAL RELATIONSHIPS AND GROUP DISPARITIES IN PERSONAL NETWORKS OF PRIVATE REDISTRIBUTION

This chapter explores verticality understood as socioeconomic distance within support relationships and compares such across former lines of discrimination. More precisely, it draws on the structural claim of ‘Black Tax’ whereby prosocial behaviour, as the provision of more for less well-off individuals, increases for in particular non-white individuals of higher socioeconomic positions. It translates this claim into measurable concepts and explores whether the associated behavioural pattern holds true for non-white as opposed to white individuals. More broadly, it observes inequality as socioeconomic distance in relationships and compares the extent of inequality in support behaviour across former lines of discrimination and thus the broader pattern of historically grown inequalities. In so doing, this chapter shows the entanglement of vertical within-group inequality considering horizontal inequality between groups. Apart from a structural analysis, this chapter includes subjective assessments associated with prosocial behaviour, providing insights into the subjective notion of the Black Tax narrative, as well as individuals’ perceptions of their own and others’ positions within the realm of support practices. It is structured as follows. Section 6.1 provides a general introduction to the topic, further including references to the theoretical framework discussed in section 2.4. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 then provide the conceptual and analytical framing, as well as the methodology used for the subsequent analysis. Section 6.4 presents the findings followed by a discussion thereof in section 6.5.

6.1 INTRODUCTION AND RELEVANCE

To recall, global empirical literature has shown that being exposed to higher levels of inequality does not seem to equate to a greater willingness to support individuals who are worse off. Numerous studies have shown that more affluent individuals become less prosocial towards the worse off if inequality levels are higher or more visible (Nishi et al., 2015b; Nishi and Christakis, 2015; Piff et al., 2010; Piff and Robinson, 2017; Sands, 2017). These broader socioeconomic dynamics of prosociality remain predominantly understood within societies of the Global North.

Yet, it is within the context of the Global South and particularly within regions of high levels of inequality³⁷, that a different narrative exists. ‘Black Tax’ tells a story that opposes the above-mentioned dynamics of prosociality. Greater socioeconomic heterogeneity has been observed among black family members in the US, whereby support or redistribution persists across socioeconomic differences within the boundaries of extended families (Moore, 2005; Stewart,

³⁷ Specifically, Namibia within the region of Southern Africa, presents itself as one of the most unequal societies in the world. On an aggregated level, income inequality measured by the GINI coefficient showed levels of 0.70, 0.60 and 0.59 in 1994, 2004 and 2010 respectively, thereby ranking among the ten most unequal countries (World bank, 2019).

2015). Black Tax suggests that individuals provide more support once they hold a visibly or comparatively higher socioeconomic position within social support systems.

Building on research alluded to above (for a more in-depth discussion, see section 2.4.2), the literature can be summarized into two opposing hypotheses. In one, with increasing socioeconomic status, individuals decrease or attempt to evade their pro-social behaviour towards ‘less well-off’ individuals. In the other, and as reflected in the narrative of Black Tax, increasing socioeconomic status across individuals is associated with steady or higher prosocial behaviour towards ‘less well-off’ individuals. I therefore explore the following question:

To what extent does an individual's socioeconomic position and their support engagement influence the observed socioeconomic distances in their support relationships? How does it differ across former lines of segregation?

This chapter thus speaks to the structural aspect on relative positions in private redistribution as discussed in section 2.4.2. It speaks to the main research question on ways in which socioeconomic inequalities are entangled with practices of private redistribution, by comparing the effects of relative positions and a tendency to provide support across ethnic identity. Again, as discussed earlier, this approach accounts for identities associated with socioeconomic inequality in Namibia, namely ethnic identities. This chapter then sets out to test the hypothesis whether measurable concepts of ‘having more’ and ‘giving more’ can be associated with support across greater socioeconomic differences among individuals. A multilevel mediational modelling approach allows me to examine these relationships simultaneously. It measures the direct effect of ‘having more’ on socioeconomic distances observed in support relationships by accounting for the indirect effect and thus the relationships between ‘having more’ and ‘giving more’, which I shall detail further in section 6.3.

By comparing non-white and white ethnic identity groups, I test whether having more and giving more may give reason for a reconsideration of the dynamics of socioeconomic orientations in prosocial behaviour. A more systematic understanding of these behavioural dynamics allows for generating insights on inequality as a social group attribute (horizontal inequality) as well as inequality within dyadic relationships (vertical inequality) considering horizontal inequalities. Thereby, I acknowledge the aspect of ‘mutual constitution’ between system and behaviour: by looking at how inequality translates into social relationships of support and for whom; but also, how such might play a role in forming tacit inequalities for some but not all. In the following, I will detail the applied concepts, followed by the scope and analytical strategy, as well as the relevant data informing this analysis.

6.2 VERTICALITY: SOCIOECONOMIC POSITIONS AND DISTANCE IN SUPPORT RELATIONSHIPS COMPARING SYSTEMIC DISCRIMINATION

I detail how verticality is understood and operationalized in this study by defining the concepts employed in the subsequent analysis. They comprise socioeconomic position, socioeconomic distance, engagement, and the grouping of ethnic identities. I draw on framings in existing literature as well as context applicability.

Subjective positions functions as a subjective assessment of others, which individuals explicitly stated given a particular support activity and the person attached to it. As noted by Blau "social differences do not necessarily divide people into categories or circles but may involve continuous gradation" (P. Blau 1984: 5). In order to capture some of these ambiguities and contrast more objective criteria such as one's education or profession, I explore subjective positions which are based on the question "do you consider (contact) as being the same, better, or worse off than yourself?". Subjective positions are more in line with "subjective experiences of (certain) resources... (relying) on individual's perceptions of their socioeconomic status and capture their sense of place in the hierarchy relative to others" (Brown-Iannuzzi et al., 2015: 15). Respondents would draw on different reference bases. While some considered aspects such as 'being in the same tax bracket', others considered lifecycle dynamics, i.e. 'having a whole life ahead of her' or health and age- related outcomes, i.e. 'he is old and fragile'. Subjective classifications of 'better', 'same' or 'worse' can thus have a multitude of foundations, however they carry the common denominator of being based in relation to oneself, being the respondent.

Socioeconomic Position functions as a proxy for an individual's general socioeconomic status. As noted by Brown-Iannuzzi et al., socioeconomic status can be constituted by "objective material resources... commonly assessed by indicators of wealth, education, and occupational prestige" (2015: 15). I follow this rationale to generate a continuous scale for socioeconomic positions based on data availability. While I do not have any indicators about an individual's wealth, I create a novel scale using an individual's educational level E_i as well as their profession W_i to generate their socioeconomic position. Education levels are based on a scale from zero to four, whereby zero represents no education, followed by primary, secondary, and tertiary education obtained. Professions are clustered and ranked using Goldthorpe's class scheme³⁸ (1987). The resulting scale ranges from one to five whereby one represents unemployment, followed by manual labour, service workers, lower-grade professionals, and higher-grade professionals. I then

³⁸ Goldthorpe's class scheme is the dominant schema in international sociology literature. It generally facilitates the computation of comparable categories related to socioeconomic class; in the case of this research, professions obtained. Since professions were captured using an open question, clustering was necessary for the proposed analysis. In this study, I apply the five categories, these being: (1) unemployed; (2) manual labour, food service workers and household staff; (3) service workers and office staff; (4) lower grade professionals; and (5) higher grade professionals (Goldthorpe, 1987).

compute an individual's socioeconomic position P_i as P_i being $\sum E_i, W_i$. This procedure places individuals with high education levels but who are currently i.e. unemployed at comparatively lower ranks whereas individuals with lower education levels but i.e. a higher-grade profession at comparatively higher ranks. Further, it accounts for an individual's potential reflected in their education while also including the presence and potential volume of current income stream from their profession. Both 'access to a job' and 'studies completed' claims to influence support obligations in the Black Tax narrative. Through combining educational attainment and professions, I further acknowledge the former social stratification of the education system during the apartheid regime, which particularly limited the educational attainments of the now older generation of Namibians of non-white ethnic identity groups; however, some might nevertheless hold higher-level employment at present. Conversely, individuals used terminology typically associated with high-grade professions such as 'manager' while working in a non-formalized or small business, which hampers consistency in clustering professions. Combining education and professional levels can control for such ambiguity. More importantly, I ensured a consistent approach across respondents and their contacts to assess comparable absolute differences between them. Socioeconomic position thus ranges from $P_i \in \{1;8\}$.

Socioeconomic Distance Being presented with relational data allows us to link individuals via the observed interaction between them. If interactions involve only two people, these interactions or relationships are referred to as dyads. Using socioeconomic positions as outlined above, I compute the socioeconomic distance for each dyad, and thus between the respondent as ego (e) and their contact as alter (a). Subsequently, I can distinguish the socioeconomic position of the ego being P_e and their alter being P_a . Socioeconomic *distance* D_{ea} is then defined as the absolute distance between an ego's socioeconomic position and their alter's socioeconomic position and thus $|P_e - P_a|$. By using absolute distances, the direction of the interaction can be disregarded as either one will provide or receive the transfer. Distance can thus be seen as a general socioeconomic difference between individuals regarding their educational and professional attainment; however, the process of aggregating education and professions does not provide information about which one is primarily contributing to the distance between two individuals. Nevertheless, as the scale of socioeconomic positions is set within a specific range, distance becomes increasingly more 'downward oriented' – in socioeconomic terms, the higher the socioeconomic position of an individual. Conversely, distance is more 'upward oriented' – in socioeconomic terms, the lower the socioeconomic position of an individual. For instance, an ego ranked at eight having a positive distance other than zero can only be linked to an alter ranked below eight. In turn, an ego ranked at one can only be linked to equally low ranked or higher but not lower ranked alters. Theoretically, each ego has the same number of potential outcomes with $D_{ea} \in \{0;7\}$. As mentioned, the absolute difference accounts for both the ego and alter perspective simultaneously.

To reflect the ego's position, and to ascertain whether distance can be associated with the direction of provided rather than received support, I account for an individual's support engagement as follows.

Engagement shall be understood as a proxy for an individual's degree of prosocial behaviour from the ego's perspective. Prosocial behaviour is generally understood as other- versus self-beneficial behaviour. Within the context of this study, it shall reflect a notion of how much an individual provides versus receives from others. Several indicators could be considered, such as the total amount of activities, e.g. network size. However, network size is often prone to inaccuracies owing to a lack of memory or question fatigue in the interview process (Perry et al. 2018). Further, reported network size of egos differs vastly from just four to one hundred reported connections. Thus, computing a relative share within personal networks allows for better comparisons across egos. Linked to the notion of Black Tax – becoming more of a provider when being higher up socioeconomic terms – I use the balance of support directions within an individual's personal network. It can thus be understood not as a general definition of 'being more generous' or generally more prosocial, but rather as a tendency of giving more than one receives. Further, as socioeconomic distance is computed as an absolute measure, thereby treating both individuals in a dyad as either provider or receiver of support, this tendency of giving more controls for the ego's perspective on support engagement. Thereby *engagement* is defined as being the sum of provided activities P provide_e (with provide being $\in \{0, 1\}$) divided by the sum of all recorded activities by an ego $\sum N_e$. This measure places individuals on a scale of tending to provide more than they generally receive. It further allows for capturing whether providing more is generally associated with greater socioeconomic distance from an ego's perspective.

Non-white and white ethnic identity groups is a grouping of ethnic identities and shall be understood through institutionalized discrimination under the apartheid regime. Though apartheid policies distinguished nine ethnic identity groups (see Appendix I), this study focused on a subset of six Namibian ethnic identities carefully selected from the context (see Appendix II). Hence, as previously stated and employed in the preceding chapter, the methodological grouping stems from the question whether an ethnic identity group has been discriminated against under the apartheid regime (discriminated = yes, non-white) versus whether an ethnic identity group has not been discriminated against under the apartheid regime (discriminated = no, white). Non-white comprises Ovambo, Herero, Caprivian and Nama/Damara identities whereas white comprises Afrikaans, German and English identities. While the grouping of white and non-white represents a broad distinction by discrimination, it does not reflect varying degrees of discrimination among non-white ethnic identities. Neither does it suggest that the support dynamics observed are homogenous within these broader groups. However, the primary interest stems from historically grown horizontal inequalities linked to apartheid rather than an in-depth exploration of

behavioural differences across each ethnic identity group. My data confirms that ethnic identity further constitutes a marker of solidaristic closure. Thereby, 81 percent of interactions take place between individuals who are – from the perspective of the ego – of the same ethnic identity as their own. Hence, the broader distinction between white and non-white ethnic identities does not cause considerable overlap when comparing broader within group dynamics. *Non-white* is defined based on the aggregation of ethnic identities who are either associated with discrimination (1) or not (0) so that $\text{non-white} \in \{0; 1\}$.

The following section describes the causal relationships tested across the introduced concepts of socioeconomic position, distance and support engagement compared across identity groupings. I further describe requirements linked to statistical methods on ego-centric network data as well as the inclusion of control variables.

6.3 SCOPE AND ANALYTICAL STRATEGY

For the subsequent analysis, I would like to recall the focus on structural claims. Accordingly, I primarily test "influences of objective structural conditions (as compared to) those of cultural values reflected in opinion(s) ..." (Blau, 1984: 11). It is important to note that I did not ask what individuals would typically do, primarily capturing their ideas about personal preferences or beliefs. Instead, I asked about specific events which took place in an individual's life. I use these reported support activities to test the structural claim of Black Tax and therefore prosocial behaviour depending on socioeconomic positions by drawing on objective and subjective measures. I further compare these across non-white and white ethnic identity groups. To recall, I zero in on the notion that individuals who provide more and fare better economically can be associated with higher socioeconomic distances in their support relationships if they belong to a non-white ethnic identity group. I assess this notion through a quantitative assessment.

Quantitative methods entail the following steps. I split the sample into two sub-groups, non-white and white. For each sub-sample, I then explore degrees of prosocial engagement; that is, whether an increase in provided versus received support across individuals can be associated with greater socioeconomic distance in the social relationship through which such support travels. I then assess to what extent this effect is fully or partially offset by an increase in socioeconomic position by comparing individuals of different socioeconomic standing. Combined, these steps compare to what extent giving more versus giving and having more explains socioeconomic distance in support relationships. Comparing these two effects generates insights into whether individuals who tend to provide more do so across greater socioeconomic distance, regardless of their socioeconomic status, or whether such is particularly true for individuals who hold high socioeconomic positions. A comparison of these dynamics across ethnic identity groups further

tests whether the latter exclusively applies to individuals who are associated with non-white ethnic identities.

It is important to clarify that I do not propose that ‘being better off’, understood as a form of socioeconomic attainment, is the primary or sole trigger in the mobilization of support. Linked to the Black Tax narrative described in section 3.4, these attainments are mentioned and referred to as ‘having completed a tertiary degree or having secured employment’. Being better off then refers primarily to educational and professional outcomes. However, these outcomes are dependent on many other attributes of an individual such as their age and gender, to name two. Further, household dynamics and positions as well as contextual settings and spatial divides were found to influence support networks and dynamics in the Namibian context (Besthorn et al., 2018; Kalomo et al., 2018; Ruiz-Casares, 2010; Schnegg, 2015; Tvedten, 2011; Tvedten and Nangulah, 1999). Being better off is therefore one specific dynamic of which I test its salience in prosocial behaviour while controlling for other attributes such as age, gender, and neighbourhood, which I will describe in more detail in the following section.

6.3.1 *Multilevel mediational modelling approach*

In the subsequent analysis, I explore to what extent support engagement and socioeconomic position are predictors of socioeconomic distance in support relationships – and how such differs for groups of non-whites as opposed to white ethnic identities. To derive testable hypotheses (H1 and H2), I define the following, which are then being tested for each group separately and compared thereafter:

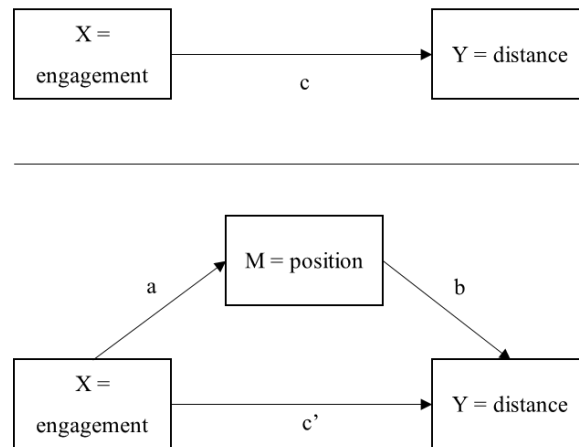
H1: Higher levels of providing versus receiving support are associated with higher socioeconomic positions, in turn leading to *greater* socioeconomic distance in support relationships.

H2: Higher levels of providing versus receiving support are associated with higher socioeconomic positions, in turn leading to *lower* socioeconomic distance in support relationships.

To test these hypotheses, I apply a multi-level mediational model. Mediational analysis is particularly useful when exploring mechanisms that are believed to affect a specific outcome by adding a third or more elements, which then might change the effect by either partially or fully offsetting it. In this analysis, whether giving more is associated with greater socioeconomic distances – and whether giving more is associated with higher positions, thus affecting greater socioeconomic distances in support relationships. I propose *engagement* (as tendency to provide or receive more) as the independent variable, first assessing the effect of engagement on socioeconomic distance. Socioeconomic *position* then becomes the mediational variable to see whether the generally observed relationship between engagement and socioeconomic *distance*

changes dependent on the socioeconomic position of individuals. The then tested relationship is whether providing more is associated with higher socioeconomic positions and such in turn influences socioeconomic distance, constituting a combined effect on distance (see Figure 6-1). I apply a simple generalized structural equation model proposed by Krull and MacKinnon (2001) consisting of three methodological steps.

Figure 6-1 Stylized illustration of mediational model framework



Source: derived and adapted from (Krull and MacKinnon, 2001)

The first step requires the estimation of a regression equation, which predicts the outcome, socioeconomic distance (Y), from providing more (X), and constituting path *c* (see Figure 6-1 and equation 1). It then predicts path *a* by estimating the effects of being higher on the scale of providing more on the mediator variable, socioeconomic position (M), thereby assessing whether providing more is associated with having a higher socioeconomic position (see equation 2). In a last step, it predicts path *b* and *c'*, constituting the effect of the predictor and mediator variable, and thus engagement and position simultaneously (see equation 3). The indirect, and thus the combined effect of engagement and position, is then β_a multiplied with β_b or the isolated effect of provider β_c minus the effect of provider while controlling for position β'_c . The total effect is the sum of the direct effect captured in β_b plus the indirect effect. The three estimated relationships can be expressed in the following equations.

- (1)
$$Y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_c X_j + r_{ij}$$
- (2)
$$M_j = \beta_0 + \beta_a X_j + r_{ij}$$
- (3)
$$Y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_{c'} X_j + \beta_b M_j + r_{ij}$$

I compare an empty model with one that includes the control variables of gender, age, and neighbourhood. Within Namibia's context, age can control for age-related positions (Ruiz-Casares, 2010) and gender for certain support dynamics e.g. within the household (Plattner and Gonzo, 2010), whereby neighbourhood, or spatial dynamics, were found to be relevant contextual

settings for support practices more broadly (Frayne, 2004, 2005; Tvedten, 2011). Lastly, I compare model outcomes across non-white and white ethnic identities to see how such dynamics differ. Further, using a multilevel specification allows for each group j , in this case personal networks, to have a unique intercept value. Each group's intercept is predicted from an overall intercept term, γ_{00} and group level error term μ_{0j} , whereby the latter allows one to account for the correlated error structure inherent in hierarchically clustered data. Both predictor and mediator are level two variables, meaning that they vary on ego-level, whereas the outcome variable varies on level one, being the alter level. I use likelihood ratio tests to evaluate the different levels of restrictions of nested models whereby statistical significance indicates that the less restrictive model (and thus the one including control variables) generally fits the data better.

Dyadic relationships and their properties constitute the unit of analysis. Dyadic relationships are clustered by the personal networks within which they exist. Accordingly, regarding observed outcomes, alters nested within a particular personal network are more likely to be similar to each other as well as to differ from those nested in a different personal network. Multi-level analysis controls for such dependencies owing to hierarchical data structures; in the case of this study, clusters presented by personal networks. To perform multilevel analyses on personal network data³⁹, the dependent variable must vary on the alter-level, egos must be sampled independently, and personal networks must be sampled so that they do not or only randomly overlap (Perry et al. 2018). My data fulfils these criteria. Though egos were purposefully sampled, the data collection did not use a snowball or random-path sampling approach to ensure that egos would be selected in line with sampling criteria but independently from each other⁴⁰.

6.3.2 *Relevant data*

The sample considered in this study consists of 189 adult Namibian citizens above the age of 18 and up to 65 years of age, whereby 47.2% identify as female (Appendix IV). I only include respondents who are – by stated occupation – economically active, excluding 16 egos and 601 support dyads. Doing so establishes a better base for comparing different socioeconomic standings, i.e. varying educational and professional levels among those economically active⁴¹. Further, in this analysis I only consider support between two individual adults and thus not between adults and minors, excluding 1130 dyads.⁴² The ethnic identity grouping results in 77.7%

³⁹ To recall, in personal network data, the respondent reporting their network is referred to as ego whereas contacts mentioned within an ego's network are then referred to as alters. Links between two individuals are referred to as dyads.

⁴⁰ For a more detailed discussion, see section 4.4.2

⁴¹ Further, economically inactive - primarily including retired individuals - have been found to take on roles as carers for and supporters of younger members but these are typically based on rationales of family dynamics (Kalomo et al., 2018) and could bias the observed practices, possibly mixing two different support dynamics.

⁴² Support between adult and minors is relevant, as has been shown by significantly higher numbers of minors in non-white individuals' personal networks. Yet, given the scaling of socioeconomic positions,

of dyads that can be associated with a non-white ethnic identity. Therefore, observed dyads associated with white ethnic identities amount to a total of 871 dyads whereas for non-white ethnic identities I can draw on a sample of 3129 dyads, resulting in a total of 4000 dyads observed. Regarding the outcome variable, there is sufficient variance within both ethnic identity groups for cross-group comparisons. In addition, in the sub-sample 82.6% of dyads are reported to happen with ‘the same ethnic identity’, allowing us to primarily assess the grouping of ethnic identities in a separate manner. Further, regarding the sub-sample, egos reported 33.5 interactions on average with vast variations from seven reported activities to 95. As I am not analysing personal networks per se but treating them as a list of dyads, within-ego variations are accounted for by clustering error terms by ego identifiers. Nevertheless, the behaviour of some individuals might be over- or under-represented and thus can distort broader inferences about behavioural patterns. Furthermore, personal networks were purposefully sampled and thus extrapolations are generally limited. I will now turn to the findings of the performed analysis.

6.4 RESULTS

I discuss findings under different focus areas. First, I elaborate on subjective positions across support directions in general and across non-white and white ethnic identity groups. Further drawing on descriptive results, I compare socioeconomic positions, distance, and support engagement across non-white and white ethnic identity groups. Building on model outcomes, I then elaborate on direct and mediated effects of support engagement and socioeconomic positions on the socioeconomic distance found in support relationships, again, comparing such across mentioned groups. Lastly, building on findings in chapter 5, I present tentative conclusions about wider dynamics and implications of identity-based disparities within social systems of support, which I will further build on in my concluding chapter (chapter 8).

6.4.1 *Subjective positioning – notably being better or worse off?*

Subjective positions are based on a notion of placing oneself in relation to others in certain hierarchical ways. As described earlier on, which characteristics, attributes or general perceptions were used to establish such hierarchies differed across respondents. Some considered life-cycle elements and age positions, some health, some made references to wealth such as land and others used formal frameworks as a reference, e.g. being placed in the same ‘tax bracket’. It is thus difficult to compare subjective positions across egos as each seems to have their own rationale,

minors would naturally hold lower socioeconomic positions since they might not have completed their education yet, or might not hold a higher profession. Thus, putting them on the same scale as adults creates some inconsistencies. Furthermore, it might blend parental duties with other support dynamics that exist between adult individuals. In order to generate greater consistency in terms of socioeconomic status, I exclude support activities with individuals below the age of 21, which is considered the age of majority according to the 1972 state law act called the Age of Majority Act (see <https://www.lac.org.na/news/pressreleases/pressr-ageofmajority.html>)

which further differed when egos talked about different relationships. Below, I compare subjective positions across support directions. As support direction provides the rationale of defining support engagement, as detailed in section 6.2, doing so provides a first indication whether providing support is generally associated by egos with alters that they consider to be worse off. I first provide a general overview of subjective positions across support directions, displayed in Table 6-1, before moving on to a comparison across ethnic identity groups.

In Table 6-1, row four shows that overall, 45.1% of alters were considered being ‘better off’ by egos, 32.2% as being ‘the same’ and 22.7% as being ‘worse off’. Thus, combined, alters were somewhat more likely to be considered as the same or better off (a total of 77.3%). More broadly, this can reflect a potential upward-looking trend in individuals’ perspectives when positioning themselves in relation to others in their support network. Rows two and three then represent percentage shares of subjective positions per support direction, i.e. the share of provided activities associated with alters who are considered as being ‘the same’ versus ‘better off’. While provided activities seem to be fairly balanced across all three possible outcomes (with 35.6%, 31.7% and 32.6% respectively), received activities seem to be more strongly linked to alters who are considered better off (60.3% versus 28.3% the same and 11.4% worse off). Thus, the pattern does not quite mirror subjective positioning across support directions: while provided support seems to almost equally cover all three positions, when one receives support, the alter is generally considered as being better off. One could assume that provided support should be more linked to worse off alters. On the other hand, this discrepancy indicates that subjective notions of who is better, worse off or the same feature more strongly if someone gets something from others – and less so if one speaks about what one gives to others.

Table 6-1 General association of support direction and subjective positions

| 1 | Support direction | the same | better off | worse off | Total |
|---|-------------------|----------|------------|-----------|-------|
| 2 | Provide | 35.6% | 31.7% | 32.6% | 100% |
| 3 | Receive | 28.3% | 60.3% | 11.4% | 100% |
| 4 | Total | 32.2% | 45.1% | 22.7% | 100% |
| 5 | Provide | 58.7% | 37.3% | 76.4% | 53.0% |
| 6 | Receive | 41.3% | 62.7% | 23.6% | 47.0% |
| 7 | Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, author’s own calculation.

However, among 22.7% of alters who were perceived as worse off, they were most likely to be mentioned in a connection where support was provided. In Table 6-1, rows five and six display the percentage share of support directions per subjective position, i.e. among alters who are

considered ‘the same’, how much support was provided versus received. A considerable share of 76.4% activities were provided when talking about worse off alters. Similarly, 62.7% of alters were considered as being better off when receiving support. Alters who are considered the same, show a slightly more balanced profile with 41.3% received and 58.7% provided support. Thus, the balance across subjective positions in support directions as described in the paragraph above and shown in row two, mainly stems from the overall proportions of subjective positions across alters, as shown in row three. For example, with alters considered as being worse off only amounting to 22.7%, their representations of provided support is comparatively smaller to the representation of alters who are considered better off (45.1%). On the other hand, support directions are more balanced (53.0% provided and 47.0% received), which makes rows five and six more conclusive. Overall, these comparisons reveal that subjective positions tend to vary with support directions whereby generally provided support seems to be associated with worse off alters and received support seems to be strongly associated with better off alters. With alters who are ‘the same’, support directions are somewhat more balanced and thus they could almost equally be mentioned in provided or received directions.

I now move on to group comparisons displayed in Table 6-2 and Table 6-3. Hereby, I compare the percentage share observed for each possible combination, i.e. the share of provided to the same, provided to better off, or to worse off. Percentage shares are compared within support directions and across ethnic identity groups, testing significant differences in variances across groups.

Table 6-2 Subj. assessments of alters: provided support across ethnic identity groups

| Ethnic identity groups | Non-white | White | Chi sq. test |
|------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| Provide | (n) % share | (n) % share | |
| Same | (869) 35.7 | (192) 31.6 | $\chi^2 (1) 1.12 p = 0.290$ |
| Better | (743) 30.5 | (162) 26.6 | $\chi^2 (1) 1.26 p = 0.261$ |
| Worse | (820) 33.7*** | (820) 41.8*** | $\chi^2 (1) 17.15 p \leq 0.001$ |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, author’s own calculation, Notes: Y (direction | subjective position) binary variables on alter level. Testing differences in support direction and subjective positions across ethnic identity groups using Chi square tests of independence.

If indicated, difference in variance across groups significant at *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.10$

Table 6-3 Subj. assessments of alters: received support across ethnic identity groups

| Ethnic identity groups | Non-white | White | Chi sq. test |
|------------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| Receive | (n) % share | (n) % share | |
| Same | (457) 28.3 | (104) 29.2 | χ^2 (1) 0.196 p= 0.657 |
| Better | (993) 61.4*** | (187) 52.5*** | χ^2 (1) 11.39 p= 0.001 |
| Worse | (166) 10.3*** | (65) 18.3*** | χ^2 (1) 12.36 p ≤ 0.001 |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Y (direction | subjective position) binary variables on alter level. Testing differences in support direction and subjective positions across ethnic identity groups using Chi square tests of independence.

If indicated, difference in variance across groups significant at *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, and * p < 0.10

In line with the more horizontal tendencies for alters considered as ‘the same’, there are no significant differences in the percentage share associated with the ‘same’ alters across ethnic identity groups as well as in support directions. Table 6-2 displays that the provided support egos of different ethnic identity groups have differing subjective tendencies regarding worse off alters. Thereby, the share of support provided to ‘worse off’ alters is significantly higher for white egos (41.8% versus 33.7%). Table 6-3 shows differences in support reported as received. The share receiving support from subjectively better off alters is significantly higher for non-white egos (61.4% versus 52.5%), whereas the share receiving from the subjectively considered worse off alters is significantly higher for white egos (18.3% versus 10.3%).

Overall, these comparisons somehow suggest a rather opposite dynamic of what the Black Tax narrative suggests from the providers’ perspectives. However, rather than interpreting it as non-white egos tendency to provide less to worse off alters than white egos, one needs to account for the subjectivity in these statements. In that, it can also be seen as non-white egos tend to be less likely to consider alters being worse off when they provide support – potentially reflected in the different foundations and rationales that inform these subjective assessments. This might also explain why, when talking about received support, there is a greater tendency to consider the other as better off for non-white egos, which contradicts the tendency shown for providing support. This might capture general subjective disparities in prosocial behaviour. Whereas one can observe certain structural patterns, these might not necessarily be compatible with corresponding personal orientations of individuals. I now turn to the comparably more objective measures reflected in socioeconomic positions and distances followed by support engagement.

6.4.2 Differences in socioeconomic positions and distances across ethnic identity groups

I compare socioeconomic positions as well as socioeconomic distance observed in support relationships across non-white and white ethnic identity groups. Table 6-4 shows that, on average, there is a significant difference in average socioeconomic positions between non-white and white egos, amounting to 2.24 units on the scale from one to eight. This can be linked to prevailing economic discrepancies across non-white and white individuals owing to the former apartheid system. Thereby, about 70% of non-white egos hold socioeconomic positions that range between values as low as 2.5 to 6.81 on the scale. For white egos, the spread is slightly smaller with 70% of the positions falling between values of 5.2 and 8 on the scale. The sample further did not observe any white ego below a position value of four. Generally, given these ingroup variations, a subsequent analysis across socioeconomic positions within each group is plausible.

Next, I look at socioeconomic distance. On average, white egos support relationships involve alters being 2.77 units away from their own socioeconomic position. This is slightly but significantly different from distances observed for non-white egos, being on average .30 units lower at 2.47 units. In itself, this difference is large given the total scale from zero (same position) to seven (maximum opposite position). It is however noteworthy that the difference observed in socioeconomic position between white and non-white egos is not equally reflected in socioeconomic distances. More precisely, support of white egos reaches down but not ‘as far down’. Given their higher positions of 6.9 and an average distance of 2.8, their support relationships remain among slightly higher positions, i.e. on average they involve alters situated in positions between four and eight. For non-white egos, on average, support reaches alters in positions between two and seven. Given that their average position is situated more towards the middle of the scale from one to eight (namely at 4.6), their support distances can also be spread more towards higher and lower situated alters.

Table 6-4 SES positions & distance across ethnic identity groups

| All | Ego | | | | Alter | | | |
|-----------|-----|---------|-------|------|-------|---------|-------|------|
| | N | Mean | SE | SD | N | Mean | SE | SD |
| White | 38 | 6.89*** | .2740 | 1.69 | 871 | 2.77*** | .0728 | 2.14 |
| Non-white | 151 | 4.65*** | .1760 | 2.16 | 3129 | 2.47*** | .0341 | 1.90 |
| Total | 189 | 5.11 | .1643 | 2.26 | 4000 | 2.54 | .0311 | 1.96 |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, author’s own calculation, Notes: SES position and SES distance computed as score (continuous) on ego-level (position) and alter-level (distance). Testing mean differences using two-sample t-tests. If indicated, mean variance across groups significant at *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.10$

To see whether patterns differ when comparing egos who tend to hold higher positions overall, I compared socioeconomic positions among tertiary degree holders across ethnic identity groups as displayed in Table 6-5. Despite holding a tertiary degree, socioeconomic positions of non-white egos still tend to be .65 lower with an average of 6.75. Though that is considerably less when comparing all egos, the difference in average SES position remains significant. On the other hand, socioeconomic distance does not vary significantly across non-white and white egos. It is slightly higher for non-white egos (3.00 versus 2.87) but so is the within-group variation (with a standard deviation of 2.46 versus 2.22). Nevertheless, this suggests that regardless of holding high educational qualifications, non-white egos remain on average in lower socioeconomic positions, which is owing a lower professional profile on average. For higher educated egos, socioeconomic distance seems to be more alike across ethnic identity groups. Furthermore, with SES positions generally being on the upper end of the scale, socioeconomic distance is in general mainly downward oriented.

Table 6-5 SES position & distance: tertiary degree holders across ethnic identity groups

| Tertiary degree only | Ego | | SES position | | Alter | SES distance | | |
|----------------------|-----|--------|--------------|------|-------|--------------|-------|------|
| | N | Mean | SE | SD | N | Mean | SE | SD |
| White | 30 | 7.40** | .2279 | 1.24 | 738 | 2.87 | .0819 | 2.22 |
| Non-white | 57 | 6.75** | .1894 | 1.43 | 1441 | 3.00 | .0539 | 2.46 |
| Total | 87 | 6.98 | .1498 | 1.39 | 2179 | 2.96 | .0452 | 2.11 |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, author's own calculation

Notes: SES position and SES distance computed as score (continuous) on ego-level (position) and alter-level (distance). Testing mean differences using two-sample t-tests.

If indicated, mean variance across groups significant at *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.10$

Lastly, I compare whether the observed pattern among tertiary degree holders holds true when focusing on egos of the highest professional level across ethnic identity groups. In Table 6-6, I show the observed average positions held by higher grade professionals for non-white and white egos. Naturally, higher grade professionals (holding the highest value of five on the employment scale), hold higher socioeconomic positions. In contrary to patterns observed for tertiary degree holders, average positions do not significantly differ among higher grade professionals across ethnic identity groups. In general, egos tend to hold similar socioeconomic positions, which is also reflected in a relatively low spread around displayed averages (standard deviation amounting to .78 for non-white and .33 for white individuals). While positions at the upper end of the scale do not differ, socioeconomic distance, primarily oriented towards lower positions, significantly varies across ethnic identity groups. Thereby, it is on average significantly higher for non-white egos: their support reaches, on average, alters up to 3.4 positions (primarily) below them, whereas this is slightly less (by .52) for white egos. Further, within group variance tends to be slightly

greater for white egos (standard deviation amounting to 79.3% of mean) than it is for non-white egos (standard deviation amounting to 65.8% of mean).

Table 6-6 SES position & distance: higher grade professionals across ethnic identity groups

| Higher grade professionals only | SES position | | | | Alter | SES distance | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|------|-------|-----|-------|--------------|-------|----|------|
| | N | Mean | SE | Sd | | N | Mean | SE | Sd |
| White | 26 | 7.88 | .0639 | .33 | 656 | 2.92*** | .0902 | | 2.31 |
| Non-white | 34 | 7.61 | .1337 | .78 | 894 | 3.43*** | .0748 | | 2.26 |
| Total | 69 | 7.73 | .0818 | .63 | 1550 | 3.22 | .0579 | | 2.28 |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: SES position and SES distance computed as score (continuous) on ego-level (position) and alter-level (distance). Testing mean differences using two-sample t-tests. If indicated, mean variance across groups significant at *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.10$

Overall, there remains considerable variations within ethnic identity groups regarding one's own position and associated socioeconomic distances in support relationships. To explore combined effects, I shall now turn to the modelling outcomes in the following section.

6.4.3 Differences in support engagement

In the following, I compare differences in support engagement between egos, understood through support directions as detailed in section 6.2. An initial exploration clusters the type of engagement into four categories when observed for each reported relationship (as shown in Table 6-7). Thereby, the first set of categories (alter level) distinguishes between one-way support and balanced support, and whether the ego or alter provides more. The category 'one way' indicates that the alter was only mentioned in connection with one support direction, i.e. all activities were recorded as provided to or received by them⁴³. 'Balanced', however, indicates that the number of provided versus received activities is exactly even between an ego and the alter, thus the amount of provided support equals the amount of received support. I further compare this across alters of white and non-white egos.

Table 6-7 shows percentage shares at alter level and thus focuses on relationships across personal networks of egos. The majority, namely 89.5% of alters were associated with only one support direction, as shown in row two. This share is slightly higher among alters who were reported by a white ego (91.1% versus 89.1% for alters mentioned by non-white egos). 'Balanced' support, on the other hand, applies to 4.5% of alters overall with a slightly higher share for alters of non-white egos (4.7% versus 3.8% of white egos, see row three). In cases where the alter was

⁴³ Note that this does not indicate that the alter was mentioned only once. As illustrated earlier on, personal networks were moderately dense (0.6), (see section 5.4.1) meaning that they to some extent contain the same set of individuals mentioned across multiple support activities and themes. 'One way' can refer to an alter mentioned, i.e. three times – however all support activities must then have the same direction, i.e. all three activities were provided.

mentioned multiple times but the share of provided support exceeds received support, the ego provides more, as shown in row four. This applies to 3.1% of alters overall and is lower for alters of white egos (1.7%) and higher for alters of non-white egos (3.4%). Lastly, row five shows the number of received activities exceeding provided activities with the same alter. This applies to 2.9% of alters overall and the shares are fairly even across alters of white (3.3%) and non-white (2.8%) egos. Furthermore, differences are not significant across ethnic identity groups.

Table 6-7 Support engagement in dyadic relationships (alter level)

| 1 | Alter level (dyadic relationships) | All alters ⁴⁴ (N=3031) | Only alters of white egos (n=571) | Only alters of non-white egos (n=2460) | Chi sq. test |
|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | | Column percentage (n) | | | |
| 2 | One way | 89.5 (2712) | 91.1 (520) | 89.1 (2192) | χ^2 (3) 5.369 p= 0.147 |
| 3 | Balanced | 4.5 (138) | 3.8 (22) | 4.7 (116) | |
| 4 | Ego provides more | 3.1 (93) | 1.7 (10) | 3.4 (83) | |
| 5 | Alter provides more | 2.9 (88) | 3.3 (19) | 2.8 (69) | |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Y (direction) discrete variable on alter level. Testing differences across ethnic identity groups using Chi square tests of independence. If indicated, difference in variance across groups significant at *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.10$

Overall, this indicates that most reported support relationships are unidirectional. While the alter could have been mentioned multiple times, they tend to be mentioned in connection with the same support direction. This tendency holds true across alters mentioned by white and non-white egos alike.

Next, I turn to balances found within personal networks of egos. Thus, instead of assessing relationships across egos – as done in Table 6-7 – I now account for the specific boundaries of personal networks by first assessing shares within before then comparing them across networks of white and non-white egos. Table 6-8 displays the respective results.

As previously observed, overall balances of support directions (47% received and 53% provided activities) are somewhat mirrored in the share of egos who mainly provide (66.7%) versus those who mainly receive (30.7%) in their personal network (see row three and four). Overall, only a small share of egos (2.7%) has a balanced network, in that their share of provided support equals their share of received support within their network. This applies to white and non-white egos alike (2.7% non-white and 2.6% white). White egos tend to report more provided support (76.3%)

⁴⁴ This number is lower than the 4000 dyadic links observed as it only counts each individual alter mentioned once, regardless of whether they have been mentioned multiple times across different support activities.

whereas only 21.2% of white egos reported more received support within their network, versus 33.1 % for non-white egos.

For non-white egos, this is slightly more balanced. For 64.2% of non-white egos, provided activities exceeded the share of received activities, whereas for 33.1% the share of received activities exceeded the share of provided activities within their network.

Table 6-8 Support engagement in personal networks (ego level)

| 1 | Ego level (personal networks) | All egos (N=189) | White egos (N=38) | Non-white egos (N=151) | Chi sq. |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Column percentage (n) | | | | | |
| 2 | Balanced network | 2.7 (5) | 2.6 (1) | 2.7 (4) | χ^2 (2) 2.103 p= 0.349 |
| 3 | Ego mainly provides in their personal network | 66.7 (126) | 76.3 (29) | 64.2 (97) | |
| 4 | Ego mainly receives in their personal network | 30.7 (58) | 21.2 (8) | 33.1 (50) | |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Y (direction) discrete variable on ego level. Testing differences across ethnic identity groups using Chi square tests of independence. If indicated, difference in variance across groups significant at *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, and * p < 0.10

Lastly, I compare the computed variable *engagement* across ethnic identity groups (Table 6-9). To recall, engagement represents the share of provided activities out of all the activities of an ego's network. In this regard, it is a summary variable of what has been described in the tables above. White egos provide on average 68% of their reported activities and non-white egos 58% of their reported activities. As shown in respective standard deviations, there is variation of degrees of engagement in both groups. These findings further stress sufficient within-group variation for comparing the effects of socioeconomic position and distance across individuals as well as across ethnic identity groups.

Table 6-9 Support engagement across ethnic identity groups

| On ego- level | N | Mean share of engagement (provided/total activities) | | |
|------------------|-----|------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----|
| | | Mean | SE | SD |
| White | 38 | .68** | .0405 | .25 |
| Non-white | 151 | .58** | .0206 | .25 |
| Total | 189 | .59 | .0185 | .26 |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Share of engagement computed as share (continuous) on ego-level. Testing mean differences using two-sample t-tests. If indicated, mean variance across groups significant at *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, and * p < 0.10

Overall, this might indicate an interesting dynamic. Ethnic identity groups tend to share a similar pattern in support tendencies regarding directions when compared to vertical patterns. Furthermore, and building on results discussed in the previous section, white egos' socioeconomic positions only ranged between four and eight, whereas they range from one to eight for non-white egos. I thus compare support engagement among non-white egos who sit above the value of three (and thus within the same range of positions as white egos) with those sitting below. Thereby, non-white egos higher up in position significantly differ in terms of support engagement from those in lower positions. As shown in Table 6-10, on average, those in higher positions have a 7% higher tendency to report provided support in relation to their total support reported. Given their positions towards the upper end of the scale, one can further derive that a higher share of providing is also more downward oriented.

Table 6-10 Support engagement across higher and lower positioned non-white egos

| On ego-level | N | Mean share of engagement (provided/ total activities) | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----|
| | | Mean | SE | SD |
| Non-white | 61 | .53* | .0367 | .29 |
| Non-white, SES position >3 | 90 | .60* | .0237 | .23 |
| Total | 151 | .58 | .0206 | .26 |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Share of engagement computed as share (continuous) on ego-level. Testing mean differences using two-sample t-tests. If indicated, mean variance across groups significant at *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.10$

I shall now turn to a discussion of the model outcomes, comparing engagement, socioeconomic positions and socioeconomic distance observed within groups of non-white and white ethnic identities and compare results across both groups.

6.4.4 The engagement and position effects on socioeconomic distance

I now turn to the results generated by the multilevel mediational modelling approach as detailed in section 6.3.1. The following tables, Table 6-11 and Table 6-12, display the results of direct, indirect and total effects (please note that the models of all three estimation steps are displayed in Appendix IV). Effects are expressed in units of the dependent variable, hence the scale of socioeconomic distance ranging from zero to seven. Direct effect refers to the effect of support engagement on socioeconomic distance, or in other words, whether a tendency to give more can be associated with greater socioeconomic distance in support relationships. The indirect effect is therefore the combined effect of support engagement and socioeconomic position on socioeconomic distance. In other words, whether a tendency to give more can be associated with higher socioeconomic positions, in turn affecting socioeconomic distance. The total effect is the combined effect of the indirect and the direct effect.

Table 6-11 displays the results of an empty model as well as one controlling for the ego's age, gender, and neighbourhood for each sub-sample of non-white ethnic identities (151 egos) or white ethnic identities (being 38 egos). I compare results across groups. First, it is noteworthy that all three effects must be significant to be interpreted jointly.

While there is a significant indirect effect on socioeconomic distance for non-white egos, the direct effect of support engagement on socioeconomic distance is insignificant. This might reflect the general tendency to report provided and received support alike among non-white egos. Among white egos, the direct effect of support engagement is significant, generally increasing socioeconomic distance. This might reflect the previously observed tendency to report more provided than received activities overall. However, this effect does not remain significant after controlling for egos' age, gender, and neighbourhood. With the total effect remaining insignificant, this suggests that neither 'giving more' (as an increase in support engagement across egos) nor 'giving and having more' (as the combined effect of an increase in support engagement and socioeconomic position) explains socioeconomic distance in the support relationships of white egos. It is thus possible that orientations to provide or receive support might be guided by different principles, such as age, gender, or other family dynamics for white egos.

Table 6-11 Engagement & position effect on SES distance across ethnic identity groups

| 1 | Model effects | Distance (Non-white) | | | | Distance (White) | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| | | w/o control | | w control | | w/o control | | w control | |
| | | N= 3129, 151 egos | | N= 3129 , 151 egos | | N=871, 38 egos | | N=871, 38 egos | |
| | | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE |
| 2 | Engagement (direct) | -.08 | .2753 | -.19 | .2409 | .86* | .4804 | -.01 | .7080 |
| 3 | Engagement and position (indirect) | .42 | .1870 | .76*** | .1737 | -.01 | .2644 | .20 | .5059 |
| 4 | Total effect | .34 | .3311 | .56** | .2768 | .85 | .5576 | .10 | .7414 |
| 5 | Total effect mediated by position ⁴⁵ | 1.23 | | 1.35 | | .01 | | 2.0 | |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Model effects using mediational multilevel model (Krull & MacKinnon, 2001). Dependent variable for all models is socioeconomic distance (continuous). Effects expressed in socioeconomic distance scale changes. Bootstrapped standards errors using an estimation sample of 10.000 replications. If indicated, effects significant at *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$ and * $p < 0.10$

Knowing about the overall difference in socioeconomic positions, I wanted to find out whether effects change if results are compared across non-white and white egos within the same range of socioeconomic positions. Therefore, I narrowed the sample of non-white egos to include those

⁴⁵ Note that this share indicates the relation of the indirect effect to the total effect, thus indirect effect/ total effect.

who fall within the same range of socioeconomic positions held by white egos. Therefore, the sample only includes egos of both groups with a socioeconomic position above the value of three (90 non-white and 38 white egos). Furthermore, only considering egos whose position is located at the upper end of the scale also allows us to observe socioeconomic distance, which is then primarily downward oriented towards lower positions. Building on the insight that non-white tertiary degree holders still remained in lower socioeconomic positions overall, whereby socioeconomic distance was significantly higher for non-white higher grade professionals (see discussion in section 6.4.2), I was interested to discover whether such tendencies also showed in the combined effect of position and engagement.

Table 6-12 displays the result of the model outcomes using the adjusted sub-samples as described above. As white egos determined the range of socioeconomic positions considered, all egos remained included. Hence, model outcomes remain the same as displayed in Table 6-11. Overall, predictors remain largely insignificant, suggesting that neither the combined effect of engagement and position nor engagement alone adequately predicts socioeconomic distance in support relationships of white egos.

However, direct and indirect effects remain significant predictors of socioeconomic distance for non-white egos after controlling for age, gender, and neighbourhood of the ego. Thereby, as shown in row two, the direct effect of an increase in engagement, and thus a higher tendency to provide, predicts a 1.05 unit increase in socioeconomic distance in support relationships of non-white ethnic identities. This effect explains 62% of the total variation, which amounts to 1.70 unit-increases in socioeconomic distance in support relationships shown in row four. Thus, a considerable share of non-white egos having support relationships with alters further away from their own position is explained by a greater tendency to provide more than they receive. In other words, non-white egos who tend to provide more, seem to cover greater socioeconomic distances in terms of supporting others. This in turn suggests that providing seems to be generally associated with greater distances in support relationships for non-white ethnic identities.

Whether distances are then associated with providing from higher to lower positions is reflected in the indirect effect displayed in row three. Non-white egos who provide more tend to be associated with higher socioeconomic positions, thereby predicting an increase of .65 unit increases in socioeconomic distances observed. Overall, this indirect effect explains 38% of the total effect, as shown in row five. With the effect being positive, it also constitutes the extent to which support becomes more downward oriented. A rise towards the upper end of the scale for socioeconomic positions results in a positive increase in distance, which is then more likely to be linked to lower positions. Though the indirect effect of position amounts to one third overall, it

nonetheless adds a considerable share to the predicted socioeconomic distance in support relationships of non-white ethnic identity groups.

Table 6-12 Engagement & position effect on SES distance for SES position >3, across ethnic identity groups

| 1 | Model effects | Distance, non-white =1 & SES pos. > 3 | | | | Distance, non-white = 0 & SES pos. >3 | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|------------------------------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| | | w/o control | | w control | | w/o control | | w control | |
| | | N= 2695, 90 egos | | N= 2695, 90 egos | | N=871, 38 egos | | N=871, 38 egos | |
| | | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE |
| 2 | Engagement (direct) | .95* | .2465 | 1.05** | .2533 | .86* | .4804 | -.09 | .7080 |
| 3 | Engagement and position (indirect) | .47*** | .2524 | .65*** | .2696 | -.01 | .2644 | .20 | .5059 |
| 4 | Total effect | 1.42*** | .3453 | 1.70*** | .3475 | .85 | .5576 | .10 | .7414 |
| 5 | Total effect mediated by position ⁴⁶ | .33 | | .38 | | .01 | | 2.0 | |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Model effects using mediational multilevel model (Krull & MacKinnon, 2001). Dependent variable for all models is socioeconomic distance (continuous). Effects expressed in socioeconomic distance scale changes. Bootstrapped standard errors using an estimation sample of 10,000 replications. If indicated, effects significant at *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$ and * $p < 0.10$

To summarize, results further suggest that 'giving more' (as a direct effect of engagement) and 'giving more and having more' (as an indirect effect of engagement and position), predicts higher socioeconomic distances for non-white egos. Furthermore, knowing that non-white egos of higher positions tend to give more (see section 6.4.3), indicates that higher distances also tend to be more downward oriented towards alters in lower positions. Therefore, findings provide evidence of the patterns described by the Black Tax narrative. A first observation is that the presence of vertical inequality, as socioeconomic differences between individuals, is more dependent on being a net provider as well as one's own socioeconomic position for non-white and not white egos. This suggests that in general, socioeconomic orientations in prosocial behaviour are more prevalent in networks of non-white ethnic identity groups. The tendency to be more prosocial, in terms of providing more, appears to be linked to higher positioned egos whereby distance is then increasingly associated with lower alters for the observed non-white egos. I now turn to a joint discussion of structural insights and findings outlined in the previous chapter (chapter 5).

⁴⁶ Note that this share indicates the relation of the indirect effect to the total effect, thus indirect effect/ total effect.

Table 6-13 Effects of the three estimation stages of the multilevel mediational modelling approach

| Direct and mediated effects | non-white =1 N=3129 groups =151 | | non-white =0 N=871 groups = 38 | | non-white =1 N= 3129 groups = 151 | | non-white =0 N=871 groups = 38 | | non-white =1, SES > 3 N=2120 groups =90 | | non-white =1, SES >3 N=2120 groups = 90 | |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------------------|-------|
| | SES distance | | SES distance | | SES distance | | SES distance | | SES distance | | SES distance | |
| (1) Estimation (DV -> IV) | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE |
| Engagement | .39 | .3068 | .84 | .5339 | .63* | .3374 | .08 | .7819 | 1.41*** | .3778 | 1.71*** | .4448 |
| Intercept | 2.13*** | .1727 | 2.28*** | .3653 | 2.74*** | .4028 | 2.29** | .7822 | 1.87*** | .2213 | 1.33** | .5755 |
| Random effects parameter: ego identity | .91*** | .0627 | .66** | .1209 | .88*** | .0622 | .67** | .1293 | .78*** | .0717 | .77*** | .0730 |
| Controls | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Age | | | | | -.01* | .0063 | .01 | .0111 | | | .00 | .0083 |
| Female | | | | | .05 | .1774 | -.19 | .3112 | | | .31 | .2140 |
| Neighbourhood | | | | | -.14** | .0618 | .07 | .1232 | | | -.05 | .0734 |
| LR test | 542.87 | .0000 | 35.16 | .0000 | 513.56 | .0000 | 30.62 | .0000 | 264.41 | .0000 | 246.77 | .0000 |
| | SES position | | SES position | | SES position | | SES position | | SES position | | SES position | |
| (2) Estimation (MV -> IV) | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE |
| Engagement | 1.56** | .6544 | -.03 | 1.143 | 2.81*** | .6991 | .69 | 1.656 | 1.27* | .6739 | 1.81** | .7929 |
| Intercept | 3.87*** | .3688 | 6.91*** | .7949 | 3.99*** | .8359 | 7.96*** | 1.653 | 5.41*** | .3934 | 4.82*** | 1.030 |
| Controls | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Age | | | | | -.04*** | .0132 | -.01 | .0226 | | | -.00 | .0150 |
| Female | | | | | 1.03*** | .3716 | -.05 | .6594 | | | .50 | .3842 |
| Neighbourhood | | | | | -.21 | .1288 | -.40 | .2460 | | | -.05 | .1331 |
| | SES distance | | SES distance | | SES distance | | SES distance | | SES distance | | SES distance | |
| (3) Estimation (MV -> IV) | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE |
| SES position | .27*** | .0317 | .26*** | .0750 | .27*** | .0332 | .29*** | .0741 | .36*** | .0449 | .36*** | .0458 |
| Engagement | -.08 | .2583 | .86* | .4736 | -.19 | .2984 | -.09 | .6591 | .94*** | .2918 | 1.05*** | .3543 |
| Controls | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Age | | | | | -.00 | .0054 | .02* | .0095 | | | .00 | .0063 |
| Female | | | | | -.25* | .1523 | -.16 | .2630 | | | .13 | .1669 |
| Neighbourhood | | | | | -.08 | .0519 | .18* | .1091 | | | -.04 | .0561 |
| Intercept | 1.08*** | .1867 | .42 | .6230 | 1.74*** | .3577 | -.09 | .8842 | -.12 | .2949 | -.43 | .4907 |
| Random effects parameter ego identity | .71*** | .0539 | .55*** | .1083 | 1.66*** | .0541 | .51*** | .1123 | .54*** | .0591 | .54*** | .0605 |
| LR test | 293.39 | .0000 | 26.37 | .0000 | 278.58 | .0000 | 19.04 | .0000 | 100.91 | .0000 | 97.18 | .0000 |

Source: primary data collected 2017/ 18, author's own calculation, Notes: If indicated, effects significant at *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05 and * p < 0.10.

6.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Before moving on to an overall discussion, I briefly recap the broader limitations of the analysis. Owing to a limited sample size, I generally interpret results with caution. They might reflect behavioural patterns of respondents, but a larger sample would be required to draw broader inferences. Naturally, the information captured is subject to an individual's willingness to share information as well as their ability to recall respective events. Further, as personal networks do not capture the sociometric structure of networks, behavioural patterns apply to the local environment of the person's network. While detailed information is available about the immediate environment of the individuals, there is no information about how personal networks are embedded in a wider structure of support. These aspects might matter in discussions of wider social systems of support, as support might be passed on beyond or restricted by others outside dyadic relationships.

To summarize, the findings presented in this chapter provide evidence of horizontal inequalities by ethnic identity groups. Socioeconomic positions were significantly lower for observed non-white ethnic identity groups as opposed to white ones. Seeing the described pattern as a consequence of historical roots and continued inequality between groups, I further propose that support dynamics among non-white ethnic identity groups could result in a ceiling on how much an individual can accumulate, in part contributing to maintaining overall lower socioeconomic positions. First, as shown in my previous chapter (chapter 5), support practices for non-white ethnic identities appeared to carry a stronger sense of duty, obligation or responsibility – particularly responding to external challenges, as has been previously found by Magubane (2017). Second, my model results show overall socioeconomic orientations are reflected in non-white support relationships but not necessarily in white ones. Thereby, higher socioeconomic positions and a tendency to give more predicts higher socioeconomic distances between non-white egos and their alters. The effect of socioeconomic positions could then also be linked to visible socioeconomic differences – and potentially greater expectations to feed resources into systems of private redistribution by those in higher positions. Third, personal networks were larger for non-white tertiary degree holders and an overall higher regularity of support activities was observed for non-white egos. Combined, being better situated but having larger networks and greater socioeconomic distances to cover, may lead to there being fewer resources left to invest in one's own economic progress.

Furthermore, white egos did display socioeconomic distance in their support relationships. Their own socioeconomic position or a tendency to provide more was not a significant predictor of the latter. Also, their support might not 'travel as far down', having fewer links to alters at the bottom of the scale. For instance, white egos holding tertiary degrees and having income via labour were generally found to have more peer to peer relationships. In sum, such could suggest that – and

particularly in comparison to non-white egos within the same range of socioeconomic positions – vertical inequality in support relationships of white ethnic identities is not as prevalent as it is within non-white ethnic identities.

Another interesting aspect was the dissonance of the patterns of more objective measures (being an individual's socioeconomic position) and subjective measures based on the question whether one considers others as the same, better, or worse off than oneself. When one provides support, then typically to someone seen as being worse off than oneself. The opposite holds true when one receives support. Support is then associated with someone who is better off in relation to oneself. Hereby, white egos were more likely to consider others they provide to as being worse off compared to non-white egos. This indicates that the subjective experience of Black Tax might not necessarily match the measured extent of objective differences in educational or professional attainments. It might also suggest that different – potentially non-economic – aspects were considered when evaluating other's general well-being. This further poses an opportunity to revisit the fixity of generally assumed criteria when analysing economic inequality, especially regarding individuals' perceptions of such within the context of social relationships.

In sum, one could argue that greater socioeconomic distance in support relationships generally indicates a greater potential for vertical redistribution (from richer to poorer). At the same time, knowing that there is already a discrepancy in individuals' socioeconomic positions across social groups, more vertical redistribution might not necessarily create an 'up-lift' effect for all: whereas some might benefit from support, others might be 'pushed down'. This might reduce the gap provoked by inequality from both sides for some groups. Having different support dynamics and parallel systems of social support in place for social groups can also create increased inequalities across such groups, in this case across ethnic identity groups. Acknowledging such would explain why social support can constitute safety nets or economic restraints for some but not others (Di Falco and Bulte, 2011; Hoff and Sen, 2005). It has further implications for the interplay between horizontal-between and vertical-within group inequality. I will discuss this further in the concluding chapter (chapter 8).

7 THE MISSING LINK OF ‘FROM WHOM TO WHOM’: A MICROSIMULATION OF RELATIONAL PATTERNS OF PRIVATE REDISTRIBUTION AND ITS EFFECT ON INCOME INEQUALITY

This chapter explores distributive effects of private transfers on income inequality. It thereby compares two approaches. First, the balance sheet approach, which can be found in studies primarily centred on remittances that account for whether an individual or household receives or provides private transfers. This approach measures what one receives versus what one provides. Second is the relational approach, using network data to measure how likely one is to recover transfer losses on the receiving end of provided transfers and vice versa. In other words, it does not just measure how much one provides or receives but factors in the likelihood of among whom transfers are provided and received. I specifically assess whether the relational approach, accounting for the likelihood of ‘among whom’, yields different inequality measures when compared to the balance sheet approach, which does not. More broadly, this speaks to the Black Tax narrative in that it explores whether private transfers are redistributive, given behavioural patterns within the realm of personal networks. Further, comparing these approaches represents a first step towards accounting for a mutual constitution between horizontal and vertical inequality when measuring income inequality. Section 7.1 provides a general introduction recalling the theoretical discussion detailed in section 2.4.3. Sections 7.2 and 7.3 elaborate on the analytical framework as well as the methodological steps applied in the analysis. Section 7.4 presents the findings and section 7.5 concludes.

7.1 INTRODUCTION AND RELEVANCE

With private transfers taking place among individuals, a dollar provided by someone is received by someone else and vice versa. Yet, studies rarely account for the linkage between this two-fold perspective when assessing the impact of private redistribution on income inequality. While there is a multitude of studies examining the distributive effects of private transfers in the Global South and North, they show somewhat inconclusive results. While some find equalizing (Dimova and Wolff, 2008; Kazianga, 2003; Nagarajan, 2009) and others un-equalizing effects in general (Berg and Cuong, 2011), others framing transfers as remittances find that only some (internal and not international or vice versa) transfers are equalizing (Lopez, 2007; Olowa et al., 2011; Taylor et al., 2005). Others assessed those effects across generations, finding that regularity and amounts of transfers matter in yielding greater equality (Künemund et al., 2005), but most studies only focus on either end of the transfer. They rarely match destinations and sources of transfers as they collect and present household or individual survey data, but not necessarily relational data.

However, socioeconomic status and orientations in redistributive behaviour and preferences were found to play an important role in contexts with high levels of inequality, as shown in the literature

discussed in section 2.4.2. Namibia has historically presented high levels of inequality (see chapter 3) and therefore provides an interesting case study to explore the following question:

How do relational dynamics based on reported behaviour of private redistribution influence income inequality?

This chapter explores the distributive aspect; more broadly the impacts of private redistribution on income inequality as outlined in section 2.4.3. Thereby, the main research question on ways in which socioeconomic inequalities are entangled with practices of private redistribution, is reflected in setting a focus on measurable outcomes. More specifically, the measurable aspects of ‘from whom to whom’ private transfers travel on overall income distributions – a notion that is rarely accounted for when measuring the impact of private transfers. Due to data limitations, I employ an individual’s income level instead of ethnic identity – given their interdependency in the Namibian context (see discussion on payment levels in section 3.1), doing so can be seen as a different entry point to the same structural inequalities. I develop a pilot approach which simulates behavioural patterns of monetary and monetizable⁴⁷ transfers by income levels, specifically utilizing the dual perspective of network data – those of providers and receivers of transfers and hence the notion ‘from whom to whom’. This approach allows me to discuss distributive impacts in a comparative manner with conventional approaches lacking a network perspective. More broadly, it touches on aspects of transfer efficiency and the extent to which private redistribution has a progressive character, further discussed in section 7.4.

I compare two approaches, which I term the ‘balance sheet’ and the ‘relational’ approach. The former simply accounts for what an individual or household receives and provides without further matching the destinations and sources of transfers. The latter, drawing on primary network data, accounts for the relational aspect of ‘to whom’ by matching recipients and providers of transfers through detecting behavioural patterns. I then compare both approaches and their effects on conventional measures of inequality.

I thereby provide an avenue to rethink existing approaches that explore the macrosocial structure of private redistribution and its implications on inequality by adding the notion of mutual constitution. Mutual constitution draws on the understanding that individuals and the structures in which they are embedded are influencing each other in a bi-directional way. In the following, I detail this underlying rationale of the subsequent analytical strategy.

7.2 THE TWO-FOLD PERSPECTIVE OF PERSONAL NETWORK DATA

A network perspective provides an explicit linkage of the individual and their social and economic context through capturing individuals and their social relationships. Certain characteristics of a

⁴⁷ This concerns in-kind transfers that can be translated to monetary values, i.e. approximate market prices.

person's behaviour can then be estimated within the space of interpersonal relationships. This can be done by accounting for attributes of the support activity itself, e.g. its type, duration or frequency, but it can also be based on the individual attributes at either or both ends of the support activity, e.g. the respondent's age, their alter's age, or the age difference or similarity between them. Generally, such patterns can allow one to identify behavioural dynamics within and across certain social markers or social groups. Particularly within the context of inequality, social group dynamics matter in that they can constitute 'solidaristic closure', whereas individuals are more likely to interact with or support 'their own' but not others (Abbink and Harris, 2019; Hogg, 2016; Parkin, 1974; Sanders, 2002; Simmel, 1955).

Personal network data reported by an ego and their alters thus provides a two-fold perspective: the one actively stated by the ego, and the passively stated, or derivate thereof, applying to their alters. Within the context of private redistribution, one perspective captures to whom the ego provides and from whom the ego receives. The second perspective captures from whom the alter receives and to whom the alter provides – constituting a mirrored perspective of the ego's behaviour. These two perspectives are central to the relational approach. Whereas the balance sheet approach basically only reflects the ego's perspective, the relational approach incorporates aspects of both.

The relational approach estimates how socioeconomic positions shape individual behaviour (of the ego) but also how such behaviour then differs towards others (different alters), depending on the individual's economic context. Central to a general understanding of the subsequent analysis is the notion that an individual in cross-sectional data can be an ego as well as an alter in providing or receiving transfers. That is to say, one perspective reflects how much an individual provides and how much she can recover from such a pattern of providing when on the receiving end. The other perspective then reflects how much an individual receives and how much she can lose from such gain being at the provider's end of this receiving pattern. More broadly, I thus compare whether accounting for dynamics of 'to whom' placing individuals at the opposite end of their stated behaviour changes the effects on income level versus simply accounting for in- and outflows from a balance sheet perspective. I shall detail this further in the subsequent section.

7.3 SCOPE AND ANALYTICAL STRATEGY

In this empirical investigation, I combine national survey data with the behavioural patterns stemming from personal network data. The Namibian Household Income and Expenditure Survey (NHIES) 2015/16 not only enables the extrapolation of behavioural patterns in a larger sample but is also representative of the area of interest, particularly regarding individuals' income and the resulting income distribution. As the effects on income inequality are of primary concern, the latter represents a key focus of this chapter. Before detailing the steps of the simulation approach,

I lay out why I focus on certain attributes of individuals to construct the relational and balance sheet approaches.

For the behavioural patterns and considering estimating their distributive effects on income distribution, I focus on the attributes of egos. Sample balances and data availability in the primary data (personal networks) compared with the secondary data (national survey data) determines chosen attributes. I thus discuss individual attributes captured in personal network data before elaborating on how they match with individual attributes given in the secondary data.

First is an ego's income position. The reason I apply income is to establish a direct link of positioning egos within the national survey's income distribution. Each ego provided information about their monthly income range. I subsequently compute behavioural patterns for egos of the same income level. I compute the same income ranges in the secondary data and thus match behavioural patterns to respective income groups.

Second, as previous studies primarily discussed in section 2.4.2 have demonstrated, socioeconomic positions can influence prosocial behaviour, amongst other aspects, through differing means or resources (Brown-Iannuzzi et al., 2017). I am interested in the patterns of providing or receiving material transfers depending on the ego's income position as well as the socioeconomic position of their contacts. Income functions not just as a direct link to situate an ego within the larger picture of income distribution but can also reflect 'differing means and resources' to engage in private redistribution. Thereby, I did not ask egos about the monthly income range of alters they mentioned. Doing so would potentially have a high level of inaccuracy, particularly for alters they are not 'as close' to or familiar with. It could rather reflect a subjective notion of what the ego thinks the other person potentially earns. Indeed, as previous research has shown, estimates of others' and one's own income position are often inaccurate (Cruces et al., 2013; Hauser and Norton, 2018). Consequently, I am not able to estimate the likelihood of providing to or receiving from an alter and how these actions relate to their stated income level.

However, egos were able to recall the educational attainment of the alter more adequately. Education levels tend to be an important marker of support dynamics, but the topic also incorporates the repercussions of former apartheid regimes discussed in preceding chapters. Furthermore, education has been used in studies on inequality and is generally seen as being indicative of a person's socioeconomic standing, in that it can reflect and determine present and potential future earnings as well as future opportunities regarding types of professions (Machin, 2011). Indeed, earnings and education levels are often positively correlated. For instance, in the primary data, egos' education levels, ranging from none to tertiary education, show a moderate

positive correlation (0.60) with stated monthly income ranges from below 1.000 NAD to more than 200.000 NAD⁴⁸ per month.

The purpose of this chapter is to compare two ways of measurements in order to define behavioural patterns dependent on the income positions of the ego and education level of the alter, which provides only one opportunity to establish such relational patterns. Given the focus on economic inequality, I chose socioeconomic attributes of egos and alters – however, one could equally use gender identities, language affiliations or intra and extra household transfers patterns. Generally, individual attributes must be available and harmonizable across both datasets. This restricts the availability of individual attributes to broadly established, categorical attributes such as education levels, as opposed to ethnic identity as elaborated on in section 7.3.3. I do not propose that education and income are the sole markers for establishing a relational approach but provide one demonstration of their effects on economic inequality – though multiple dynamics are of course at play. Furthermore, I refrain from interpreting the effects on inequality per se but rather demonstrate the difference in effects through a comparison of the balance sheet and relational approach. In the following, I detail the balance sheet and relational approach for the proposed microsimulation model and subsequent assessment.

7.3.1 *The balance sheet approach*

Suppose there is a given number of individuals who provide to and receive transfers from each other. Note that each person has a different propensity to give and receive different amounts depending on their monthly income. Let us further assume that we have a given number of individuals within a set range of monthly incomes so that we could classify them into groups based on income levels. Each of these groups then produces a collective pattern of providing and receiving transfers of different amounts. In a first step, I assess how much individuals give depending given their income level. In a second step, I estimate how much individuals receive depending on their income level.

Suppose that an ego can (1) or cannot (0) engage in a given support activity (S_n) of type (t) and direction (d). The redistributive behaviour of an ego (e) is then given by the probability of engaging in a given activity based on their income position (Y). Thus, the likelihood that an ego will engage in a certain support activity is conditional on their income level.

$$R_{S_n,y} = pr(S_{t,d} = 1 | Y_e = y)$$

Using a binomial pseudo-random number generator, corresponding transfers then get assigned to individuals in the survey dataset, generating a dummy variable whereby assignment $\in \{0,1\}$. The

⁴⁸ NAD refers to Namibian Dollar, whereby 1 USD amounts to approximately 18 NAD (April 2020), thus 1000 NAD amount to approx.. 56 USD whereas 200.000 NAD amount to 11.111 USD.

assignment is done per income level and further restricted by the likelihood of occurrence of $S_{t,d}$ as calculated above, so that the likelihood of transfers assigned in the survey data corresponds to the likelihood of transfers ($R_{Sn,y}$) observed in the primary network data. I further assign transfer values multiplied by the most stated frequency (f) attached to transfer type and direction per income level⁴⁹. This step homogenizes transfer values to annual amounts. Therefore, provided transfers constitute negative values and received transfers constitute positive values. Doing so allows us to estimate the total transfer loss and transfer gains of individuals (i) by subtracting or adding the sum of all valued transfers of any type per individual.

$$T(i) = \sum_{t=1}^T R_{Sn,y} * \pm(v_{t,d} * f_{t,d,y})$$

The balance sheet approach thus generally captures a notion of ‘how much’: how much is provided or received in material transfers by an individual given their income position. In the following, I detail the additional steps taken in the relational approach, accounting for a notion of ‘to or from whom’.

7.3.2 *The relational approach*

Again, suppose there is a given number of individuals who provide to and receive transfers from each other. Person A provides a certain amount to person B and so forth. Given that these transfers are directed, in case of a provided transfer by person A, person A would lose the provided amount and person B would gain the equivalent. Note that individuals within a set income range have a certain propensity⁵⁰ to give and receive different amounts.

The relational approach however incorporates how much an individual is likely to ‘regain’ from their transfer loss, being on the receiving end of their pattern of provided transfers. But also, how much an individual is likely to ‘lose’ from their transfer gain, being on the providing end of their pattern of received transfers. Let us term these as expected transfers. Hence, in my primary network data, I have the following observed transfers: transfers that an ego reported as provided and transfers that an ego reported as received. Expected transfers are then based on the computed probabilities of being a receiver of egos’ provided transfers or being a provider of egos’ received transfers – given an individual’s income and education level.

It is important to recall that egos’ networks include both provided and received transfers. Hence, there are probabilities of behaviour associated with ‘provided transfers’ from an ego’s perspective

⁴⁹ See Appendix V for an overview of transfer types and most commonly associated frequencies as well as patterns between income and education level across support directions.

⁵⁰ It is important to state that I do not argue that income is the only determinant of one’s propensity to provide or receive support. Income levels represent a methodological cluster to match behavioural patterns to income positions in the national survey data.

and probabilities of behaviour associated with ‘received transfers’ from an ego’s perspective. Hence, the mirroring of perspective does not include double-counting of the same transfer types by simply switching the perspective of transfer directions. Hence, probabilities are computed given the specific transfer type, transfer direction, as well as ego’s income levels, and alters’ education levels, a mathematical explanation of such given below.

This approach therefore captures two perspectives whereby an ego can be an alter and vice versa in economic exchange networks, engaging differently regarding support directions and with whom. This approach further allows translating relational complexities on cross-sectional data through group aggregation using degree distributions and their estimated likelihoods for sub-groups of egos (Crossley et al., 2015).

In the balance sheet approach, I simply assess how much individuals give depending on their income level and subtract this amount. In the relational approach, I factor in behavioural dynamics through expected transfers. The latter capture how much of what one provides can be recovered when one is at the receiving end of such a pattern. Or conversely, how much of that which one receives can be reduced by being at the providing end of such a pattern. The relational approach thus uses observed dyads and mirrors associated behavioural patterns across individuals. Thereby, it simulates a broader dynamic that within a wider social setting – beyond first-level egocentric networks – individuals can be providers and receivers alike. Or in other words, they can be egos and alters alike.

I term the ‘mirroring of behaviour’ as double-netting (see Table 7-1). Regarding transfer losses, I reassign transfer gains based on whether the individual, given their education level, is a potential receiver. This is based on the observed likelihood of egos providing to an alter of a given education level. Regarding transfer gains, I then reassign transfer losses based on whether an individual, given their education level, is a potential provider. This is based on the observed likelihood of an ego receiving support from an alter of a certain education level. Thus, both perspectives, the one of egos and the one of alters, allows estimating ‘expected transfers’ based on their respective conditional likelihood to provide and receive support from one another. This two-fold perspective, as ‘a dollar received by someone is provided by someone else’, allows measuring the distributive effects of linked observations. In other words, accounting for the distributive patterns of linked social identities through private transfers.

Table 7-1 Rounds of transfer distribution in the microsimulation approach

| Balance sheet approach (single netting) | | Relational approach (double netting) | |
|--------------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Giver Income position | | Provider Income position | Receiver Education level |
| Receiver Income position | | Receiver Income position | Provider Education level |

Source: author's own illustration

However, this simulation does not provide a precise indication of its actual impact on inequality in Namibia. It rather compares whether the balance sheet approach, simply netting transfer gains and losses, misses distributional effects, which could be captured by a double-netting approach that accounts for relational patterns. Double-netting builds on the formulas presented above and complements them with the following steps.

After transfer gains and losses are assigned and calculated for individuals, they are pooled by income range. Hence each income range contains the total sum of provided transfers (gain) and received transfers (loss). For reassigning transfers, average amounts are used as a proxy. Averages are derived from dividing the total sum of gains by the number of likely receivers and the total sum of losses by the number of likely providers.

$$A(y, d) = \frac{\sum_{y=1}^Y T_i}{\sum_{y=1}^Y R_{Sn,y}}$$

Subsequently, I use these average amounts (A) to simulate expected transfers by reallocating transfers to individuals using behavioural patterns, as detailed below. The expected transfers when being an alter (a) is modelled as a response to egos' redistributive behaviour. In a first step, I assign the likelihood of any support activity with a given direction (d) and type (t) taking place as being conditional on the alter's obtained education level (E).

$$R(a) = pr(S_{t,d} = 1 | E_a = e)$$

I then assign values to assigned transfers using the previously computed average amounts. The total transfer loss and gain of an alter is then calculated as follows and subtracted from or added to their income.

$$T(a) = \sum_{t=1}^T R_{a,d,t} * \pm(A_d)$$

After both perspectives, redistribution from an ego's and alter's position, have been applied to individuals in the survey data, I use inequality measures such as the Lorenz curve, GINI index and Dicken's (2008) mobility measures to assess the differences in distributive effects across the balance sheet and the relational approach. In the following, I describe the data informing my analysis.

7.3.3 *Relevant data*

I begin by detailing relevant aspects of the sub-sample of primary data I draw on for the subsequent analysis before describing the secondary data, the Namibian Household Income and Expenditure Survey (NHIES) dataset of 2015/16.

To recall, respondents reported with whom they engage in a specific support activity and they also stated further information about the support activity itself, as well as details about the person with whom they engage in the activity. Variables of interest included an ego's monthly income range, the alter's education level, the type of transfer and the stated frequency of transfers. In this analysis, I restrict the type of transfer to financial and in-kind transfers as those activities are most quantifiable in terms of income and thus allow us to model their effects on income distribution. For instance, translating the monetary value of a received cow or goat is more feasible than estimating the value of giving 'care' or 'helping to fill out an application form'. Further, I exclude land transactions from in-kind transfers for reasons of consistency. This is owing to a lack of information about the size and type of land that has been passed from one individual to another. It could be a small plot on which to build a house or a large expanse of agricultural land – both reflecting different monetary values. In sum, annual monetary amounts of transfers, computed per income and education levels of providers and receivers respectively, can be regarded as estimates. They are based on either explicitly stated or contextually derived monetary value and their most stated frequency for either transfer direction to arrive at annual values (Appendix V).

I further compared the primary data source with the Namibian Household Income and Expenditure Survey (NHIES) of 2015/16 (see Table 7-2). First, I restricted the national sample of the NHIES to the regions in which primary data collection took place to establish a matching context. Thereby, I narrow the sample from 20.813 to 6.157 observations, only keeping the following regions: Erongo, Hardap, Khomas and Caprivi region.

A major difference between the two sources is that the primary data is purposefully collected and not representative, whereas the NHIES is sampled randomly within primary sampling units and representative of the country's population. Combining these two datasets creates certain limitations. My primary network data comprises a total of 205 individuals who collectively reported 2236 interactions of financial and in-kind transfers and thus 2236 dyadic relationships. I further know that 38% of those dyads are connected to egos who earn at least or more than 10.000

NAD a month, which positions them towards the higher end of Namibia's income distribution. On the other hand, about 36% apply to egos at the lower end of the income distribution scale. However, these combined shares correspond to 12.2% of individuals (upper end) and 58.2% of individuals (lower end) in the survey data. These comparisons reveal that behavioural patterns of egos of lower income positions are extrapolated to a greater extent when imposed on the survey data whereas the opposite holds true for egos in higher income positions. However, these imbalances are simply owing to the primary data not being sampled as a sample representative of the country's income distribution.

Similarly, the same divergence occurs when assessing alter's distribution across education levels. While overall there are fewer tertiary degree holders in the national restricted sample, there might be more transfers assigned to them owing to being more frequently mentioned across personal support networks. The latter again might correspond to more support behaviour being observed for middle- and higher-class individuals overall. Consequently, the extrapolation of support behaviour for poorer individuals is larger and might thus lead to less accurate predictions in terms of distributive effects. However, using average rather than actual amounts when redistributing using the mirrored perspective of the ego's behaviour (double-netting), I am able to correct – to some extent – for the paucity of information about lower educational degree levels and their typically associated transfer amounts. To some extent, the distribution of income and educational attainment levels presented in the NHIES can also be seen as balancing the over- or underproportioned shares in the primary data, whereby results only provide general indications of distributive effects compared across different approaches of measurement rather than interpreting effects themselves.

In addition, and as mentioned before, socioeconomic criteria, such as income and education levels are used in this analysis as opposed to ethnic identities in preceding chapters. This is primarily owing to data limitations imposed by the NHIES dataset. In the latter, ethnic identity is captured via the question on an individual's main language spoken in the household. Thus, this variable does not necessarily reflect the most spoken language of an individual per se, nor the most spoken language with a particular contact or their expressed ethnic identity. For instance, I did not just observe that most Namibians are multi-lingual but also noted that language might only indicate ethnic identity to a limited extent, e.g. English and Afrikaans are spoken by non-white and white ethnic identities alike and thus a matching of ethnic identity in the primary data and language affiliation in the secondary data would have caused broader limitations to the interpretability of results. Nevertheless, income and education levels are intertwined with ethnic identity as discussed in section 3.1. Thus, it can be argued that to a considerable extent, ethnic identities are endogenous to socioeconomic criteria in the Namibian context.

Table 7-2 Sample characteristics - primary network data and secondary survey data

| | Ego – Income position | Alter – Education proxy | NHIES |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| Sample characteristics | N = 205 | N = 2236 | N = 6157 |
| percentage shares | | | |
| Education completed | | | |
| None | | 13.9 | 18.6 |
| Primary | | 18.1 | 25.9 |
| Secondary | | 28.5 | 47.7 |
| Tertiary | | 39.6 | 7.2 |
| Monthly income level | | | |
| Up to 1.000 NAD pm | 17.6 | | 22.3 |
| 1.000 – 2.000 NAD pm | 18.1 | | 35.9 |
| 2.000 – 5.000 NAD pm | 15.6 | | 20.1 |
| 5.000 – 10.000 NAD pm | 10.7 | | 9.7 |
| 10.000 – 20.000 NAD pm | 19.0 | | 7.3 |
| More than 20.000 NAD pm | 19.0 | | 4.9 |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, Namibian Household Income and Expenditure Survey 2015/16

In the following section I will present and discuss my results, illustrating how individuals' incomes and income positions vary across simulation rounds. I further compare the single-netting balance sheet and the double-netting relational approach.

7.4 RESULTS

Before discussing the effects of the simulation approaches on an individual's income, I detail general dynamics of private distribution observed in my primary data; regarding both how much as well as to and from whom transfers are provided and received. I begin by comparing transfer amounts across support directions and income levels.

7.4.1 Transfer effects across different approaches

Before detailing the different effects on income inequality using either approach, I briefly describe the primary data that provided the pattern simulated in the survey data.

i. Simulated patterns

Table 7-3 displays mean percentage shares of transfer amounts observed across income levels and support directions. While these shares were first observed within personal networks, i.e. how many times an ego reported a provided transfer of 100 NAD out of all provided transfers reported, mean values then display the average share specific transfers take up in egos' networks of a specific income level.

Provided transfers of up to 100 NAD occurred across all observed income levels. For example, on average 25% of transfers provided by an individual who earns less than 12.000 NAD per year amount to up to 100 NAD, but equally so for an individual who earns between 72.000 NAD and 120.000 NAD per year. Only individuals in the highest income bracket, earning more than 240.000 NAD per year, show a lower share of providing such comparatively small transfers, which only accounts for 7% of their provided transfers.

Conversely, higher financial transfer amounts occur less frequently overall, but more so among lower income ranges (between 0% and 3%) as compared to the two highest income levels (6% and 8%). However, higher value transactions in the form of livestock occur more often among the middle-income brackets, for individuals earning between 12.000 NAD and below 240.000 NAD, and slightly less among the lowest and highest income brackets. Furthermore, lower value transfers in terms of nondurable goods, such as food or clothing, are more prominent among the lowest-income earners, amounting to 40% of their provided transfers.

When transfers were stated as received, transfers of around 5000 NAD appear more frequently among higher income levels. Individuals of the lowest income bracket show a 5% share of such transfers received whereas individual of the highest income bracket receive about 25% of total received transfers amounting to or more than 5000 NAD. On the other hand, lower value transfers have a less consistent pattern. While generally, low-income earners receive more low value transfers compared to middle-income earners, individuals earning around 240.000 NAD receive 13% of transfers up to 100 NAD, which is about the same for individuals earning around 36.000 NAD. Only the highest income bracket shows a lower share of received transfers of up to 100 NAD, amounting to 6%. Similarly, middle-range amounts of transfers remain either fairly steady across income levels or are inconsistent. Transfer amounts and their associated mean percentages observed across income levels and support directions are displayed in Table 7-3.

When comparing overall shares of providing versus receiving transfers, it seems that individuals – regardless of their income level – state more higher value transfers when they were received versus when they were provided. This observation stresses the importance of a two-fold perspective on redistribution, as illustrated in the relational approach. A higher value transfer received is provided by someone. Mirroring both perspectives by knowing who is more likely to provide such transfers can correct for potential reporting biases. Simply capturing how much an individual receives and how much they provide carries forward such reporting biases in estimating net-gains and losses. While in this simulation, I use proxy amounts per income level and thus not necessarily the exact amount, I provide an initial step towards developing models for national survey data which incorporate a relational perspective.

Table 7-3 Transfer amounts - mean percentages per income level of ego

| Transfer amount ⁵¹ | Income below 12.000 ⁵² | 12.001 – 36.000 | 36.001 – 72.000 | 72.001 – 120.000 | 120.001 – 240.000 | above 240.000 | Chi Sq. test |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| Provide | Percentage shares of support activities per income level | | | | | | χ^2 , p |
| Up to 100 | .25 | .17 | .25 | .26 | .16 | .07 | 6.93 p = 0.225 |
| 100 – 1000 | .15 | .15 | .22 | .26 | .24 | .21 | 27.7 p ≤ 0.001 |
| 1000 – 2000 | .03 | .10 | .03 | .07 | .10 | .10 | 8.85 p = 0.115 |
| 2000 – 5000 | .01 | .09 | .04 | .02 | .07 | .06 | 3.37 p = 0.643 |
| more than 5000 | .00 | .03 | .00 | .01 | .06 | .08 | 62.74 p ≤ 0.001 |
| 5000 livestock proxy | .07 | .13 | .09 | .13 | .10 | .04 | 10.73 p = 0.057 |
| 100 non-durable proxy | .41 | .18 | .27 | .19 | .17 | .28 | 11.41 p = 0.044 |
| 2000 durable proxy | .07 | .13 | .08 | .06 | .09 | .13 | 7.51 p = 0.186 |
| Receive | Percentage shares per income level | | | | | | χ^2 , p |
| Up to 100 | .12 | .14 | .08 | .10 | .13 | .06 | 35.96 p ≤ 0.001 |
| 100 – 1000 | .27 | .19 | .23 | .20 | .19 | .07 | 8.17 p=0.147 |
| 1000 – 2000 | .13 | .06 | .10 | .09 | .06 | .12 | 12.14 p=0.033 |
| 2000 – 5000 | .06 | .05 | .08 | .05 | .08 | .06 | 12.53 p=0.028 |
| more than 5000 | .05 | .07 | .03 | .07 | .11 | .25 | 28.59 p ≤ 0.001 |
| 5000 livestock proxy | .11 | .16 | .16 | .21 | .21 | .11 | 9.47 p=0.092 |
| 100 non-durable proxy | .19 | .21 | .15 | .14 | .12 | .15 | 13.76 p = 0.017 |
| 2000 durable proxy | .08 | .12 | .16 | .14 | .09 | .17 | 35.28 p ≤ 0.001 |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Variables are coded as support_dum_dir being a dummy (direction | support type). Table displays percentage shares as (support_dum_dir / n) whereby n amounts to total number of support activities observed per income level and direction. Using Chi squared tests of independence, differences in at least one proportion of discrete counts of dummies tested significant for $p < 0.01$, $p < 0.05$, and $p < 0.10$.

⁵¹ Transfer amounts stated in Namibian Dollars (NAD).

⁵² Incomes stated in Namibian Dollars (NAD) per annum (ego-level).

I will now turn to the ego-alter similarities found in terms of from whom to whom transfers are being provided, as shown in Table 7-4. The observed shares subsequently function as probabilities for the double-netting of transfer gain and losses in the relational approach. An individual of the lowest income bracket provides most of their transfers to individuals having completed secondary education (41%) followed by primary education holders (31%). A share of 16% of their transfers are provided to tertiary degree holders versus only 11% to no degree holders.

For individuals of the middle-income ranges, shares are fairly evenly distributed across education levels whereby primary degree holders and tertiary degree holders feature slightly more prominently among earners of about 36.000 NAD per annum. Only among the highest two income brackets does there seem to be a considerably lower engagement with none-degree holders when providing transfers, amounting to only 7% and 5% of all transfers made by individuals earning around or more than 240.000 NAD per annum.

When reporting from whom one receives, transfers from tertiary degree holders are more common among high-income earners: 71% of received transfers stem from tertiary degree holders for individuals of the highest income bracket. While generally, the share of transfers received remains high for tertiary degree holders, it decreases for lower-income levels, amounting to 43% for the lowest and 32% for the second lowest income bracket. Thus, one could assume that transfers received – from an individual’s perspective – might be associated with individuals of higher socioeconomic standing indicated by educational level. This is particularly true for individuals earning more than 120.000 NAD per annum where the share of received transfers from tertiary degree holders exceeds all other shares of transfers received from lower degree holders by at least 10 percentage points.

I will now turn to a discussion of the two proposed approaches measuring the effects of private transfers on income inequality. The income distribution provided by the NHIES 2015/16 constitutes the ‘baseline’ being individuals’ annual adjusted per capita income. While such income included social transfers, e.g. pensions, it does not explicitly capture private transfers as discussed in this study. However, it remains unclear whether individuals generally factor in economic support when stating their income or not. Thus, and as mentioned before, I refrain from interpreting results as ‘observable change’ regarding income inequality but rather compare the differences in results generated by each approach.

In the following, transfer effects are expressed as a percentage of an individual’s baseline or adjusted income, and thus the income observed in the NHIES before (baseline) and after (adjusted) transfers have taken place. Doing so is more conclusive as it expresses income changes as a share of an individual’s income, overall accounting for the substantivity of transfer amounts. In addition, I show an average of how many different types of transfers (by amount) an individual

engages in by income level. I now compare income changes across income levels generated by the balance sheet approach.

Table 7-4 Mean percentage of transfers to different education level per income level

| Education level obtained (alter) | Income below 12.000 ⁵³ | 12.001 – 36.000 | 36.001 – 72.000 | 72.001 – 120.000 | 120.001 – 240.000 | above 240.000 | Chi Sq. test |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| Provide | Percentage shares per income level | | | | | | χ^2 , p |
| None | .11 | .20 | .06 | .14 | .07 | .05 | 33.72 $p \leq 0.001$ |
| Primary | .31 | .26 | .29 | .21 | .24 | .23 | 18.74 $p = 0.002$ |
| Secondary | .41 | .30 | .41 | .36 | .32 | .31 | 20.67 $p = 0.001$ |
| Tertiary | .16 | .23 | .23 | .29 | .37 | .40 | 74.26 $p \leq 0.001$ |
| Receive | Percentage shares per income level | | | | | | χ^2 , p |
| None | .08 | .15 | .16 | .14 | .18 | .03 | 32.93 $p \leq 0.001$ |
| Primary | .21 | .11 | .15 | .14 | .13 | .07 | 7.6 $p = 0.180$ |
| Secondary | .26 | .39 | .33 | .25 | .23 | .19 | 10.86 $p = 0.054$ |
| Tertiary | .43 | .34 | .34 | .47 | .46 | .71 | 40.58 $p \leq 0.001$ |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18, author's own calculation, Notes: Variables are coded as support_dum_edu being a dummy (any support | dir. | education). Table displays percentage shares as (support_dum_edu / n) whereby n amounts to total number of support activities observed to given education level and direction. Using Chi squared tests of independence, differences in at least one proportion of discrete counts of dummies tested significant for $p < 0.01$, $p < 0.05$, and $p < 0.10$.

ii. Balance sheet approach

Generally, income changes are best explained using an example. If we look at individuals who have an income below 12.000 NAD per annum, they lose on average 19% of their income to providing transfers (see Table 7-5, third column, transfer loss). While this average percentage share is slightly higher for the next-higher income level (above 12.000 NAD and below 36.000 NAD) at 21%, the shares decline drastically for higher income levels. This simply indicates that transfers amount to substantial shares of a person's income the lower the income position of the individual. For example, a private transfer volume of – on average – 19% of an individual earning 12.000 NAD per annum amounts to 2.280 NAD. This same amount accounts for 0.095% of the income of an individual earning 240.000 NAD per annum. Conversely, an average transfer amount of 2% of the highest income level amounts to 4.800 NAD, which is more than twice the amount an individual of the lowest income level loses.

⁵³ Incomes stated in Namibian Dollars (NAD) per annum (ego-level).

Next, I look at what individuals of different income levels receive based on the amounts of reported received transfers (see Table 7-5, fifth column, transfer gain). Note that transfer gains are now stated as a percentage of per capita income after the transfer loss has taken place. Thus, it now reflects individuals' gains as a share of their adjusted income. Individuals of the lowest income level recover 121% of their income after transfer loss. This share is substantially higher compared to all other income levels (12.001 NAD p.a. and above) and reflects the substantial amounts of observed transfers for low-income individuals. Transfer shares of income decline overall, however remain positive across all income levels. This initial approach would suggest a highly redistributive nature of private redistribution. As previously shown in Chapter 6, this might particularly reflect practices of non-white ethnic identities.

Table 7-5 Income changes across simulation rounds - balance sheet approach

| Income level | N | Mean of activity types | Balance sheet (single netting) | | |
|-------------------|------|------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| | | | Transfer loss | Transfer gain | Single netting effects |
| | | | Mean (%) of pc income (sd) incorporating previous rounds | | |
| Below 12.000 | 1367 | 2.2 | -.19 (.36) | 1.21 (12.01) | .63 (1.54) |
| 12.001 – 36.000 | 2208 | 2.3 | -.21 (.40) | .25 (1.68) | .05 (.69) |
| 36.001 – 72.000 | 1232 | 1.3 | -.06 (.08) | .08 (.13) | .02 (.15) |
| 72.001 – 120.000 | 593 | 2.5 | -.03 (.04) | .05 (.06) | .01 (.07) |
| 120.001 – 240.000 | 447 | 2.4 | -.03 (.03) | .02 (.02) | -.01 (.05) |
| Above 240.000 | 298 | 2.6 | -.02 (.03) | .05 (.06) | .03 (.07) |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, NHIES 2015/2016

The effects of single netting represent the net transfer gain or loss as a percentage of the baseline income. Thus, it expresses net amounts by subtracting transfer losses from transfer gains as a share of an individual's baseline income (see Table 7-5, sixth column, single netting effects). On average, individuals of the lowest income bracket have a net gain that accounts for 63% of their baseline per capita income. These shares decline for individuals higher up on the income distribution scale but remain positive throughout. The second highest income level (individuals earning between 120.000 and 240.000 NAD) is the only income level that shows a 1% net loss on average. At this point, it is important to recall that all percentage shares presented are indications based on a simulated approach and thus shall be interpreted as general tendencies. I now turn to results generated by the relational approach.

I. Relational approach

The results of the relational approach are displayed in Table 7-6. I elaborate on the impact of transfer losses, recovery, gains, and reductions whereby transfer recovery and reductions represent the mirrored perspective of transfer behaviour. Note that percentage shares are based on adjusted income across the different stages of the simulation rounds. Thus, while the first change

expresses transfer amounts as a share of baseline per capita income (column four), the following rounds are expressed as adjusted income after respective gains and losses have taken place (column five to seven).

Table 7-6 Income changes across simulation rounds– relational approach

| | | | Relational approach | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------|------------------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|------------------------|
| Income level | N | Mean of activity types | Transfer loss | Loss recovery | Transfer gain | Gain reduction | Double netting effects |
| Mean (%) of pc income (sd) incorporating previous rounds | | | | | | | % of baseline |
| Below 12.000 | 1367 | 2.2 | -.19 (.36) | .96 (.262) | .43 (4.19) | -.17 (.19) | 1.00 (1.71) |
| 12.001 – 36.000 | 2208 | 2.3 | -.21 (.40) | .24 (3.20) | .29 (2.01) | -.17 (2.48) | .17 (.71) |
| 36.001 – 72.000 | 1232 | 1.3 | -.06 (.08) | .13 (.10) | .08 (.12) | -.08 (.09) | .05 (.18) |
| 72.001 – 120.000 | 593 | 2.5 | -.03 (.04) | .08 (.06) | .05 (.06) | -.06 (.06) | .01 (.09) |
| 120.001 – 240.000 | 447 | 2.4 | -0.3 (.03) | .05 (.04) | .02 (.03) | -.05 (.04) | -.01 (.06) |
| Above 240.000 | 298 | 2.6 | -0.2 (.03) | .02 (.02) | .05 (.06) | -.02 (.02) | .03 (.07) |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, NHIES 2015/16

As previously, income changes are best explained taking an individual as an example. An individual of the lowest income bracket, earning not more than 12.000 NAD per year, loses on average 19% of their income when providing transfers. However, being on the receiving end of this behavioural pattern and thus being subjected to the probability to provide to certain education levels (mirrored), they can regain 96% of their reduced income. Say, for example, an individual had 100 NAD in the beginning and a transfer loss of about 20 NAD (~19%), they would have 80 NAD left. Recovering 96% of their reduced income then means they receive 77 NAD when on the receiving end of this providing pattern (column five). Thus, their income now amounts to about 157 NAD (80 NAD plus 77 NAD). Moving forward, they can add another 67 NAD (amounting to 42% of 157 NAD) based on the behavioural pattern of receiving transfers of certain amounts (column six), now having an income of 224 NAD.

Again, being on the providing end of the behavioural pattern to receive (mirrored), their adjusted income is now reduced by 17%, amounting to 38 NAD (17% of their income after transfer gains, thus 17% of 224 NAD), leaving them with a final income of about 186 NAD. Over the ‘rounds’ of redistribution, an individual initially having 100 NAD now has a double-net gain of 86 NAD depending on their income and educational position. Thus, in this example, they gained about 86% of their initial income. On average, this net gain amounts to about 100% for individuals

within the lowest income level (column eight). Such net gains decline across income levels, ranging from 17% to -1% – owing to transfer amounts adding up to a considerably lower share of one’s income. But it also becomes apparent that relational dynamics particularly matter for lower income levels compared to higher income levels.

iii. Comparing the balance sheet and relational approach

To draw this out more clearly, I compare net balances generated by the balance sheet approach with net balances of the relational approach across income levels. My results build on proxy amounts; thus, I only interpret findings comparatively across income levels. For higher income levels, differences across the two approaches are negligible (see Table 7-7). However, the effect of private transfers on individuals of the lowest income level could be underestimated when not accounting for relational dynamics; in other words, not accounting for ‘to whom’ transfers are more likely to travel.

More precisely, including relational dynamics suggests that private transfers yield twice the initial baseline income as compared to 1.63 of the initial income if not accounting for such, amounting to a difference of 37 percentage points across both approaches. Relational dynamics seem to matter particularly for low-income individuals who appear to feature more strongly in socioeconomic orientations in support relationships indicated by education level.

Table 7-7 Overall income balance across the relational versus balance sheet approach

| Income level | Relational approach | Balance sheet approach | Difference across approaches |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Income after transfers/ Baseline income | | pp. |
| IL 0 | 2.00 | 1.63 | -.37 |
| IL 1 | 1.17 | 1.06 | -.11 |
| IL 2 | 1.05 | 1.02 | -.03 |
| IL 3 | 1.01 | 1.01 | 0.0 |
| IL 4 | 0.99 | 0.99 | 0.0 |
| IL 5 | 1.03 | 1.03 | 0.0 |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, NHIES 2015/16, Notes: IL # denotes the income levels presented in previous tables.

To get a better sense of the actual distributive effect across individuals, I compare changes in individual income ranks across and per income level in the subsequent section before concluding with remarks on the general distributive effects on income distributions.

7.4.2 Income positions and rank changes

Aligned with Dickens's income mobility measures (Dickens and Mcknight, 2008), I compare rank changes across the balance sheet and relational approaches. These measures include computing income ranks r_i so that the highest individual $y_{i,max}$ in the income distribution holds rank 1, whereby each individual ranking lower y_i has a rank that is expressed as a share of the highest rank. For instance, an individual of rank 0.5 sits exactly at half of the highest rank and thus in the middle of the income distribution. Typically, these mobility measures are applied when assessing an individual's income positions over time. More formally they can be expressed as:

$$r_i = \frac{y_{i,max}}{y_i} \quad r_i \in \{0, \dots, 1\}$$

In this study, I observe changes in individuals' income positions across various steps of simulating transfer gains and losses. Based on rank changes, I classified individuals into 'upward movers', being individuals, whose income rank is now higher compared to their baseline income. Correspondingly, 'downward movers' are then individuals whose income rank is lower and 'steady positions' refer to individuals whose income rank has not changed after transfers gains and losses have taken place.

Results suggest that private redistribution appears to generate slightly more downward movers than upward movers (see Table 7-8) regardless of the approach taken. Furthermore, the two approaches do not differ much regarding steady positions. However, an approximately equivalent share of individuals classified as downward movers in the balance sheet approach are assigned to upward movers in the relational approach (see column four: pp. difference).

Table 7-8 Income rank changes across approaches

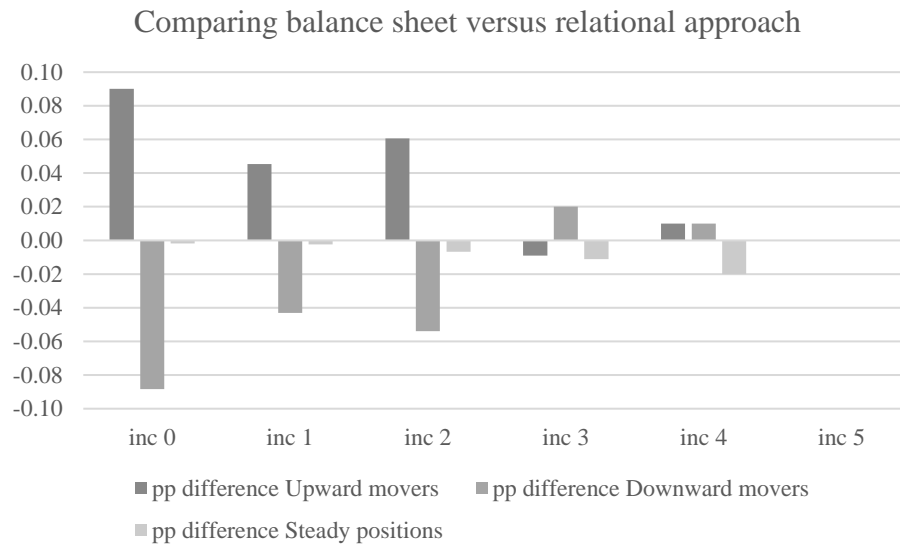
| Comparison of approaches | Balance sheet approach | Relational approach | pp. difference |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| | Distributive effects in terms of income ranks | | |
| Upward movers | 40.2% | 44.3% | +4.1 pp |
| Downward movers | 59.8% | 55.3% | -4.5 pp |
| Steady positions | 0.01% | 0.00% | -0.001 pp |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, NHIES 2015/16

This deviance could indicate that accounting for 'from whom to whom' changes the overall gains for individuals, depending on where they generally sit in the income distribution. In order to see for which income levels this 'opposite assignment' holds true, I disaggregated the direction of

rank changes by income level (see Figure 7-1). Thereby, I assess the percentage point difference across both approaches⁵⁴.

Figure 7-1 Comparison of rank changes across approaches and income levels



Source: author's own calculation and illustration

It becomes apparent that the relational approach particularly reassigns downward movers of the balance sheet approach to upward movers among the lowest income rank, whereby steady positions remain fairly constant. Only from the fourth income level onwards, and thus for individuals earning between 72.000 NAD and 120.000 NAD per annum, is this pattern reversed. For the second highest income level, thus individuals earning between 120.000 NAD and 240.000 NAD per annum, the relational approach starts from steady positions and almost equally assigns them to either downward or upward movers. For the highest income levels, rank changes are marginal since the observed transfer amounts do not constitute a substantive share of their income, as demonstrated earlier on.

In sum, this also indicates that substantial amounts – on average and estimated by behavioural patterns – generally do not seem to travel from the very top to the bottom. While generally, a transfer that only amounts to a small share of a higher-income individual can constitute a greater share for a lower-income individual, results also showed that for high-income individuals, transfers provided and received are linked to comparatively higher education levels (secondary and tertiary, particularly tertiary for received transfers), as shown in Table 7-4. Furthermore, apart from the substantivity of transfers for lower income levels, this comparison reveals a second dynamic. Relational patterns matter more for individuals of lower income positions. Relational

⁵⁴ I subtract the percentage share of movers of a particular direction of the balance sheet approach from the percentage share of movers of a particular direction of the relation approach to compute the percentage point difference across both approaches.

dynamics are generally more ‘upward’ pushing for lower income positions, whereas this effect wears off for higher income levels.

I further compared shifts across income levels to see ‘how far up’ or ‘how far down’ different approaches push or pull individuals’ income positions (see Table 7-9). In general, no individual crosses more than one income level and most of them remain within their initial income level. However, it becomes apparent that the relational approach generates more change in income positions, which in turn suggests that controlling for both ends of transfer relationships changes the redistributive dynamics overall. Say there would not be a notable difference across the balance sheet and the relational approach: that would also mean that accounting for the additional loss recovery and gain reduction through adding the element of ‘to whom transfers are more likely to travel’ would not actually yield any distributive differences.

Table 7-9 Cross-income level moves across balance sheet and relational approach

| Cross income level shifts | Cross income level shifts | Balance sheet approach | Relational approach |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| | Low to mid-level ⁵⁵ | 8.1% | 11.6% |
| Upward | Low to high-level | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| | Mid to high-level | 1.8% | 2.3% |
| | Mid to low-level | 5.3% | 4.8% |
| Downward | High to mid-level | 2.8% | 3.4% |
| | High to low-level | 0.0% | 0.0% |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, NHIES 2015/16

Yet, there is noticeably more dispersion in income ranks among individuals of lower income levels (Appendix V) allowing some to shift upward to new income levels whereas overall dispersion is considerably low among high-income individuals. This can be partially explained by transfer amounts being less substantial for high-income individuals. It can however also suggest that the gaps between income positions observed in high-income individuals are generally larger and thus transfer amounts are less likely to close or exceed gaps, causing a swap in income positions. Further, it is also more likely that some transfers generally happen among ‘same level individuals’ of higher income levels, as suggested by behavioural patterns emerging from the primary data.

Thus, the vast changes among the bottom of the distribution are more likely to be from mid-to low level and low-to mid-level shifts rather than high to mid-level shifts. The share of high-to mid-level shifts is lower than mid- to low-level shifts across both approaches (2.8% versus 5.3%

⁵⁵ Low-level comprises the two lowest income levels, mid-level comprises the third- and fourth-income level, high-level comprises the fifth- and sixth-income level.

and 3.4% versus 4.8% respectively). This illustrates that middle-income individuals' income position is more vulnerable to changes owing to private transfers compared to high-level individuals where the deviance in downward movements is shown to be less when accounting for relational dynamics.

Overall, both approaches suggest that private redistribution seems to affect inequality by closing the gap from both sides – creating upward and downward movers. The relational approach indicates a higher share of upward movement, especially for lower income levels, compared to the balance sheet approach. Thus, the pattern of 'to whom' transfers are more likely to travel seems to have an overall progressive orientation. I shall explore this further using inequality measures.

7.4.3 Income inequality

In the following comparison, I refrain from interpreting actual outcomes, i.e. the actual extent of income inequality in Namibia before and after transfers. This is owing to the fact that the modelling approach represents a simulation only – demonstrating two ways of measuring distributive effects of private redistribution. I thus compare figures across approaches to evaluate what the differences across approaches can tell us about changes in income distributions. I use the GINI coefficient, generally indicating the deviation from perfect equality (0) and perfect inequality (1). To compare both ends of the distribution, I further use percentile ratios to compare the share held by the highest 10% (P90) and the lowest 10% (P10) of the income distribution. Lastly, I compare a Generalized Entropy (GE) index, which squares the income differences between individuals, thus giving higher weight to larger income differences among individuals typically observed in the right tail, and thus upper end, of the income distribution.

Simply accounting for what an individual provides and receives (balance sheet approach) suggests that inequality reduces overall, as shown in a lowering value of the GINI coefficient (see Table 7-10). Also, the top 10% of the income distribution now hold 17.82 as much as the bottom 10% as compared to 21.06 times before transfer gains and losses took place. Lastly, the GE decreased as well, suggesting a decrease in larger income differences. However, netting gains and losses by putting individuals on either end of their support relationships (relational approach) suggests that accounting for dynamics 'from whom to whom' provides a different and more positive effect on income inequality. This is particularly so for individuals at the bottom. where the multitude of the richest only amounts to 14.6 now and larger income differences have further decreased, as suggested by the GE of 17.4.

Table 7-10 Effects on inequality - a comparison of approaches

| Effects on inequality | Baseline | Balance sheet approach | Relational approach |
|-----------------------|----------|------------------------|---------------------|
| GINI coefficient | 0.69315 | 0.67931 | 0.66244 |
| P90/P10 | 21.06 | 17.82 | 14.63 |
| GE(2) | 19.44 | 18.10 | 17.41 |

Source: primary data, collected 2017/18, NHIES 2015/16

More important is a notable difference across both approaches, which suggests that accounting for relational dynamics matters in measuring the impacts of private redistribution on income inequality. With inequality decreasing across both approaches – and knowing that private redistribution creates both upward and downward movers – there is evidence that private redistribution closes inequality gaps from both sides. Thus, overall private redistribution can be progressive – but not for everyone involved.

7.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, I introduced a novel approach estimating the effects of relational dynamics in private redistribution on income inequality. More precisely, I compare a balance sheet approach with a relational approach when simulating behavioural patterns of private redistribution. The former simply deducts transfers provided and adds transfers received to an individual's baseline income. A relational approach puts individuals on either side of transfer provisions, accounting for how much of their provided transfers they can recover by being on the receiving end as well as how much of their transfers received is diminished by being on the providing end. Doing so allowed me to shed light on from whom to whom transfers are more likely to travel and for whom this means a downward or upward shift in their income position.

Individuals on lower income ranks can shift upwards to a mid-income level owing to substantive transfer amounts and mid-level individuals shifting downwards as compared to high-to mid-level shifters. Generally, this implies a 're-shuffling' of positions among the lower end of the income distribution, which after netting effects leads to slight improvements in inequality – however it closes the income gaps from both sides. Furthermore, results indicate that there seems to be an invisible boundary for the redistributive extent of transfers, particularly from high to low or low to high level individuals. Thus, while overall relational dynamics appear to be progressive and reduce inequality even further as compared to the balance sheet approach, these changes are more likely to come from mid-to low-level gap closures than a redistribution from the top. This is further supported by the fact that both approaches yield very similar outcomes for higher income levels, suggesting that relational dynamics have a lesser impact on richer individuals but also that relational dynamics can be more peer-level oriented and thus are more likely to be cancelled out

among richer individuals. Such a pattern is not just indicated by the microsimulation of behavioural patterns but has also been found in more detailed explorations of the primary data, particularly when exploring to whom transfers typically travel depending on an individual's income position. Overall, both approaches suggest that inequality decreases after private redistribution has taken place. More broadly, these results provide a first indication of the importance of the distributive effect of socioeconomic orientations in practices of private redistribution within the context of a highly unequal country. Particularly, a network perspective and the opportunity to link interpersonal redistributive practices in socioeconomic terms can provide a more complete picture of how behaviour shapes income inequality.

As this is a pilot model presenting a general avenue of rethinking how to model distributive impacts of private transfers, it comes with certain limitations, the first one being that high-quality network data, being costly and time-consuming to collect (Banerjee et al., 2013), typically results in considerably smaller sample sizes compared to national survey data. Accordingly, I need to extrapolate behavioural patterns from a small sub-set of the population. Consequently, my findings can only be interpreted if these behavioural patterns generally hold true for the broader population. To limit the scope of extrapolation, I only used the national survey data of regions in which primary data was collected to account for a similar socioeconomic and demographic context. Second, translating matrix to cross-sectional data does not allow for an explicit matching of donor and recipients. Thus, I was not able to directly deduct a dollar received by person A from person B but had to treat them simultaneously as givers and receivers using proxy amounts. Such standardized proxy amounts might over- or underestimate an individual's corrections of gains and losses. Further, the possibility to be on either side of a transfer activity called for multiple rounds of modelling whereby individuals enter the space of private redistribution twice as ego and twice as alter.

An avenue for further exploration would be following similar approaches as presented in the agent-based modelling approach on wealth distributions by Wilensky (1998) or general network diffusion models. However, the latter require sociometric data whereas the primary data in this study comprises ego-centric networks, which provide more detailed information about an individual's local environment but do not encompass the larger microsocial structure. As most income distributions are captured in national survey data, a more advanced translation of relational data could benefit a wider applicability and cross-country comparisons. Lastly, a potential misbalance in representation of certain sub-groups in the primary data results in richer information and thus better behavioural predictions for some groups and not for others. Thus, predictability of behaviour on a broader scale might be more accurate for some sub-groups than others.

8 GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter builds on insights and understandings generated through the empirical investigations in chapter 5 to chapter 7 by placing them within the theoretical discussion set out in chapter 2. I take these insights and – by placing them within a broader debate – assess how they complement each other and collectively generate new insights, addressing literature on inequality, particularly identity-based inequality, considering behavioural dynamics of social support. Thereby, I demonstrate how and to what extent social support becomes redistribution within the space of interpersonal relationships, within social groups as well as collectively, as a social system reflecting and reshaping inequalities. I begin by a general introduction revisiting the research purpose, existing debates and my empirical approach and its general limitations in section 8.1. I then continue, synthesizing and summarizing empirical findings by linking them to broader and existing debates in relevant bodies of literature in section 8.1.1 to section 8.1.3. I conclude with a summarizing discussion in section 8.2.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This research is about inequality and individual and collective responses thereto. Inequality is a system and dynamic that differentiates individuals in unfavourable ways. As stated earlier, no individual alone can be unequal. Inequality arises in comparison, in collectivity and with increasing complexity. Moreover, it bears consequences on individuals' lives and pathways. Inequality is often discussed as an unwanted side-effect, whereby a treatment of symptoms prevails over a cure for underlying causes. Where the top one percent, gender pay gaps, forced migration flows or other adverse symptoms often get attributed to the roots and consequences of inequality alike, inequality seems like a lingering and increasingly complex crisis and what is unequal to whom often becomes part of political discourse. Inequality has become an explicit item on the global agenda, for example in sustainable development goals calling for a reduction in inequalities in “income as well as those based on age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status within a country” (UNDP, 2015).

That statement reflects an effort of ‘not being unequal’ by listing all possible sources and their potential intersectionalities that have left or could leave their unequal marks in economic, social, and political systems. It also reflects a general development of identifying inequality from imbalances across economic factor shares, especially capital and labour (Piketty, 2014), to an imbalance of opportunities through differential access and abilities (Sen, 1980), or ‘unequal’ memberships that combine resources and opportunities held by different social groups, also referred to as vertical (between individuals) and horizontal (between social groups) inequalities (Durlauf, 1997; Stewart, 2005, 2014b). The latter then also captures a social extension of inequality in a given society or social setting.

Inequality as a dynamic with negative social and economic consequences for some but not others, can be tied to its source of ‘unequal starting positions’ – which is a common (underlying) notion in previously mentioned conceptualizations. I further propose distinguishing ‘inherently’ or ‘purposefully’ designed histories that shaped unequal systems in the present day. Inherently designed inequalities can thereby refer to social norms that have (co-)existed during a certain time and have now changed or are changing, as seen in debates on gender inequalities (Kabeer, 1994, 2016). They left their implicit social and economic marks in the system, disadvantaging some social groups but not others. Purposefully designed inequalities stem from system designs that explicitly engineered differences between social groups, reflected in the political apartheid system in Southern Africa. Arguably, inherent and purposeful designs are intertwined and yield unequal outcomes regardless of the nature of their source. However, purposefully crafted inequalities reflect an explicit notion, e.g. through capping educational outcomes and professions, maintaining an economic system that keeps one group ‘at the economic bottom’.

Inequality thus has many histories, and some would say it has always been around in one form or another. So, one can ask, to what extent collective behaviour – in part – cause inequality through everyday actions and their alignment with the economic and social systems in which we are embedded? Or do collective behaviours become determined by responding to inequality and why?

A burgeoning literature has sought to account for such questions by exploring individuals’ mindsets and actions against the (visible) backdrop of inequality (see for example, Piff et al. 2010; Xu and Garand 2010; Piff and Robinson 2017; Kearns et al. 2014; Hauser and Norton 2018). In sum, our relative positions, including our awareness or perceptions thereof, do influence how we interact socially and economically – across generations, within the realm of family, kinship, neighbourhoods, or communities – mostly framed around a notion of how much we are willing to give up for the benefit of others. While that idea is often put on scales of altruism versus exchange-related motives or fairness orientations (see for example D. A. Kenneht 1980; Gatti 2005; Genicot 2016; Fehr and Schmidt 2005; R. Durante, Putterman, and van der Weele 2014), doing so often reflects a tendency to extract patterns of individual behaviour from their lived and shared experiences.

Yet context matters – and not just levels of inequality, but also inequality among whom, by what means, and owing to which roots. With preferences, attitudes and behaviour being influenced by unequal contexts, its sources and affected social identities equally matter, particularly as social identities are associated with differences in in-group and cross-group behaviour often reflecting elements of favouring ‘one’s own’ and not others (Abbink and Harris, 2019; Fisher et al., 2017; Hogg, 2016; Jetten et al., 2017; Parkin, 1974). Inequality can aggravate group markers and identification – but also transcend into in-group dynamics in unequal ways.

Apartheid purposefully designed inequality, institutionalizing and reinforcing ethnic-based differences. It was a racist political system superimposed on top of a multitude of complex and multiple social systems in a heterogeneous society. It crafted a system that placed white ethnic identities on top and non-white ethnic identities below through varying degrees of discriminatory measures against explicitly distinguished ethnic identity groups.

Black Tax, and social support more broadly, describes interpersonal practices within the context of a post-apartheid economic and social system. Apartheid and its entanglement with Black Tax remains a unique story and reality in many ways. However, it also opens a more general debate. It is not just an example to explain the historical roots of unequal starting positions. It also provides an example of the existence of parallel yet blended systems – the societal and economic one, whereby this ‘blend’ is typically discussed as the embeddedness of economic systems in societal dynamics or social relations (Granovetter, 1985; Polanyi et al., 1957, 2010). My research suggests that for some ethnic identity groups, socially crafted systems within the realm of extended families seem to have more divergent dynamics and principles from those of economically formalized systems. Moreover, inequality in one system translates into different inequalities in the other, which I shall detail in the following sections of this chapter. More broadly, I came to think of both systems as different games with different sets of rules, whereby inequality seems to change the rules for some but not others. While one cannot retreat from either system, conflict arises between the two. If you do not play by the rules, you get dismissed or disadvantaged in various ways in either system.

However, general understandings of such rule setting rarely looks at this delicate interplay in such ways – reflected in an entanglement of within-group behaviour but also the contextual system within which these behaviours are embedded. What then tends to get overlooked in conceptualizations of inequality is the interplay between context and practices. More precisely, how inequality can transform seemingly ‘neutral’ practices of collaboration, collectivity and cooperation into necessity, mutual dependency and restraints on resource accumulation for some but not others. Within the context of my research, I show how social support is engineered into private redistribution, responding to and crafted by unequal contexts and through that, demonstrate how ‘helping out’ is not always a choice for everyone. Understanding this linkage can provide a better understanding and potential accommodation of alternative practices and economic organization that are currently viewed as ‘derivative’ or ‘incompatible’ with established socio-political and economic systems.

I began this research with a general question: *in which ways are socioeconomic inequalities entangled with practices of private redistribution?* I explored this by focusing on first,

motivational aspects reflected in meaning; second, positions and structural patterns; and third, general distributive effects of relational dynamics in interpersonal practices of support.

I focused on the behaviour of economic support practices among individuals. I observed such practices through personal networks, which can provide in-depth information about an individual and their immediate contacts within ‘their social orbit’. I defined social support activities yet allowed respondents to translate them into their daily lives and practices by capturing additional information about their cause, frequency, importance, and motivation – particularly through applying a mixed-method approach to personal networks. I further asked about social identities that respondents carry or identify with including demographic and socioeconomic information. Equally, I asked them to describe their contacts in similar terms and in relation to them to get a sense of ‘who supports whom’ in terms of demographic as well as economic characteristics.

Through following this approach, private redistribution is not understood as a practice of collective pooling and redistributing such collective funds as it is often understood, particularly when looking at formal redistribution (Atkinson, 1999; Cook, 1968; Jackson, 2008; Polanyi et al., 2010). It is understood through the collective linkages between individuals and social relationships available for mobilizing different support at different times and for differing reasons, often referred to as informal practices (Bevan, 2004; Kennett, 1980b; Laslett, 1988; Wood, 2004; Wood and Gough, 2006). With relationships then playing a dominant role in these private spaces of redistribution, social fragmentation, varying norms within groups and relationships, and resulting behavioural and relational dynamics can provide insights into how inequality transcends into these dynamics, whereas dynamics in turn shape and reshape inequality – often in tacit ways.

Before detailing the broader contributions of my research, I revisit its main findings and broader limitations. An exploration of the motivational aspect of support practices, understanding intentions and motives against patterns of network composition (chapter 5), revealed different dynamics for white and non-white ethnic identities. This included a higher regularity of support, as well as a stronger sense of necessity, dependency and responding to external challenges for non-white egos. In addition, a structural analysis of absolute and relative socioeconomic positions (chapter 6) showed that having more and giving more are significant predictors of the socioeconomic distance observed in support relationships of non-white but not white egos. More broadly, this suggests that while support has a greater potential of vertical redistribution for non-white egos, it might also pose a constraint of resource accumulation for these individuals. Lastly, building on the distributive claim (chapter 7) revealed that private redistribution closes income inequality gaps from both sides, creating upward and downward movers in terms of income ranks. Accounting for socioeconomic, relational dynamics indicates a certain progressiveness; however,

it mainly indicates income gap closures among the comparatively poorer than the rich. This is partly owing to transfer amounts being less substantial for higher income individuals.

Regarding broader limitations, I revisit the following aspects. First, my method of data collection relies on the subjective memory of respondents to recall relevant practices. Generally, it might be easier to recall practices linked to life events, such as weddings or graduation, whereby small favours that happened on an ad-hoc basis can slip one's mind. However, as reflected in the spread of frequencies and temporalities of support practices, applying a resource generator (Van Der Gaag and Snijders, 2005) seemed to help in covering a wide spread of activities relevant to an individual. Second, and stemming from pre-defining support activities gathered from the resource generator, I might have overlooked other practices that equally play a role in private redistribution. I controlled for such by allowing individuals to elaborate on proposed support practices so that they could make sense of them and apply them to their lived reality. Furthermore, I included additional space towards the end of the interview, which allowed individuals to state other activities that they considered relevant and which had not been covered before. I observed that only a few respondents stated alternative activities such as teaching someone how to play an instrument or passing on spiritual knowledge. However, in general, my data reflects the perspectives of respondents, which might or might not correspond to the perspective of their contacts. Furthermore, personal networks, and particularly first-level networks capturing only links between the respondent and their immediate contacts, provide information about local environments but not about a broader social structure⁵⁶. Furthermore, the sample also includes more well-educated urban professionals and thus while it might be representative of Windhoek, the nature of the sample might not be representative of Namibia as a whole. In this regard, the associated analyses and interpretation carry an implicit (and in part subjective) perspective and thus rather portray insights on collective experiences in Namibia's capital than universal or standard dynamics in the country. Being primarily interested in the interplay between system and behaviour in light of inequality, I however find that collectively, in-depth information about individuals' perspectives and their immediate social embeddedness can provide important insights.

In sum, there are three main contributions and arguments in my research. First is an argument of compatibility of behaviour, which I will address in section 8.1.1. Second is an argument of a behaviour as a 'function of necessity' to describe practices, which I will elaborate on in section 8.1.2. Third and last, I conclude by placing behavioural dynamics within the broader setting of

⁵⁶ For example, social network studies built on sociometric data enable a different set of analyses, which evolve more around the locations of individuals and associated roles within a wider, and complex social structure (see for example Newman 2010).

society and economic systems with a focus on inequality, discussed in section 8.1.3 and section 8.2.

8.1.1 A collision of and power imbalances between tradition and inequality

One argument in the wider literature has been drawn around an aspect of compatibility. Largely from the perspective of welfare states in the Global South, scholars have termed existing social practices that differ from formalized policies and systems as informal (Arnall et al., 2004b; Bevan, 2004; Devereux, 1999; Oduro, 2010; Verpoorten and Verschraegen, 2008). While it has been acknowledged that informal practices constitute a vital aspect of individuals' welfare in the Global South, often termed safety nets, informal social protection or informal welfare, these practices are not necessarily understood as a 'way of life', or deeply embedded 'social understanding' of living together. Further, in describing social practices that existed prior to or in spite of economic and political systems as 'informal' also comes with a sense of suspending them from a 'status quo' within a given context and portrays them as 'inferior alternative'.

This is not to say that these practices generally remain misunderstood. Applying a network perspective or acknowledging dynamics of social relationships provides valuable insights on social dynamics including advantages and disadvantages for individuals involved (see for example Werger 2009; Du Toit and Neves 2009; Calder and Tanhchareun 2014; Di Falco and Bulte 2011; 2013; Schnegg 2018). However, these perspectives often begin with describing the nature of practices and individuals' positions to derive consequences, for example sharing norms creating a dis-incentive for individuals to invest in long-term, sharable assets (Werger, 2009). They also acknowledge that the nature of practices can be shaped by external circumstances, for example describing the role of kinship in risk mitigating practices (Di Falco and Bulte, 2013). However, they often extract interpersonal practices in a mechanical way from their social context rather than understanding them as deeply embedded notions of living together.

They rather remain assessed in terms of their compatibility with formal systems reflected in their 'economic potential', as well as 'adequateness' or 'efficiency' to deal with economic or environmental hazards. Terms such as risk sharing, inclusion, poverty reduction, consumption smoothing, or inequality decreasing enter those debates. Doing so suggests a premise that first, there is a formal space – the economic and political system. Only then, there are social practices that respond to or shall be aligned with such systems. If one wants to understand social practices, especially against the backdrop of inequality, without their compatibility in yielding certain outcomes, it seems that one also needs to retreat from modern societies and delve into anthropological studies on traditional societies and their social and economic dynamics.

The compatibility argument thus overlooks the aspect that such 'informal' practices remain vital parts of the daily lives of individuals, as demonstrated in chapter 5. They are often so embedded

in one's life that it is hard for individuals to assign an explicit rationale to them. They are a mode of togetherness, spending one's life and days together. However, as much as they might merit different principles, they do not remain 'immune' to their economic surroundings – particularly so in unequal contexts. As shown in my findings, they respond to external challenges and therefore reflect certain dependencies and necessities for some but not others. Particularly among non-white ethnic identity groups, social practices reflect a sense of need, necessity, dependency as well as obligation and responsibility, whereby one cannot live well while others suffer. For example, such was shown in statements that referred to support for others 'who can hardly afford to buy food for themselves', but also in statements which reflect the 'weight of support' e.g. "I was the one taking care of everyone. My brother worked but was not there for my mother. When my sister started working, she relieved the weight off my shoulders" (ego#18_nw_m_31). External challenges often revolve around not being able to provide for basic needs as well as the lack of employment and thus financial resources. In this way, support practices *do* respond to economic systems and this might be a reason why aspects such as consumption smoothing, risk sharing, or poverty and inequality reduction can indeed be understood when looking at these practices. However, responding to external challenges does something to the individuals involved: a sense of responsibility or obligation might have had seemingly neutral cultural roots, as described in Mhlongo's book as traditional, African way of life, communal life, family upliftment, or family responsibility (Mhlongo et al., 2019). I found the sense of tradition in my findings as well, for example "because [of] old tradition. We have a belief that if we do something for older people, you shall be blessed in return. I used to do that for blessings" (ego#15_nw_m_46); or "as a child, by tradition it is a must that we help our parents. For their sacrifice. They helped me finish school" (ego#68_nw_m_35).

What used to be a lifecycle dynamic, or general family caretaking, might have become changed and aggravated by external economic circumstances. While a practice such as 'you cannot say no to elders who formerly raised you' (Busani-Dube, 2019), or the above-mentioned blessings might have been a 'seemingly neutral' cultural tradition, inequality seems to operationalize those traditions and change the nature of relationships for groups facing systemic inequalities. Thereby, 'cannot say no' might not just come from one's cultural upbringing and corresponding social norms and values anymore. It can also stem from an acknowledgement that if one says no, the economic wellbeing of others might be affected, worsened or threatened. Knowing that historic inequality created unequal starting positions for some, the scope to 'say no' can be harder for those who are now better off but socially linked to lower positions, whereas economic consequences of 'saying no' are also harder to endure for those in lower positions. This dynamic has been previously observed among black individuals in other economic contexts (Stack, 2003; Stewart, 2015) as well as in this research.

Such ‘informal’ practices cannot just be assessed in their function to ‘deal with’ structures of an economic system – particularly if these structures have a potential to change the nature of relationships within some social groups and some individuals therein, but not others. One could argue that the way in which economic disadvantage has given rise to greater feelings of obligation and responsibility for non-white individuals, it might have done the opposite for white individuals: economic advantage may have shifted their relationships to being more individualised. For instance, statements of white egos carried less of a community ‘sense’ or ‘tradition’, and expectations towards younger generations to ‘become contributors to the family’ featured less strongly. It is that very dissonance and change in relationships that needs to be understood further as both a consequence and cause of continued lived inequality. It is also the socially embedded foundation of practices that needs acknowledgement as it indicates a choice of lifestyle, togetherness, but also a certain persistence of social dynamics despite ‘formal’ efforts to replace, adapt or change them.

I would argue that such dissonances between the ‘social’ and the ‘economic’ is not a unique phenomenon but might apply to other social groups whose values, social norms and corresponding collective behaviours do not necessarily complement existing global and national economic rationales – particularly within unequal, post-colonial contexts. A notion of labelling lifestyles and their social practices as ‘informal’ further indicates and reinforces a power imbalance between two existing systems, which I will further address in the following section.

8.1.2 Social dynamics and structures as a function of necessity

This section speaks to the aspect that within the Global South, support practices among individuals often remain understood within the realm of ‘poverty’ or ‘marginalized groups’. While this not to say that these studies do not provide valuable insights, my research has demonstrated that support practices exist beyond ‘spaces of necessity’ and looking beyond the space of poverty can reveal differing degrees of necessity in support relationships (as discussed in the previous section 8.1.1).

Indeed, studies in various contexts reflect an underlying assumption that the type and patterns of support practices can be observed as they take place among a poor community (Stack, 2003) or within a rural and marginalized community (Schnegg, 2015; Tvedten, 2011; Tvedten and Nangulah, 1999). Yet, they rarely explore whether such or similar dynamics exist beyond these spaces. Patterns of reciprocity over time or on demand get interpreted against the hardships and resulting necessities that poverty and marginalization bring forward. Yet, my study demonstrated that necessities change but continue to exist for individuals who would be considered as ‘non poor’ in economic terms. Particularly, chapter 6 demonstrated that better situated non-white individuals support individuals who fare worse economically. Interestingly, this points to the fact

that an individual does not need to be exposed to economic hardships and resulting necessities themselves. Understanding the necessity to support across socioeconomic positions and within the space of personal networks and relationships revealed that the latter can indirectly link ‘better off’ individuals through social relationships to necessities formerly understood within the space of poverty. By focusing on practices only within such a space, it would not have been possible to see those ‘vertical links’, which I detail further in section 8.1.3.

What is interesting and linked to the aspect of relationships, is that in studies on Namibia, one can also find a discussion of conceptualizations of households, kinship and families as economic and social units cooperating with each other. Debates show that household boundaries can be more fluid (Greiner, 2010, 2011, 2012), and families are founded as a web of present, past and continued relationships among individuals, resulting in different care obligations and mutual responsibilities (Kalomo et al., 2018; Ruiz-Casares, 2010). When moving beyond the space of poverty – whether tied to certain communities, neighbourhoods or rural locations, those varying conceptualizations of households, kinship and families do not feature as strongly. It almost seems that within modern, urbanized spaces there prevails an assumption that individuals adapt to the most prominent economic, nuclear family model. It is noteworthy that discussions on rural and urban support dynamics do acknowledge a blended understanding of households and families proposing alternative models, such as multi-local households, emphasizing a relational and trans-local perspective (Greiner, 2012). Interestingly, there often remains a filter of (multi-dimensional, though) poverty when acknowledging these alternatives. Doing so adversely seems to associate different economic organizations and social structures of households and families with poverty, which seems to be not just reflected in research but also in public stereotypes about social groups being situated among the lower ranks of inequality – as shown in section 5.4.2.4 in the statements of white individuals talking about non-white individuals’ sharing practices or ways of living more broadly.

However, calling life models and social organization a function of necessity, or their circumstances more broadly, neglects the fact that these can indeed be a norm or normality. They might have been operationalized and respond to their economic circumstances, as discussed in the section above, which generally makes it hard to see what would exist despite poverty or inequality. More broadly, the portrayal of alternatives then further demonstrates a general notion of ranked parallel systems. Imbalanced shares of power in shaping the economic system for social groups and individuals are equally reflected in viewing alternative models of households and families as a function of poverty and inequality. There then appears to be little room for just viewing them as alternatives per se. This comes full circle with the ‘informality’ argument, whereas alternatives that differ from ‘standard economic systems’ are placed into the ‘adaptive or prevailing social space’. While some social spaces are more aligned and compatible with

economic systems, others seem to become ‘less powerful’ derivatives of fixed systems with the option to assimilate rather than bend systems to accommodate social dynamics – not just in social policy design (for example, see Bevan 2004; G. D. Wood 2004) but economic systems more broadly.

What my research shows is that social dynamics and structures shape social realities of individuals. In chapter 5, I show that non-white individuals tend to have more minors who they support, indicating larger family sizes but equally so potentially more fluid boundaries between family households. Furthermore, different age positions take on different support functions, as shown when exploring support patterns and meaning for non-white elderly individuals. For example, there remain different modes of providing present and future support, e.g. in the form of livestock for non-white but not white individuals. Further, different orientation towards the future seems to place emphasis on economic success not just in itself but also to become a contributor to the extended family, which features more strongly in the statements of non-white as opposed to white individuals.

It is easy to dismiss practices of economic support to functions of poverty, inequality or more neutrally ‘traditional livelihoods’. In so doing, one can however miss their present-day reality and persistence in modern life. As stated previously, different practices and dynamics might prevail as important aspects of how people cooperate and live together, regardless of poverty and inequality. Only then is one able to see how the former transcends into interpersonal practices and relationships.

8.1.3 Vertical-behavioural and systemic-horizontal inequalities

In some ways, my findings tell a story linked to the narrative of Hoff and Sen (2005), which portrays kinship-based dynamics as a ‘poverty trap’ or ‘force of collective conservatism’. In line with empirical findings of studies looking at the internal dynamics of kinship-based practices, often framed as safety nets, scholars hint towards the two-fold nature of interpersonal support practices (Arnall et al., 2004a; Di Falco and Bulte, 2013; Werger, 2009). It can ‘save some’ but – sometimes quite literally – at ‘the expense of others’. While these unequal dynamics are mainly drawn based on an understanding of within or internal group dynamics, and often within the space of poverty, as discussed in section 8.1.2, I show that a different dimension of inequality emerges if internal group dynamics are compared across groups. More precisely, if groups are carried by social identities, which are in turn associated with historically grown as well as present economic inequality, this speaks to the concept of horizontal inequality (Stewart, 2014a).

As shown in my findings, social support indeed flows within but not necessarily across ethnic identity groups, indicating that indeed ethnic identity can function as a marker of distinction. Moreover, former and prevailing horizontal inequalities correspond to observed individuals’

socioeconomic positions, situating social groups within different socioeconomic strata overall. Thereby, ethnic identities that were subjected to varying degrees of discrimination under the apartheid regime generally depict lower socioeconomic positions as compared to ethnic identities who did not experience such discrimination. However, and this is something my research draws particular attention to, within-group dynamics equally matter in shaping overall group positionings, which I shall summarize below.

Intergenerational obligations and more hazardous conditions triggering support can result in greater obligations and responsibilities to support worse off members in one's support network for non-white but not necessarily white ethnic identity groups. These observations were in line with recent findings of Mangoma and Wilson (2019) describing not just substantial financial transfers to family members but also the internal conflict of black individuals balancing self-interest with obligations, duties and responsibilities to support their extended family. Similarly, Stewart (2015) states that within black families, support relationships appear to be maintained across socioeconomic distances, suggesting a certain resilience of support obligations despite the changing situations of family members. My research provides further evidence that while white individuals generally hold higher socioeconomic positions, for non-white individuals, having more and giving more is associated with greater socioeconomic distances in their support relationships. Thereby, giving more across greater distance can also speak to the observed greater necessity to provide to alters of lower positions. In addition, the effect of having more was stronger than the tendency to provide in predicting the socioeconomic distance in support relationships. Such might suggest that particularly when non-white individuals, and thus individuals among the formerly discriminated, 'become better off', they may experience vertical pressure on their support relationships. Furthermore, explorations of meaning have indeed shown that support is linked to 'most pressing needs' such as paying one's bills, buying food or obtaining a job. Neither of these findings apply to observed white individuals.

However, individuals of different ethnic identity and socioeconomic standing generally associate provided support with 'worse off' individuals when being asked how they position the recipient of support in relation to themselves. This is interesting in that it generally supports the view that individuals indeed seem to draw on their own position and local environment in defining who is better, worse or equally well off (Hauser and Norton, 2018; Xu and Garand, 2010). These studies have also pointed to the fact that these local perceptions can lead to inaccurate assessments of overall inequality. Knowing that most support relationships remain within the same ethnic identity group, assessments of inequality within and across ethnic identity groups can thus be particularly skewed: who is worse off in relation to oneself is largely drawn from 'same ethnic identity' contacts and rarely across. The emerging disparity, placing subjective assessments

alongside the effects of socioeconomic position, further indicates that ‘worse off’ can be associated with smaller distances for white individuals compared to non-white individuals.

Thus, my research explicitly draws out differing dynamics across former lines of discrimination. These differing dynamics can be either linked to horizontal inequalities across or creating new vertical inequalities within groups. Vertical-behavioural inequality refers to inequalities between individuals that arise as consequences of systemic-horizontal inequality. In other words, being part of a marginalized group can result in greater inequality within said group. Such greater inequality can then transcend into relationships and behaviour. For example, it can place greater demands on an individual to ‘send the elevator back down’ (Busani-Dube, 2019) or ‘cater for the most pressing needs’ (Khumalo, 2019) of others linked to them. Combined, quantitative and qualitative findings further resemble a concept of social stickiness proposed by Martin, whereby social stickiness is defined as “an objective property of the social structure in a particular environment, whereby abandoning relationships or groups in that social structure is difficult” (2014: 1). In sum, dynamics of support can differ, be more binding, and more essential, but also more redistributive for some individuals but not others.

Lastly, as shown by a novel approach to measure the effect of a mutual constitution between systemic inequality and private redistribution (see chapter 7), socioeconomic orientations – and an attempt to link sources and destinations of transfers more systematically – seem to affect income distributions, particularly for individuals ranking among the bottom of the income distribution scale. In part, this can be explained by transfer amounts being more substantive in relation to lower incomes as compared to higher incomes. Moreover, accounting for relational dynamics in measuring income inequality matters. Simply measuring what one provides and receives misses the dynamics of how likely one is to recover or diminish transfer losses or gains when on the opposite side of support directions. I found indications of ‘socioeconomic closure’ in private redistribution, e.g. top income earners being generally more linked to secondary and tertiary degree holders. This also implies a certain cap as to ‘how far down’ support travels from the top. Inequality overall declines after private transfers have been simulated. However, this greater equality rather stems from a reshuffle at the bottom whereby low-income individuals shift upwards but middle-income individuals also shift slightly downwards, closing the income gaps from both sides. Overall, this is in line with the previously discussed ‘economic restraints’ of Black Tax. Knowing that non-white individuals are more likely to be situated towards the bottom of the income distribution scale, low-to-mid and mid-to-low level movers are also more likely to be non-white individuals. More broadly, illustrating that private redistribution creates upward and downward movers links to previous debates on social support systems creating adverse economic outcomes for some and not others (Adato et al., 2006; Hoff and Sen, 2005; Werger, 2009). This

exploration also pointed to the ‘social aspect’ in private redistribution per se and suggests a rethinking of measuring its effect on income inequality going forward.

8.2 A MUTUAL CONSTITUTION OF BEHAVIOUR AND SYSTEMS: BROADER IMPLICATIONS

Taken together, my research has provided new insights into behavioural dynamics and how certain patterns respond to inequality stemming from former politics and present economic structures. Building on the arguments drawn out in section 8.1.1 to section 8.1.3, my findings offer views on inequalities in the ways in which societal groups can respond to economic structures, in part reshaping them in return.

This includes insights into socially crafted systems, describing support practices for individuals of different ethnic identities and socioeconomic standing. In line with Granovetter’s (1985) argument that economic models or practices are never fully disembedded from society, I show that equally so, social models or practices are never fully disembedded from economic systems. This links directly to the theoretical lens of this study describing a mutual constitution between systems and behaviour (Markus and Kitayama, 2010); more precisely, between unequal systems stemming from formalized economics and politics, and behaviour within the realm of the extended family meriting a variety of personal principles and understandings. Moreover, I acknowledge the element of social identities in unequal systems, and thus the former instrumentalization of ethnic identities to craft stratified economic systems. Thereby, I show that for some ethnic identities, socially crafted systems are more responsive to economic systems and discrepancies; but, paradoxically, at the same time appear as having principles and dynamics that are divergent from those in economic systems.

This divergence allows me to put forward an argument about conceptual scope and anchorage of related studies that look at dynamics of interpersonal support in similar contexts. In her article, Pailey (2020) critically engages, *inter alia* with a comparative lens of portraying socioeconomic and cultural processes of the Global North as progressive whereas the ones of the Global South are typically seen as regressive. This speaks to my earlier critique on labelling social support practices as informal in modern societies and against the backdrop of inequality, as discussed in section 8.1.1. There seems to be a notion of ‘what should be’ anchored at systems of the Global North when exploring support systems in the Global South. This then restricts conceptual lenses on aspects which deem to be worth of pursuit or were found to be progressive; say the adequacy of transfer amounts, the aspect of inclusion, or mutual insurance. Borrowing from Pailey’s reasoning, I propose that these views, while generating important insights, create certain ‘conceptual prisons’ for the research in question. I argue that ‘conceptual prisons’ might ‘fit’ socio-cultural and -economic practices into frameworks that do not capture the manifold ways in

which support is an element of the social worlds individuals live in. In other words, ‘conceptual prisons’ might extract social practices through certain policy rationales. I argue that doing so might miss out on alternative ways of understanding them, particularly accounting for how they are embedded within (particularly modern, urban) societies and structural inequalities at large. While this research only represents an initial step from departing from such framings, I summarize insights that were gained by posing a different lens on support in the following.

As discussed in section 8.1.1., economic disadvantage has been associated with greater feelings of responsibility and obligation to support others in their social orbit for non-white ethnic identities. Economic advantage then can have an opposite effect for white ethnic identities: economic advantage might have given rise to more independence and more individualised relationships. This is not to say that a community sense is only present among non-white ethnic identities and not in white ethnic identities. However, as shown in my study, helping others appears to be less of a choice for non-white ethnic identities, in that support responds to external challenges and economic disadvantage. This in turn might create a feeling of mutual dependency among the disadvantaged. Interestingly, and as mentioned in the Black Tax narrative, individual merit reflected in a job or completed studies, seems to then become a means to accumulate resources, which are shared in return. In this regard, merit matters as individual achievement but also as a function to be multiplied among those who contributed to it or are presently in need. At the same time, these obligations to not necessarily seem to translate into generally regarding others one provides to as being worse off than oneself (see section 6.4.1). This can suggest that other non-economic motives play a role as well in fostering such support relationships. These dynamics seem to be less present among the economically advantaged – and it is crucial to consider that individuals of white ethnic identities are also less likely to be linked to those at the very bottom as opposed to individuals of non-white ethnic identities with a similar socioeconomic status. These considerations speak to a broader debate on meritocracy justifying and worsening inequality (McCoy and Major, 2007; Mijs, 2018, 2019). Whereas one group might strive to achieve economic independence and the ability to share, another might strive primarily for such to be multiplied among those who were restricted and might continue to fail. As previously argued, individuals have biased and limited accounts to draw broader inferences about inequality but paradoxically, also fewer concerns about inequality itself when living in unequal societies (Hauser and Norton, 2018; Mijs, 2018). Based on my findings, I suggest that this paradox can be further unpacked by not just exploring sources of beliefs about inequality, but also differing beliefs and functions of individual merit within societal contexts. A lower concern for inequality might also stem from the fact that for some individuals, it is a necessary outcome that finds justification in being distributed in return.

Taken together, my findings further enable me revisit conceptualizations of horizontal inequality by illustrating how social practices respond to economic markets. Horizontal inequality draws out distinct markers in social, economic, and political systems that disadvantage one group but not others (Stewart, 2005). This applies to many markers, including age, gender, ethnic identity, race, or origin more broadly (UNDP, 2015). However, such horizontal inequalities are often identified and defined by cross-group markers in that they acknowledge boundaries and inter-group separation by notions of discrimination, marginalization, exclusion or differentiated access (for a discussion on social exclusion and chronic poverty, see for example Hickey and du Toit 2013). In this regard, inequality becomes understood as a consequence of being part of or being associated with a certain social group whereby mainly *inter*- and not *intra*-group behaviour gives rise to such inequality. In other words, horizontal inequality is often viewed through discrimination *against* but not necessarily *among* the discriminated, whereby intersectional approaches then distinguish different degrees of discrimination across combinations of social identities (for example, see Brannon, Higginbotham, and Henderson 2017 for a discussion of class and race). I do not claim that inter-group interactions do not matter – they certainly do in explaining horizontal inequalities and apartheid is a prime example for such. Moreover, cross-group behaviours can create unequal systems. However, there are also certain dynamics that arise within the compartmentalization of such systems that in turn might reinforce unequal systems.

To summarize, and speaking to debates on inequality, this research emphasises that within- and cross-group behaviour alike give rise to inequality between groups and individuals. Thereby, inequality seems to manifest itself in attitudes and behaviour towards other groups but also towards others within one's own group. Breaking up such systems and dynamics then requires not just understanding its boundaries but also its internal dynamics, as well as to what extent such dynamics respond to inequality associated with its boundaries. Inequality seems to create certain social enclaves containing their own social worlds, if not truths, within which collectively and inadvertently, one reproduces the social stratification one has become part of.

In conclusion, this research provides an initial step to exploring the mutual constitution between systems and behaviour through the lens of personal networks. It does so in a highly unequal society, namely Namibia. This exploration and the data informing this research does not come without limitations. As I draw on personal networks and thus detailed information on local environments of individuals, my data does not speak to the wider social structures, i.e. how such personal networks are embedded in broader societal structures⁵⁷. Additional sources and information on such structures would enable further explorations, for example who are central

⁵⁷ Sociometric data captures all the existing social connections of a social space. In empirical data collection, obtaining such is often not feasible as connections increase exponentially the more individuals are included in a population of interest.

actors, who links otherwise loosely connected social groups, who prevents social interactions, etc. Sociometric data further carries less of a subjective perspective of respondents and facilitates the triangulation of perspectives and information.

In sum, inequality remains a complex yet important dynamic to explore further. While many adverse events and dynamics are (explicitly or implicitly) attributed to inequality, a lot of understanding comes from diagnosing symptoms first, followed by acknowledgement of its sources as a subsequent step. Seeing how symptoms and sources, systems and behaviour, the economic and the social interact, can provide new ways of understanding and potentially tackling inequality, not least through a re-thinking of structures and systems that are in some ways taken for granted.

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APPENDICES

I. NAMIBIA'S APARTHEID POLICIES

The following table provides an example of social policy making under the apartheid regime. It displays the varying amount of pension pay-outs for each defined 'ethnic group' as well as the percentage share expressed as share of the highest amount for white individuals.

| Social pension payment schedule in Namibia, 1990 | | |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 'Ethnic group' | Pension per month | Amount in % of White |
| White | R 382 | 100% |
| Coloured | R 192 | 50% |
| 'Baster' | R 150 | 39% |
| Tswana | R 100 | 26% |
| Damara | R 75 | 20% |
| Herero/ Nama | R 65 | 17% |
| Ovambo, Kavango, Caprivian | R 55 | 14% |

Source: Devereux (2001), amounts expressed in South African Rand (1 USD = 17.5 SRA, May 2020)

II. SURVEY DOCUMENT AND DATA COLLECTION SCHEDULE

The following table provides an overview of the criteria considered when selecting the six ethnic identity groups included in this study.

| Ethnic identity group | Criteria | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | Settlement & population share | General cultural background | Socioeconomic marginalization |
| Ovambo | Since 16 th century 46,7% of population | Comprising several tribes as part of the Bantu group | 7,8% / 5,6% in 1 st / 10 th Income Decile |
| Herero | Since 16 th century 9,1 % of population | From East Africa Pastoral cattle-breeding people | 8,8% / 6,9% in 1 st / 10 th Income Decile |
| German | 1884, main influx of settlers 1903 onwards 0,8% of population | Western cultural origin | 0,0% / 86,6% in 1 st / 10 th Income Decile |
| Afrikaans | 1915, South Africa colonization 9.3% of population | Western cultural origin | 3.8% / 38.1% in 1 st / 10 th Income Decile |
| Caprivi | Multiple tribes inhabiting the Caprivi Strip 4,9% of population | Settlers in the northern region of today's Namibia | 21.8% / 3.9% in 1 st / 10 th Income Decile |
| Nama/Damara | Relatives of the Khoikhoi group 12.4% of population | Settlers in southern region of today's Namibia | 17.0% / 3.5% in 1 st / 10 th Income Decile |

Notes: Quantitative indicators based on the Namibian Household Income and Expenditure Survey 2015/16.

The following table provides an overview of research assistants involved in the data collection process including how many interviews they conducted and whether they have been involved in the first or second round of the data collection phase.

| Research Assistant | Ethnic identity group covered | Interviews completed by Research Assistant | Interviews completed by A. Oppel |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Johanna | Ovambo (2 nd round) | 15 | 0 |
| Rabin | Herero (2 nd round) | 15 | 6 |
| Trevor | Caprivian (1 st & 2 nd round) | 30 | 9 |
| Caillin | Afrikaans ⁵⁸ (2 nd round) | 20 | 18 |
| Anita | Nama/Damara (1 st round) | 20 | 7 |
| Hitji | Herero (1 st round) | 3 | 8 |
| Elisa | Nama/Damara (2 nd round) | 15 | 0 |
| Ruth | Herero (2 nd round) | 12 | 0 |
| Pandu | Ovambo (1 st round) | 12 | 5 |
| Nangula | Ovambo (2 nd round) | 10 | 0 |
| Total | (across all groups) | 152 | 53 |

Notes: 1st round (September 2017 until January 2018) 2nd round (February 2018 until May 2018)

⁵⁸ Afrikaans also includes German and English identifying individuals which were primarily covered in interviews conducted by the PhD researcher.

| | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------------|---------------------|
| SNA Survey | Respondent | 2017/18 |
| Social networks of sharing, survey 2017/18 | | |
| Form number: | | Date: |
| Location (incl neighbourhood): | | Name of respondent: |
| Audio recorded : Y / N | | |
| Contact provided of potential subsequent participant(s): | | |
| 1. _____ | | |
| 2. _____ | | |
| 3. _____ | | |
| Comments: | | |
| _____ | | |
| _____ | | |
| _____ | | |

MODULE A : Unpaid labour, co-habitation and care (Range of recording transactions: recall everything that stuck to your mind since adulthood (age of 18))

With whom do you engage with in the following sharing activities? (Record all that apply)

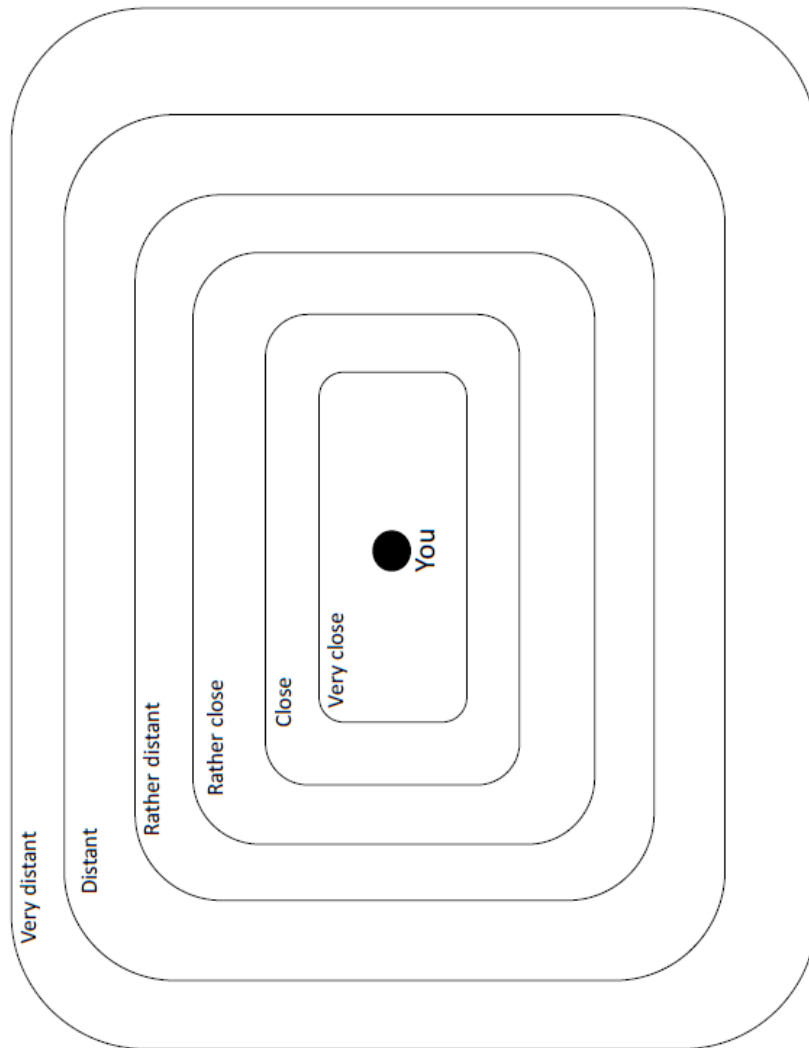
- I am sharing a house/flat/accommodation with someone and we split housing expenses (rent, utilities, etc.) **A1**
- I am sharing a house/flat/accommodation with someone and I (do not) provide for housing expenses (rent, utilities, etc.) **A2**
- I am providing/receiving care to/from elderly/younger people **A3**
- I am providing care to children who are not my own/ I am receiving care for my children from someone else **A4**
- I am assisting with household duties (also field work) of another household than mine/ I receive assistance for my household duties from someone outside my own household **A5**
- I am assisting/ I receive assistance from someone at work without getting paid/ paying (covering shifts, tasks, information, equipment) **A6**

• Other: _____

A7

Add P/R/B after Code to indicate whether receiving or providing or both, i.e. A5P or A5R

How do you relate to each of them : How close or distant do you feel to her or him?



2017/18

Respondent

MODULE B : Financial Protection (Range of recording transactions: recall everything that stuck to your mind since adulthood (age of 18))

With whom do you engage with in the following sharing activities ? (Record all that apply)

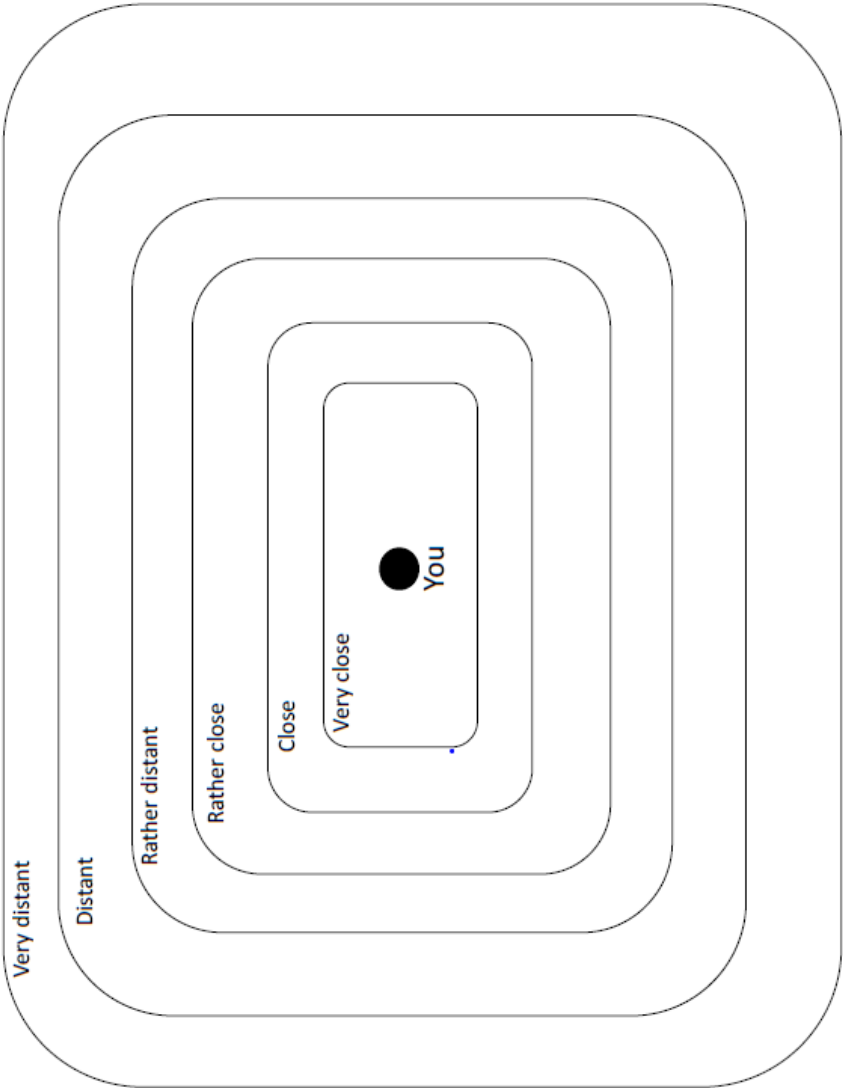
- I am providing/ receiving transfers of money (cash or bank transfers), not exceeding the amount of 100 NAD **B1**
- I am providing/ receiving transfers of money (cash or bank transfers), larger than the amount of 100 NAD and not exceeding 1000 NAD **B2**
- I am providing/ receiving transfers of money (cash or bank transfers), larger than the amount of 1000 NAD and not exceeding 2000 NAD **B3**
- I am providing/ receiving transfers of money (cash or bank transfers), larger than the amount of 2000 NAD and not exceeding 5000 NAD **B4**
- I am providing/ receiving transfers of money (cash or bank transfers), larger than the amount of 5000 NAD **B5**
* amount: _____

- Other: _____

B6

Add P/R /B after Code to indicate whether receiving or providing or both, i.e. B2P or B2R

How do you relate to each of them : How close or distant do you feel to her or him?



MODULE C : In Kind Protection (Range of recording transactions: recall everything that stuck to your mind since adulthood (age of 18))

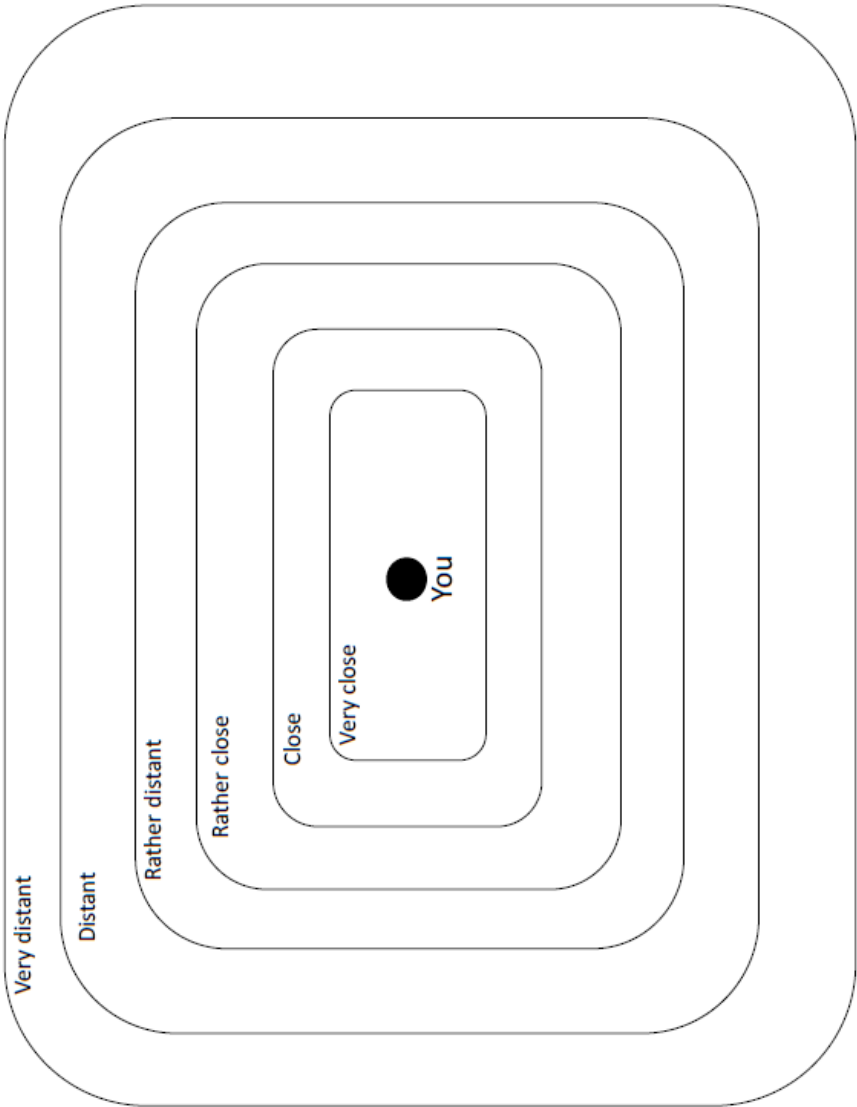
With whom do you engage with in the following sharing activities ? (Record all that apply)

- I am received/ provided land to someone
C1
- I provide / receive livestock, e.g. cows, sheep, goat, chicken, pig, etc. to someone
C2
- I provide/ receive non-durable goods to/ from someone such as food, clothing, fuel, other
C3
- I provide/ receive durable goods to/ from someone such as furniture, fridge, TV, transport equipment, building material, etc.
C4
- Other: _____

C5

Add P/R/B after Code to indicate whether receiving or providing or both, i.e. CSP or C5R

How do you relate to each of them : How close or distant do you feel to her or him?



MODULE D : Opportunity sharing (Range of recording transactions: recall everything that stuck to your mind since adulthood (age of 18))

With whom do you engage with in the following sharing activities ? (Record all that apply)

- I provided/ received non-public information on employment opportunities **D1**
- I provided/ received a contact who was looking for someone to hire **D2**
- I hired/ was hired by someone through personal contacts **D3**
- I provided/ received information on health care providers **D4**
- I provided/ received information on education opportunities **D5**
- I provided/ received assistance in applying for education opportunities, e.g. reference letter, meetings, etc. **D6**

• Other: _____

D7

Add P/R/B after Code to indicate whether receiving or providing or both, i.e. DSP or D5R

How do you relate to each of them : How close or distant do you feel to her or him?

Very distant

Distant

Rather distant

Rather close

Close

Very close

You

Survey document: second stage (page repeated for each recorded activity)

| SNA Survey | | Respondent | | 2017/18 | |
|------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| Mod. | Activity code | Question | Answer options | Comments | |
| Sharing activity sheet | | | | | |
| A - D | Code and key words | To whom/From whom do you provide/ do you receive the particular sharing activity? | 1. Gender: _____ 2. Age: _____ 3. Marital status: _____ 4. How do you relate to him/her? _____ 5. Since when do you know him/her? _____ 6. Do you live in the same household? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No 7. Your most common language of communication with each other is: _____ 8. Would you consider him/her from the same ethnic group as the one you identify with? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No 9. What is his/her economic activity? _____ 10. What is his/her educational level completed? <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> primary <input type="checkbox"/> secondary <input type="checkbox"/> tertiary 11. Do you consider him/her better/ same or worse off than you? <input type="checkbox"/> better <input type="checkbox"/> worse <input type="checkbox"/> same | If it is a group of people: Age _____ Gender _____ Mar stat _____ Econ activity _____ 1 _____ F/M/NA _____ 2 _____ F/M/NA _____ 3 _____ F/M/NA _____ 4 _____ F/M/NA _____ 5 _____ F/M/NA _____ 6 _____ F/M/NA _____ 7 _____ F/M/NA _____ 8 _____ F/M/NA _____ Questions 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 record as majority (what applies to most, take notes) Question 6, 10, 11 record separately by noting No next to boxes (Q11, can be economically, socially, etc - record rationale) | |
| P / R / B | | Comments Q1 - Q11: | | | |
| | | How often do you provide/ receive the particular sharing activity? | <input type="checkbox"/> Daily <input type="checkbox"/> Weekly <input type="checkbox"/> Monthly <input type="checkbox"/> Every 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> Bi-Annually <input type="checkbox"/> Annually <input type="checkbox"/> Single occasion *** | *** Past/ present (Circle) | |
| | | *What was the cause/need to provide/receive the particular sharing activity? (What for?) | <input type="checkbox"/> Very important <input type="checkbox"/> Rather important <input type="checkbox"/> Important <input type="checkbox"/> Less important <input type="checkbox"/> Not important at all | | |
| | | How important is it to you to provide/receive such sharing activity? | <input type="checkbox"/> Providing/ receiving the same sharing activity to same/different person <input type="checkbox"/> Providing/ receiving a different sharing activity to same/ different person <input type="checkbox"/> Future source of support <input type="checkbox"/> No conditions <input type="checkbox"/> Other | Record any mentioned expectations or conditions | |
| | | *What is your motivation to provide the particular sharing activity? | | | |
| | | What was the source to provide the particular sharing activity? | <input type="checkbox"/> Housing facilities/material/food <input type="checkbox"/> Land <input type="checkbox"/> Livestock <input type="checkbox"/> Income <input type="checkbox"/> Savings <input type="checkbox"/> Social grants <input type="checkbox"/> Loan <input type="checkbox"/> Contacts <input type="checkbox"/> Info <input type="checkbox"/> Knowledge <input type="checkbox"/> Time <input type="checkbox"/> Other | | |

Survey document: Ego information sheet

| SNA Survey | | Respondent | | 2017/18 | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|--|
| Mod | Code | Question | Answer options | Comments | |
| Particulars about you (personal information strictly confidential) | | | | | |
| Respondent | V1 | What is your gender? | <input type="checkbox"/> female <input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> do not wish to state | | |
| | V2 | What is your age? (Current completed years) | In years | | |
| | V3 | What is your marital status? (Check all that apply) | <input type="checkbox"/> single <input type="checkbox"/> seeing someone <input type="checkbox"/> married <input type="checkbox"/> separated <input type="checkbox"/> co-habitation <input type="checkbox"/> divorced <input type="checkbox"/> widow(er) <input type="checkbox"/> multiple relationships | Other: | |
| | V4 | What language do you speak most frequently? | | | |
| | V5 | With which ethnic group do you identify yourself with the most? | | | |
| | V6 | What is your (economic) main activity at present? | | | |
| | V7 | Which education level have you completed at present? | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> primary <input type="checkbox"/> secondary <input type="checkbox"/> tertiary | | |
| | V8 | What is your income range (monthly income)? | <input type="checkbox"/> < 1000 NAD <input type="checkbox"/> > 1000 <= 3000 NAD <input type="checkbox"/> > 3000 <= 6000 NAD <input type="checkbox"/> > 6000 <= 10000 NAD <input type="checkbox"/> > 10000 <= 20000 NAD <input type="checkbox"/> > 20000 NAD ** | ** If > 20000 NAD record approx. value: _____ | |
| | V9 | How many people live permanently at your household? | | | |
| | V10 | What is their respective gender and their age in completed years of your permanent household members? | <div>Age</div> <div>Gender</div> <div>Relationship</div> <div>Member 1</div> <div>Member 2</div> <div>Member 3</div> <div>Member 4</div> <div>Member 5</div> <div>Member 6</div> <div>Member 7</div> <div>Member 8</div> <div>Member 9</div> <div>Member 10</div> | | |
| | V11 | What is your relationship to the household head? | | | |

Survey document: Additional questions and wrapping up (last page)

2017/18

Particulars of sharing

SNA Survey

Record Study Participant Name (for reference only) : _____

| Mod | Question | Code | Answer options | Comments |
|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Module E: Additional questions | | | | |
| Additional information that you wish to provide... | | | | |
| E | Is there anything else other than the mentioned that you have done or do and considering as sharing with someone? This concerns both, receiving or providing sharing activities. (List (up to) 3 most important things.) | E1 (P/R) | If yes, what activity? | |
| | | E2 (P/R) | If yes, what activity? | |
| | | E3 (P/R) | If yes, what activity? | |
| | Are there any sharing activities that you felt entitled to but did not receive? Are there any sharing activities that you were expected to provide but choose not to? | E4 (NP/NR) | If yes, which activities? | To/ From whom? (relationship) |
| | What were the reasons for not providing/ receiving the above mentioned sharing activities? | E5 (NP/NR) | | |
| | Is there anything else you would like to add or mention? | E6 | | |

III. FURTHER INFORMATION ON QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS PRESENTED IN CHAPTER 5

The following tables provide an overview of steps taken in the thematic analysis described in Chapter 5.

Analytical steps applied for analysing regular support activities

| Familiarization – through network composition | Selection criteria for personal statement | Coding – emergent themes: elements in PS | Coding – generated themes: pairing of elements in PS | Reviewed and defined themes |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Regular support more common in personal support networks of non-white individuals | | Place: domestic, work, leisure | Domestic, relationship nuclear and marriage, positive emotions dominant | <i>Habits</i> – deeply embedded in relationship, collective understanding, unquestioned practice |
| | | Relationship nuclear and marriage: parents, daughter, sister, son, child, wife, husband | Domestic, relationship nuclear and marriage, necessity and dependency dominant | <i>Arrangements</i> – less embedded in relationships, relationship more functional, responding to external circumstances, sense of mutual benefit and obligation |
| | Frequency of support activity ranging from daily to monthly; provided activities | Positive emotions: love, care, respect, encouragement, togetherness, community | Work, positive emotions dominant | Habits (as described above, less commonly observed) |
| | | Necessity: problem, affordability, unemployed, not working, bills, help, poverty, struggles | Work, necessity and dependency dominant | Arrangements (as described above, more commonly observed) |
| | | Dependency: have to, choice, need to, must, want to, cannot, reciprocal, abandon, return | Leisure, positive emotions dominant | Habits (as described above, not enough statements to draw conclusions) |
| | | | Leisure, necessity and dependency dominant | Arrangements (as described above, not enough statements to draw conclusions) |

Notes: Based on primary data collected in 2017/18. Focussing on support activities and related statements on motivations and intentions of support marked as regular (daily, weekly, monthly) support.

Analytical steps applied for analysing support activities of elderly respondents

| Familiarization – through network composition | Selection criteria for personal statement | Coding – emergent themes: elements in PS | Coding – generated themes: pairing of elements in PS | Reviewed and defined themes |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Larger networks for elderly non-white individuals | Owner of stated provided support activity classifies as elderly | Function: food, house, health, land, accommodation, fridge, furniture, school, school fees, future, studies, university, job, education, transport, | Function, family position/ structure, positive emotions dominant | <i>Companionship</i> – mainly a notion of support given based on positive connection, positive emotions |
| | | Family position/ structure: oldest, daughter, kids, mother, father, brother, grandkids, grandchildren, children, parents, knowledge, traditions | Function, family position/ structure, necessity dominant | <i>Responder</i> – mainly support given due to adverse circumstances |
| | | Positive emotions: love, care, joy, happy, alive, well off, proud, succeed | Function, family position/ structure, dependency dominant | <i>Future perspectives</i> – forward-looking support given because one's own future need and future well-being of others |
| | | Necessity: sickness, theft, unemployed, no job, malnutrition, poverty, funeral, orphans Dependency: have to support, obliged to, have to help, have to take care, duty, obligation, help me to, one day help me, help me in future, old age, old, serious, future | | |

Notes: Based on primary data collected in 2017/18. Focussing on support activities reported by elderly egos and thus egos aged above the age of 65 years.

Analytical steps applied for analysing support activities of young adult respondents

| Familiarization – through network composition | Selection criteria for personal statement | Coding – emergent themes: elements in PS | Coding – generated themes: pairing of elements in PS | Reviewed and defined themes |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | Relationship: brother, sister, friend, colleague, sibling, cousin, child, children, kids, friendship | Relationship and function and necessity dominant | <i>Cousins</i> – friends and horizontal support dynamic |
| More peer to peer and support to younger cohorts for young non-white adults | Owner of stated provided support activity classifies as young adult, alter classifies as younger adult or below | Function: food, house, health, land, accommodation, fridge, furniture, household chores, work shifts, , studies, university, job, education, transport | Relationship, function, and dependency dominant | |
| | | Necessity: absence, unemployment, access, sickness, knowledge, time | | |
| | | Dependency: need to, have to, must, want to, choice | | |

Notes: Based on primary data collected in 2017/18. Focussing on support activities of young adult egos and thus egos aged above 18 and below 30 years.

The following table provides an overview of egos' characteristics in order of appearance in section 5.4.2.

| Ego ID | Ethnic identity | Gender | Age | Education | Profession |
|--------|-----------------|--------|-----|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| 82 | Non-white | male | 58 | secondary | Government employee |
| 77 | Non-white | female | 51 | primary | Farmer |
| 75 | Non-white | female | 69 | none | Farmer |
| 83 | Non-white | male | 55 | tertiary | Area manager |
| 78 | Non-white | male | 51 | primary | Farmer |
| 80 | Non-white | male | 70 | none | Unemployed |
| 193 | Non-white | male | 33 | tertiary | Tour consultant |
| 116 | White | female | 32 | tertiary | Marketing |
| 114 | Non-white | male | 32 | tertiary | Statistician |
| 130 | Non-white | male | 32 | secondary | Supervisor |
| 52 | Non-white | female | 25 | tertiary | Research Assistant |
| 42 | White | female | 65 | tertiary | Pensioner and side projects |
| 105 | White | female | 25 | tertiary | Tutor |
| 68 | Non-white | male | 35 | tertiary | Human Resources |
| 73 | Non-white | male | 63 | secondary | Pensioner |
| 54 | Non-white | male | 42 | tertiary | Lecturer |
| 31 | Non-white | male | 68 | secondary | Pensioner |
| 108 | Non-white | male | 75 | secondary | Retired NDF ⁵⁹ commander |
| 175 | Non-white | female | 81 | none | Pensioner |
| 59 | Non-white | male | 64 | secondary | Farmer/Pensioner |
| 184 | Non-white | female | 31 | tertiary | Teacher |
| 50 | White | male | 72 | tertiary | Lecturer |
| 92 | Non-white | male | 67 | tertiary | Pensioner |
| 95 | Non-white | male | 67 | tertiary | Retired Engineer |
| 103 | Non-white | female | 72 | primary | Pensioner |
| 141 | White | female | 66 | tertiary | Consultant |
| 125 | Non-white | male | 65 | primary | Pensioner |
| 168 | Non-white | male | 41 | tertiary | Site Manager |
| 76 | Non-white | female | 64 | none | Farmer |
| 110 | Non-white | male | 64 | primary | Pensioner |
| 28 | Non-white | female | 72 | none | Pensioner |
| 100 | White | male | 64 | secondary | Retired |
| 88 | Non-white | female | 84 | none | Pensioner/ Farmer |
| 127 | Non-white | male | 41 | primary | Farmer |
| 200 | Non-white | female | 75 | primary | Pensioner |
| 170 | Non-white | male | 54 | primary | Pensioner |
| 5 | Non-white | female | 20 | secondary | Student |
| 84 | Non-white | female | 31 | tertiary | Teacher |
| 14 | Non-white | female | 27 | secondary | Businesswoman |
| 45 | White | female | 32 | tertiary | Producer |
| 113 | Non-white | male | 42 | tertiary | Teacher |
| 6 | Non-white | male | 43 | tertiary | Government employee |
| 181 | Non-white | female | 38 | tertiary | Teacher |
| 10 | White | male | 32 | tertiary | Self-employed |
| 154 | White | male | 46 | secondary | Sales-man |
| 159 | White | male | 30 | tertiary | Engineer |
| 205 | White | male | 80 | tertiary | Archaeologist |
| 134 | White | male | 38 | tertiary | Consultant |
| 15 | Non-white | male | 46 | primary | Unemployed |

Notes. primary data, collected 2017/18

⁵⁹ NDF = Namibian Defence Force

IV. FURTHER RESULTS OF QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS PRESENTED CHAPTER 6

The following table presents sample characteristics regarding key variables.

| Sample characteristics | Ego (all) | Ego (non-white) | Ego (white) |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| | Measures based on Ego-level | | |
| Gender | | | |
| Female (%) | .47 | .48 | .45 |
| Age | | | |
| Mean (Min, Max) | 41.5 (18,64) | 40.3 (18, 64) | 44.2 (20, 63) |
| Professional level (%) | | | |
| Unemployed | .29 | .33 | .00 |
| Manual labour | .20 | .24 | .09 |
| Service workers | .11 | .11 | .08 |
| Lower-grade prof. | .08 | .09 | .15 |
| Higher-grade prof | .32 | .23 | .68 |
| Education (%) | | | |
| None | .07 | .09 | .00 |
| Primary | .15 | .19 | .00 |
| Secondary | .32 | .34 | .21 |
| Tertiary | .46 | .38 | .79 |
| Neighbourhood (%) | | | |
| Informal Windhoek | .31 | .39 | .00 |
| Formal Windhoek | .33 | .23 | .76 |
| Inf/Formal Windhoek | .20 | .23 | .11 |
| Village | .05 | .06 | .00 |
| Town | .09 | .10 | .08 |
| Farm | .01 | .00 | .06 |
| N | 189 | 151 | 38 |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18. Notes: statistics reported on ego-level including a total of 189 personal networks.

The following table presents sample characteristics regarding key network measures.

| Characteristics of personal networks | Ego (all) | Ego (non-white) | Ego (white) |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | Network indicators | | |
| Provided support | | | |
| to same ethnicity (%) | .82 | .87 | .65 |
| Network size | | | |
| Mean (Min, Max) | 25 (7, 95) | 27 (7,95) | 25 (9, 86) |
| Total links | 4000 | 3129 | 871 |
| N | 189 | 151 | 38 |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18. Notes: statistics reported on alter-level including a total of 189 personal networks.

V. FURTHER RESULTS ON QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS PRESENTED IN CHAPTER 7

The following two tables display input parameters for the microsimulation approach applied in chapter 7. This includes primarily most commonly transfer frequencies to harmonize observed transfers and establish annual amounts.

| Input parameters | Provided Support | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | IL0 | IL1 | IL2 | IL3 | IL4 | IL5 |
| Most common observed frequency per income level and transfer type | | | | | | |
| Fin (50) | monthly | monthly | Every 3m | monthly | monthly | monthly |
| Fin (100) | monthly | monthly | monthly | monthly | monthly | monthly |
| Fin (1000) | annually | monthly | monthly | every 3m | monthly | monthly |
| Fin (2000) | annually | annually | every 3m | annually | annually | annually |
| Fin (5000) | single occ. | single occ. | n/o | every 3m | annually | annually |
| InK (5000) | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. |
| InK (100) | every 3m | every 3m | monthly | annually | annually | every 6m |
| InK (2000) | annually | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18, Notes: IL denotes income level (IL0 below 12.000 NAD, IL1 12,001 – 36,000, IL2 36,001 – 72,000, IL3 72,001 – 120,000, IL4 12,001 – 240,000, IL5 above 240,000, all amounts stated in Namibian Dollar). Fin denotes financial support. InK denotes in-kind support translated to monetary values. Most observed frequency was applied as factors, i.e. 12 for monthly, to arrive at annual transfer amounts. This was necessary as the data in NHIES is on annual level, hence per capita annual computed income.

| Input parameters | Received Support | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | IL0 | IL1 | IL2 | IL3 | IL4 | IL5 |
| Most common observed frequency per income level and transfer type | | | | | | |
| Fin (50) | weekly | monthly | every 3m | monthly | monthly | monthly |
| Fin (100) | monthly | monthly | monthly | monthly | monthly | monthly |
| Fin (1000) | monthly | monthly | monthly | every 6m | single occ. | single occ. |
| Fin (2000) | single occ. | every 4m | monthly | every 3m | monthly | every 6m |
| Fin (5000) | single occ. | every 3m | single occ. | monthly | monthly | monthly |
| InK (5000) | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. |
| InK (100) | every 6m | every 3m | every 3m | monthly | monthly | every 3m |
| InK (2000) | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. | single occ. |

Source: primary data collected 2017/18, Notes: IL denotes income level (IL0 below 12.000 NAD, IL1 12,001 – 36,000, IL2 36,001 – 72,000, IL3 72,001 – 120,000, IL4 12,001 – 240,000, IL5 above 240,000, all amounts stated in Namibian Dollar). Fin denotes financial support. InK denotes in-kind support translated to monetary values. Most commonly observed frequency was applied as factors, i.e. 12 for monthly, to arrive at annual transfer amounts. This was necessary as the data in NHIES is on annual level, hence per capita annual computed income.

This table presents frequencies expressed as shares per income level (IL) for transfers with respective education levels (Educ).

| Income level | Educ 1 | Educ 2 | Educ 3 | Educ 4 |
|------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Provided support | | | | |
| IL 0 | .12 | .31 | .41 | .16 |
| IL 1 | .20 | .25 | .30 | .26 |
| IL 2 | .30 | .40 | .23 | .42 |
| IL 3 | .14 | .20 | .36 | .28 |
| IL 4 | .07 | .24 | .30 | .38 |
| IL 5 | .05 | .22 | .30 | .41 |
| Received support | | | | |
| IL 0 | .09 | .21 | .26 | .43 |
| IL 1 | .20 | .12 | .36 | .32 |
| IL 2 | .18 | .14 | .34 | .34 |
| IL 3 | .17 | .15 | .24 | .44 |
| IL 4 | .19 | .14 | .23 | .44 |
| IL 5 | .03 | .06 | .19 | .70 |

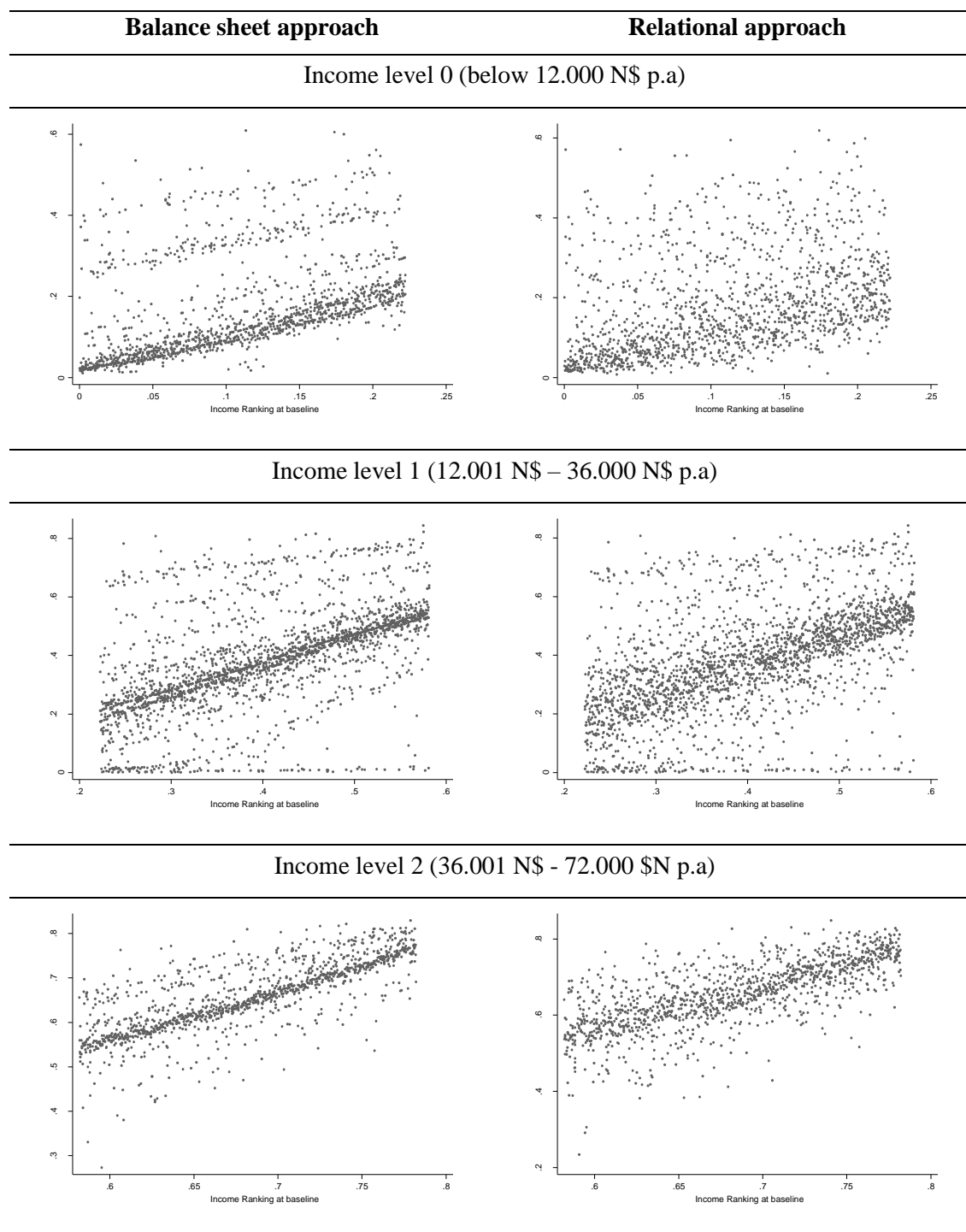
Source: primary data, collected 2017/18,

Notes: Displays frequency as row percentages.

Educ# denotes completed education level of the alter whereby Educ.1 is no education, Educ 2 is primary education, Educ 3 secondary education and Educ 4 tertiary education completed.

IL denotes income level of the ego.

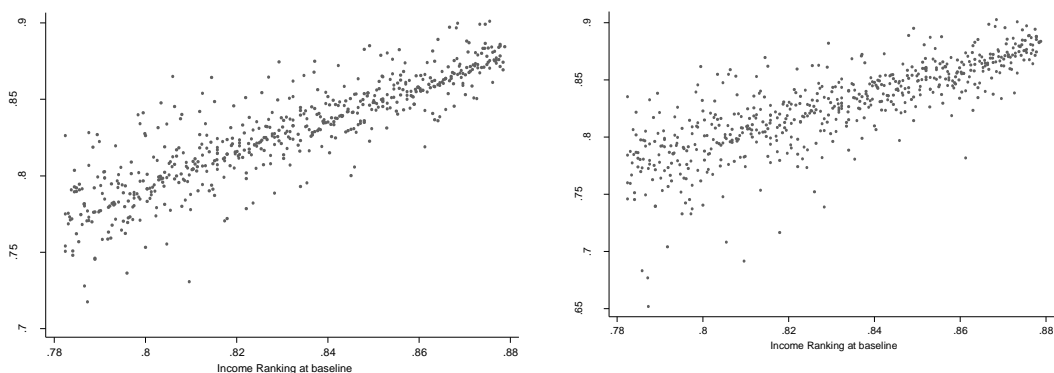
The following compares rank dispersion across both simulation approaches discussed in section 7.3. It displays income ranks before (x) and after simulations (y). For a further explanation see below figure.



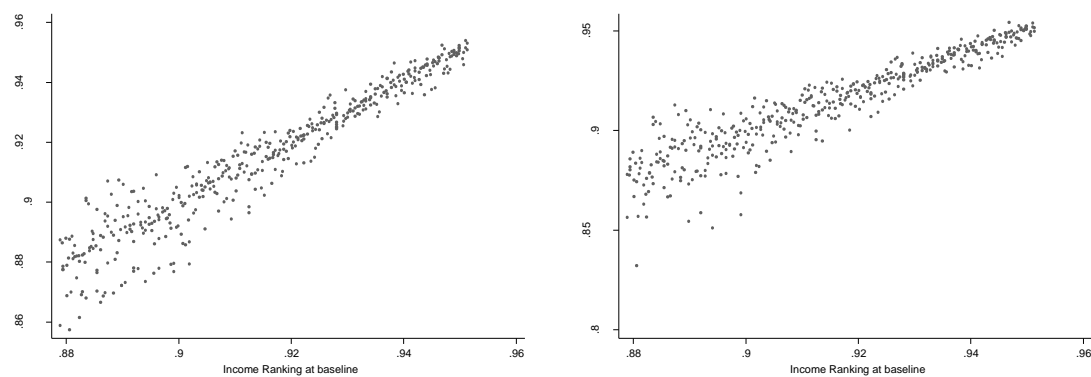
continued on the following page.

 Cont.

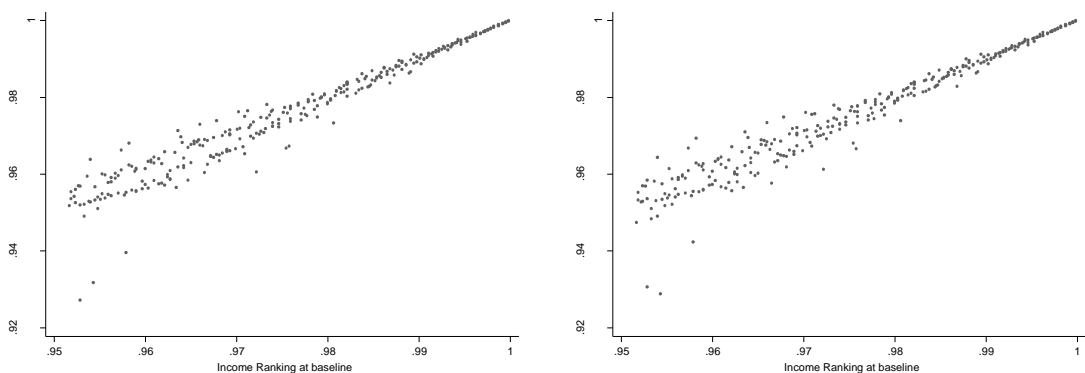
 Income level 3 (72.001 \$N - 120.000 \$N p.a)



 Income level 4 (120.001 \$N – 240.000 \$N p.a)



 Income level 5 (above 240.000 \$N p.a)



 Source: computed data using microsimulation parameters in income distribution of the NHIES 2015/16.

Notes:

y (left column): Income ranks held after modelling the balance sheet approach

y (right column): Income ranks held after modelling the relational approach

x (left and right column): Income ranks held at baseline (computed p.c. income NHIES 2015/16)

Income ranks are calculates using Dicken's mobility measure (2008).