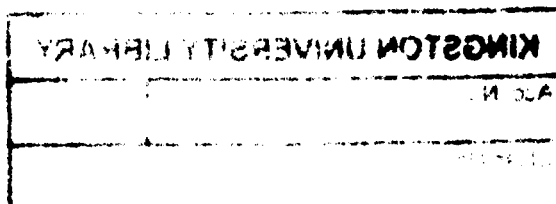# *Creativity*

in the Informal Economy

of Zimbabwe

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Abstract

My research explores the notion of creativity in the context of informal work. Existing literature on the subject has primarily focused on identifying the factors which enhance or constrain creativity in the organisational or work context. Most research has been developed and implemented in western contexts such as the United States or Europe, and there is limited explanation available of creativity in non-western contexts. There is also no research explicitly directed at explaining creativity in the informal sector, which presents a gap in the literature. I have therefore sought to enrich this literature by constructing a conceptual perspective that explains creative engagement in informal work, a methodology to explore this concept, and stories that illustrate how this occurs.

I have constructed my conceptual perspective of creativity by drawing on de Certeau's (1988/1984) notion of creative tactics. I propose that creativity is the tactical subversion of space within an order, where a person uses constraints to their advantage, to take action. This involves the ability to engage in plurality, use what one has at hand, and take advantage of chance opportunities that arise. In order to explore my conceptual perspective, I carried out my research during the post-2000 crisis in Zimbabwe because there was a high prevalence of informal work during this time. I have developed my methodology - focused narrative ethnography - to capture the perspectives and dynamic engagement of people working in the informal sector, and intensively collected data in the form of narratives, observations, and visual material. In addition, I have written a series of stories to illustrate the different ways in which this occurs. These reflect changing attitudes and practices of work, as well as artistic and communal engagement in informal work.

My findings reflect three main perspectives. First, informal work is a space that enables creative action. Second, creative engagement is a complex process that occurs in moments of creative action, wherein a person tactically uses their constraints to their advantage. Third, these moments shift and change in relation to the ongoing and changing nature of constraint that is inherent in many contexts of informal work. A further finding is that several parallels can be drawn between the literature referring to survival during difficult situations and my explanation of creativity, so it may be a useful addition to the vocabulary of work-related creativity literature. My findings are important because I highlight at the most basic level what people go through to identify opportunity, and my perspective of creativity may thus provide fresh insights into other areas linked to creativity, such as innovation or entrepreneurship.

Acknowledgements

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P(r)oem...

The Word is a Bird[1]

Some say silence is golden
But silence is shit
'Cause words can hit
But they can heal
Liberating us from what we feel
'Cause *mazwi acho akasimba*
Anogona kutibatsira kwatirikuenda (1)
'Cause words are warriors
And their great gifts are glorious
But politicians wanna sell us words that are worthless
Creating a populace that's wordless
Throwing curse upon curse on the word's carcass
But the word is a bird and birds fly regardless
Flying above the durawalls of their so-called silence
The word still heard above their virile violence
'Cause you can bomb the word but you can't keep it silent.

Poet's Note: (1) Words are powerful; they can help us to move forward.

Comrade Fatso (2008)

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[1] This poem - which I refer to in one of my stories in Chapter 6 - is written by Zimbabwean poet Comrade Fatso. It can be listened to on the Poetry International Web website via the following link: http://www.poetryinternational.org/piw_cms/cms/cms_module/index.php?obj_id=11655

1 Introduction

"Creativity is, in my view, something that is impossible to define in words. How then, can we talk about it? Words can indicate or point to something in the minds of the readers that may be similar to what is in the mind of the writer. I would like thus, to indicate to the reader what creativity means to me. If you will read in this spirit, you can see whether, and to what extent, my notions make sense to you." (Böhm, 2004/1996:1)

My research explores the notion of creativity in the context of informal work. It falls within an area of research aimed at understanding creativity in the work context - or work-related creativity. The primary focus of research on this topic has been on identifying factors that enhance or constrain creativity in organizational contexts in the western world (Shalley and Zhou, 2008; Zhou and Shalley, 2008). However, within this area there is a lack of research about creativity in non-western work contexts (Zhou and Shalley, 2008) and in particular about creativity in the informal sector. This presents a gap in the literature which my research primarily aims to fill. In addition to this, my thesis falls into a wider area of research on indigenous scholarship (Tsui, 2004), which critiques the pervasive use of western perspectives in non-western research (Cheng 1994; Westwood, 2001; Tsui, 2004). This area of research works to reclaim the indigenous knowledge of the non-western 'other' (Frenkel, 2008; Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006; Westwood, 2001) by engaging in scholarship that is locally relevant and meaningful. This includes the incorporation of theoretical concepts that resonate in the local context, and the use of methodologies that account for local forms of engagement (Tsui, 2004) and give voice to the non-western 'other' (Muecke, 1992).

A more reflective way of accounting for 'work' in non-western contexts is by focusing on informal work. The informal sector (or economy) accounts for types of work that fall outside of the formal labour market (Hart, 1970. 1973; Hansen and Vaa, 2004; Chen, 2007). The concept has gained prominence because of the large number of people worldwide who engage in informal work (Chen, 2007). In non-western contexts, it is particularly perceived as a survival strategy for those unable to find adequate employment (Gërxhani, 2004), and as such it is often viewed as 'other' to formal legitimate work (Latouche, 1993). Strikingly, in Africa more

than half the adult population is engaged in some kind of informal employment and there is a trend taking shape whereby people are simply creating work for themselves when there is no formal work to be found (Hansen and Vaa, 2004). This area of work has been identified as creative by a number of authors (Anderson, 1988; Do Soto, 1989; Mambula and Sawyer, 2004; Konings and Foeken, 2006; Jones, 2010; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010) but, as I demonstrate in my critical literature review, there is almost no research to date explicitly directed at explaining this creative engagement in informal work contexts. As a result, my research is concerned with filling this gap and establishing a more reflective way of conceptualising creative work practices that account for the dynamics of non-western informal work. I have done so by incorporating the perspectives of informal workers as a way of giving voice to the 'other'. As a result, through my thesis I aim to contribute to theory by constructing a conceptual perspective that resonates with and explains the process of creativity in informal work settings. Furthermore, my aim is to develop a locally reflective methodology to explore this concept in practice, as well as illustrate how creative engagement takes place in the context of informal work by incorporating stories which give voice to informal workers.

I have constructed my conceptual perspective of creativity by drawing on de Certeau's (1988/1984) notion of creative tactics and linking it to the work of authors who have referred to creativity in informal work settings (e.g. Mambula and Sawyer, 2004; Konings and Foeken, 2006; Anderson, 1988; Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992). My perspective of creativity is contrary to the wider literature, which predominantly defines work-related creativity as new (novel) and useful (valuable) ideas (concerning products, services, processes, procedures, strategies, decisions) that are a precursor to innovation. This perspective is limited because it focuses on creativity as reified outputs that are disconnected from individuals and discounts the embodied dynamics of engagement in informal work contexts in the non-western world. In my thesis, I account for an embodied perspective on engagement and, following de Certeau, I instead propose that creativity is the tactical subversion (or construction) of space within an order, wherein a person uses what is constraining them to their advantage in order to take action. It involves the ability to be 'in-between' (or engage in plurality)[2], take advantage of

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[2] de Certeau (1988/1984) refers to 'plurality' and 'in-between(-ness)' in reference to creative engagement. He posits that when a person uses their constraints to their advantage they combine this with previous experience to form a 'combined space'. This space allows them to establish plurality and creativity by being in-between. In this research I use 'plurality' and 'in-between(-ness)' interchangeably and similarly refer to the engagement rather than the 'space' within which this takes place. The notion

chance opportunities that may arise at any given moment and use what one already has at hand (re-use). I have employed this perspective because it accounts for the way that people bodily engage in creative work practices in the informal sector. In addition, and more importantly, it resonates (Tsui, 2004) with the work of authors who have referred to a notion of creativity in the informal economy. A further dimension of this perspective is that it accounts for a postcolonial perspective via de Certeau's focus on the everyday, marginal practices and narratives of the 'other'.

My research has been exploratory and, along with this conceptual perspective, I have posed five research questions to guide my research: 1) How and why do people engage in informal work? 2) How do people tactically subvert (or construct) space by using what is constraining them to their advantage, and thus take action? 3) How do people take action by using what they have at hand and/or take advantage of chance opportunities that may arise at any given moment? 4) How can I account for local engagement and informal work practices using my methodology? 5) How can creative work practices best be presented so as to allow the perspective of participants to be heard? I considered the first three questions to help me explore my conceptual perspective and questions four and five to construct my methodological approach.

I constructed my methodology after reflecting on various methodological issues including my research questions, the dynamics of work in my research context (the informal sector), my philosophical perspective, and after reviewing a range of methodological perspectives. The most locally reflective methodology pointed to a combination of ethnography and narrative inquiry as the most appropriate way to explore what it means for people to engage in informal work practices. I refer to my methodological approach as focused narrative ethnography. This

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of 'in-between(-ness)' is also used in postcolonial theory (Bhabha, 1996; Frenkel, 2008; Özkazanç-Pan, 2008) but differs from de Cetreau's reference to engagement. The notions of 'third space of in-between' or 'liminality' are used when discussing 'hybridity' (Bhabha, 1996), a fusion of two cultures. Frenkel (2008) also cites Bhaba's (1994) term 'creative heterogeneity' and argues that this is a form of agency that reflects creative movement between cultural frameworks as resistance to imposed knowledge frameworks of colonialism. 'Creative heterogeneity' as agency resonates with de Certeau's (1988/1984) plural, creative engagement. However, this does not align with Bhaba's (1994) original use of the term where he conceptualises resistance in epistemological terms (Özkazanç-Pan, 2008), following writers who have commented on textual forms of hybridity (e.g. Hortense Spillers; Deborah McDowell; Houston Baker; Henry Louis Gates; and Paul Gilroy) (Bhaba's, 1994). It is questionable whether the textual realm offers a "true" space of creative resistance or agency (Özkazanç-Pan, 2008: 968).

approach involved me becoming immersed into the informal sector in Zimbabwe where I intensively collected data in the form of narratives, observations, and audio-visual material such as pictures and video footage. My main form of data were narratives that I collected by engaging in spontaneous conversations with people. This approach enabled me to capture the perspectives of these individuals as well as the dynamics of their ongoing engagement in informal work practices.

I subsequently wrote a series of stories to illustrate my conceptual perspective of creativity in the informal sector of Zimbabwe, as well as give voice to informal workers. I constructed the stories from the data I had collected to illustrate the different ways in which a number of individuals creatively engage in informal work during conditions of crisis. In Chapter 5: *Narratives of Changing Attitudes and Practices of Work,* I highlight the shift from formal to informal ways of working, and how informal work is a space of creative action during crisis where formal work structures have deteriorated. I also highlight several changes in societal perceptions towards work. In Chapter 6: *Narratives of Artistic Engagement in Informal Work,* I highlight the way in which people creatively engage in informal work by drawing on artistic abilities such as sculpture, storytelling and poetry. In Chapter 7: *Narratives of Communal Engagement in Informal Work,* I highlight the way in which groups of people work together to creatively construct spaces of communal action. In particular I illustrate how marginal communities help each other in times of hardship and are able to achieve far more together than they can alone.

The findings of my research reflect three main perspectives of creative engagement in informal work. First, that informal work is a space that enables creative action, when the deterioration of formal work structures prevents action. Second, that the creative engagement in informal work is a highly complex process in which a person tactically uses their constraints to their advantage in order to take action. This involves a person being able to change their perceptions about what is constraining them and see inherent opportunity in everything that they have at hand around them. It also necessitates them being in a state of plurality or in-between-ness. In this state they are both ready and aware of what is happening around them, but at the same time waiting to take advantage of opportunities that may arise at any moment. Thus when an unforeseen opportunity arises this is the moment when all of these dynamics converge, resulting in creative engagement. Third, my findings highlight that these moments of creative engagement play out in a varied manner within a wider context that

reflects ongoing crisis and constraint, inherent in many situations of informal work. Creative engagement takes place in an ongoing and shifting manner reflecting the constant but changing nature of constraint. In addition, it does not take place in the same way each time and changes depending on the situation. In this way it is shaped by the person, their engagements and the constraints they face; it may reflect either individual or communal engagement, and it may not always reflect edifying forms of engagement. Furthermore, this kind of creative engagement may become a socially and culturally accepted form of engagement and way of working creatively.

As a result, it is clear that my thesis makes a substantial contribution to the work-related creativity literature by explaining how creativity takes place in the context of informal work in a way that is locally relevant and meaningful. I have presented a locally resonant conceptual perspective to explain this creativity, a methodology to explore this perspective which accounts for ways of working in the informal sector and a range of stories to illustrate how people creatively engage in informal work and give voice to informal workers. However, since this is a new area of research there is still much to be done to fill this gap. The first step that I would take is to explore creativity in the informal sector in another country where a high amount of informal work takes place.

My thesis is organised as follows: in this chapter I introduce my research and outline the main aims and objectives. In Chapter 2, I develop my conceptual perspective of creativity, which underpins my research. All of the literature in my review focuses on creativity in relation to work, wherein creativity is a main focus of the research. I have based my research on literature that refers to 'work', 'workplace', 'employees', or 'organisation' in a relevant manner. Throughout my thesis I refer to this literature as 'work-related creativity literature'. In Chapter 2, I also critically examine this literature with a view to highlighting the inherent gaps. I do so by employing a critical lens based on postcolonial theory (Banerjee and Prasad, 2008; Prasad, 2003; Prasad, 1997; Young, 2008; Fenkel and Shenhav, 2006; Nkomo, 2011; Said, 1978; Muecke, 1992), and use this to examine how non-western perspectives and practices are accounted for in the work-related creativity literature. Overall, my literature review illustrates that there is a substantial gap in the area of work-related creativity. There is almost no research conducted explicitly on creativity in informal work contexts, and no theories that explain the creativity of informal work. I then develop my conceptual perspective based on de Certeau (1988/1984), whose ideas resonate with local conceptions of creative work practice.

In Chapter 3, I explain the research methodology and design that I have adopted to carry out my research i.e. a focused narrative ethnography. I begin by giving an explanation of the informal sector to highlight dynamics and practices of work that this area encompasses. Next I explain my philosophical position, and review a range of different methodological perspectives. Following these three areas of discussion, as well as reflecting on these perspectives and my research questions I justify that ethnography and narrative inquiry are the most appropriate approaches to use in my research because they are able to locally account for the particular kinds of social interaction in my research context. I give an overview of the different ways in which these two methodologies have been applied in the literature, as well as methods (of data collection, analysis and presentation) that are commonly used. I then draw on a combination of these perspectives to construct my methodological approach.

The four chapters that follow are story chapters. In Chapter 4, I present a background story of my research context, Zimbabwe. I focus on the notion of crisis following authors who refer to creativity in informal work settings, because they relate creativity to the survival of ongoing crisis or hardship within these contexts (Mambula and Sawyer, 2004; Konings and Foeken, 2006; Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). I thus present my own interpretation (i.e. story) of ongoing crisis in the post-2000 period in Zimbabwe. I also link this with the substantial growth of the informal sector to illustrate how these areas are interconnected and have resulted in shifting social dynamics. The purpose of this story is to highlight the dynamics of crisis in the country and explain how this may be implicated in constraining the way people live and work there.

In Chapters 5, 6 and 7 respectively, I present a series of stories about the way that people tactically and creatively overcome their constraints and take action. These stories highlight the lives and work of thirteen individuals during the post-2000 crisis period in Zimbabwe. I have constructed them from the storytelling experiences I gathered from storytellers during my data collection in Zimbabwe, as a way of highlighting their perspectives, and exemplifying the complexity of their engagement. In each chapter I illustrate a different perspective of how people creatively overcome constraints and take action. In Chapter 5 I present the changing societal work practices, in particular how informal work is a space of creative action. In the stories in Chapter 6 I show the way in which people in Zimbabwe engage in informal activities in order to artistically 'create' their own informal employment as spaces of action. In Chapter 7, I highlight how marginal communities help each other in a time of hardship, and

demonstrate the way in which groups of people work together to creatively construct spaces of communal action. I follow each story with a detailed reflection of the concepts that are conveyed, and how these are reflective of creativity.

In Chapter 8 of my thesis, I discuss the findings of my research. Here I reflect on the main concepts in the stories, my conceptual perspective, and research questions to illustrate how people creatively engage in informal work practices and take action, by using their constraints to their advantage and how this culminates in moments of creative action. In addition I compare my research with the work-related creativity literature which I review in Chapter 2 to highlight the parallels that can be drawn. In addition I draw links between my conceptual perspective of creativity, and theories that depict the way people survive difficult situations such as ongoing crisis. Finally, in Chapter 9 I present the conclusions of my thesis. I start by presenting the main contribution of this research to the area of work-related creativity. I then briefly summarise the direction I have taken through the chapters in order to reach my conclusions. Following this I reflect on the implications of my findings for current theory, and future areas of research.

2 Theory Development: Towards a Perspective of Creativity in the Context of Informal Work

In this chapter, I identify the theoretical perspectives that inform my research. Since the purpose of my research is to contribute to the field of creativity in contexts of work, I have based my review on literature related to this area which encompasses work-related creativity. The primary focus of this literature to date has been on factors which enhance or constrain creativity in the organisational or work context in the western world (Shalley and Zhou, 2008; Zhou and Shalley, 2008). In addition it has been noted (e.g. Zhou and Shalley, 2008) that there is a need to expand the scope of research to encompass explanations of creative engagement which account for ways of life in non-western contexts. I argue the same here. There needs to be a rethinking in terms of the constructs, definitions and methodologies used to undertake this kind of research so that it takes into account local forms of engagement.

As mentioned, most research to date has been developed and implemented in western contexts such as the United States and Europe. The central criticism I present is that this body of research is too narrow in focus and does not encompass ways of explaining (both theoretically and methodologically) the engagement in creativity in non-western (developing) contexts. As I will demonstrate in my literature review, no research to date has been directed at explaining creativity in the informal sector. There has been some mention of creativity in informal work settings (e.g. Mambula and Sawyer, 2004; Konings and Foeken, 2006; Anderson, 1988; Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992), but creativity in these instances is not the main focus. This indicates a gap in the literature that I explore as part of my research. In undertaking this research I contribute a theoretical conceptualisation of creativity in the context of informal work and develop a locally reflective methodology (in Chapter 3) to explore this perspective.

2.1 Introduction

The focus of my research is to explain creativity in the context of informal work in a non-western context, Zimbabwe. The contribution that I will make to the literature is therefore as follows:

1. *The development of a conceptual perspective for explaining creative engagement in the context of informal work.*

2. *The development of a methodology to explore this conceptual perspective.*

3. *The use of stories/storytelling to illustrate creative engagement in the context of informal work.*

In this chapter, I critically review the literature to date on work-related creativity research and develop an alternative conceptual perspective. I first critique prior research in order to illustrate the gaps in this literature and explain why it is not useful for explaining creative engagement in non-western contexts such as Zimbabwe. I do so by reflecting on the literature from four perspectives through which I highlight the work setting and the context of research from different angles: 'organisational creativity'; 'culture and creativity'; 'non-formal interaction, organisational forms and creativity' and 'informal work and creativity'. Following this I construct a conceptual perspective that explains a process of creativity in the context of informal work by drawing on a notion of creativity by de Certeau.

There are five main sections in this chapter. I begin by highlighting and explaining my reasoning for the type of literature that I have reviewed in this chapter, as well as explaining my method of review. In the following section I give an overview of the way in which the literature has developed over the last twenty-four years and highlight the main concepts that have been covered during this time. Next I explore the work contexts and settings that have been used in the work-related creativity literature (following the four perspectives already mentioned). Following this, I summarise my literature review and clearly illustrate the main gaps in the literature. In the fifth and final section, I construct my conceptual perspective that explains creative engagement in the context of informal work, and outline my research questions.

2.2 *Literature Reviewed and Method of Review*

Creativity (in general) is not a simple topic to review because the field is so vast and conceptualised in relation to a diverse range of theoretical topics. These are as varied as psychology (e.g. Amabile, 1988; Amabile, 1983; Csikszentmihalyi, 1988; Csikszentmihalyi, 1990), education (e.g. Craft, Jeffrey and Leibling, 2001; Cropley, 2005) new technologies (e.g.

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Sefton-Green, 1999) and biological functions at the moment of creative inception (e.g. Kounios *et al.*, 2006; Kounios and Beeman, 2009); however, given that the objective of my research is to contribute to the field of work-related creativity, areas such as these have been excluded from this review because they are not directly focused on the main topic. As a result, all of the literature discussed in this chapter is focused on creativity in relation to work, with an emphasis on literature that refers to 'work', 'workplace', 'employees', or 'organisation' in a relevant manner. As well as this, creativity had to be the main focus on the research, rather than being merely mentioned.

I have directed my review by taking a critical perspective based on postcolonial theory (Said, 1978; Banerjee and Prasad, 2008; Prasad, 2003; Prasad, 1997; Young, 2008; Fenkel and Shenhav, 2006; Muecke, 1992; Nkomo, 2011). I will emphasise at this point that my intention is not to determine a postcolonial theory of creativity, but to use this perspective to highlight the lack of research in non-western contexts and informal work settings. Postcolonial theory is mainly driven by a critique of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism and was conceived as a way of taking back power following the imperial, and colonial, expansion (Banerjee and Prasad, 2008; Prasad, 2003; Young, 2008). A postcolonial perspective is therefore useful in questioning how non-western perspectives and practices are accounted for in the literature because it questions the superiority of western dimensions over non-western dimensions (Said, 1978), as well as whether the latter are even represented at all. As such, this perspective is relevant for critiquing the dominance of western perspectives in scholarship and the exclusion of knowledge generated by the non-western 'other' (Calás and Smircich, 1999; Westwood, 2001; Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006; Frenkel, 2008; Özkazanç-Pan, 2008).

Although it is difficult to determine a general theory (Young, 2008), there are two main perspectives which I consider useful for directing my literature review. Firstly, as already highlighted, postcolonialism contests the superiority of western dimensions, and the positioning of the non-west as inferior (Prasad, 2003; Said, 1978). Secondly, study in this area is aimed at re-emphasising non-western local forms of engagement (Tsui, 2004), and giving 'voice' to the 'other' (Muecke, 1992:10). These two points form the basis of my critical perspective towards the literature since I question how non-western perspectives have been accounted for. In addition to these perspectives, Nkomo (2011) provides a platform for critically reflecting on theory through her postcolonial reading of African leadership and management in organization studies. She asks: "(1) How is leadership and management in

Africa being represented? (2) Who is the 'author' of the representation? and (3) What is/are the ideology/ideologies underlying the representation?" (Nkomo, 2011:371). As a result, drawing on the points of critique as well as Nkomo's critical questions, I constructed the following questions to critically analyse how non-western perspectives and practices are accounted for in the work-related creativity literature:

1) *What are the main perspectives underlying work-related creativity literature?*

2) *What work settings (or relationships) are accounted for in the literature?*

3) *In what ways are non-western perspectives and practices accounted for in the literature?*

2.3 *Development of the Work-Related Creativity Literature*

In the following section I explore the first literature review question: *What are the main perspectives underlying the work-related creativity literature?*

Work-related creativity is primarily perceived as organisational creativity, which is a form of organisational behaviour with roots in the field of psychology (Shalley and Zhou, 2008). This follows the work of authors who extended psychological perspectives into the study of creativity in organisations in the early 1980s (Drazin, Glynn and Kazanjian, 1999). The area has developed exponentially in the last twenty-four years (between 1987 and 2011), following Amabile's (1988; 1996) seminal work on creativity in organisations, and creativity is now considered as crucial for organisational survival and competitive advantage (Fisher and Amabile, 2009; Zhou and George, 2003; Hirst, Van Knippenberg and Zhou, 2009). Figure 2.1 gives an overview of the main ideologies (following question 1) that have been the focus in the work-related creativity literature between 1987 and 2011. I have grouped the literature into several key areas that explain creative engagement. Most literature reflects psychological perspectives which I present in Figure 2.1 as *Personal and contextual factors, Work context factors* and *Personal factors*. In addition, research has also been conducted into the dynamics of *Team and group interaction,* while more recent areas include *Creative management, Critical perspectives, Entrepreneurship* and *Culture.*

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Figure 2.1: Focus of Work-Related Creativity Literature (1987-2011)

Area of creativity	Topic	Detail	No.
Personal & Contextual factors	Interactionist models and creativity	Amabile & Gryskiewicz (1987); Amabile (1988); Amabile (1996); Ford (1996); Oldham & Cummings (1996); Woodman et al. (1993)	6
	Dissatisfaction and co-worker feedback on creativity	Zhou & George (2001)	1
	Leadership style on employee orientation on creativity	Basadur (2004); Gong et al. (2009); Shin & Zhou (2003); Zhou & George (2003)	4
	Goals and incentives on employee orientation on creativity	Hirst et al. (2009); Sohn & Jung (2010); Baer et al. (2003)	3
	Improvisational creativity in organisation	Fisher and Amabile (2009)	1
Work context factors	Work environment and creativity	Amabile & Gryskiewicz (1989); Amabile et al. (1996); Amabile & Conti (1999); Shalley et al. (2000)	4
	Goals and challenges on creativity	Andriopoulos & Low (2000); Shalley (1991); Shalley (1995)	3
	HR management strategy on creativity	Mumford (2000)	1
	Feedback and monitoring	Zhou (1998); Zhou (2003)	
	Timing/timelessness on creativity	Ford & Sullivan (2004); Mainemelis (2001)	2
	Leadership style and support on creativity	Amabile at al. (2004); Mumford et al. (2002); Madjar et al. (2002); Tierney & Farmer (2004)	4
	Computer tools for creativity	Brennan & Dooley (2005)	1
	Work design and structure on creativity	Elsbach & Hargadon (2006); Gilson et al. (2005); Ohly et al. (2006)	3
	Organisational culture and Climate for creativity	Martins & Terblanche (2003); McLean (2005); Rasulzada & Dackert (2009)	3
Personal factors	Personality traits and creativity	George & Zhou (2001)	1
	Moods and creativity	George & Zhou (2002);	1
	Creative identity and self-efficacy on creativity	Farmer et al. (2003); Tierney & Farmer (2002)	2
	Affect/emotion and creativity on creativity	Amabile et al. (2005); Fong (2006)	2
	Meaningfulness and creativity	Cohen-Meitar et al. (2009)	1
Team & group interaction	Brainstorming in teams	Sutton & Hargadon (1996)	1
	Crisis and sensemaking on creativity in groups	Drazin et al. (1999); Weick (1993)	2
	Collective creativity in crisis	Armstrong (2002); Kazanjian et al. (2000)	2
	Virtual teams and creativity	Nemiro (2002)	1
	Individual and contextual factors on team creativity	Pirola-Merlo & Mann (2004); Taggar (2002)	2
	Networks and creativity	Hargadon & Sutton (1997); Kijkuit & van den Ende (2007); Kratzer et al., (2008); Perry-Smith (2006); Perry-Smith & Shalley (2003); Styhre & Sundgren (2003)	6
	Team interaction/collaborative creativity	Gilson & Shalley (2004); Hargadon & Beckhy, (2006); Kaylén & Shani (2002); Sonnenburg, (2004);	3
	Group/team conflict and creativity	Kurtzberg & Mueller, (2005); Troyer & Youngreen (2009)	2
	Crisis management and creativity	Sommer & Pearson (2007); Pearson & Sommer (2011)	2
Other	Creative management	Nyström (2000); Xu & Rickards (2007)	2
	Critical perspectives on creativity	Unsworth, (2001); Styhre (2006); Driver (2008)	3
	Creativity and entrepreneurship	Hjorth (2005); Mambula and Sawyer (2004)	3
	Cultural differences and creativity	Basadur (1992); Basadur et al. (2002); Westwood & Low (2003); Zhou & Su (2010); Erez & Nouri (2010); Hempel & Sue-Chan (2010).	6

Notes: No.   - Number of articles

Initially, literature in the 1980s was strongly directed by Amabile (1988; 1989; 1987), who explored the combined effect of the work environment and individual skills and characteristics on creativity. Amabile proposed creativity relevant skills, domain (i.e. work) relevant skills, and (intrinsic) motivation as necessary for individual creativity in the workplace, in particular building on psychological perspectives of creativity. In the 1990s, additional authors (Ford, 1996; Oldham and Cummings, 1996; Woodman, Sawyer and Griffin, 1993) contributed to this area, along with a further attempt by Amabile (1996) to explore how both personal characteristics and work factors promoted creativity in the workplace. From this point on, however, the literature has grown more diverse as authors have begun to explore the impact of more targeted factors on creativity. Factors explored focus on the work environment (Amabile *et al.*, 1996; Amabile and Conti, 1999) including goals (Shalley, 1991; Shalley, 1995) and networks (Hargadon and Sutton, 1997) as well as on psychological processes such as the effects of brainstorming (Sutton and Hargadon, 1996), and the sensemaking process (Drazin, Glynn and Kazanjian, 1999).

There had been relatively little research conducted on work-related creativity by the end of the 20th century, and this predominantly focused on individual psychological processes and their interaction with the work environment. However, this area of research began to grow exponentially in the 2000s. Although it still looked primarily at the factors that enhance or constrain creativity in the workplace (Shalley and Zhou, 2008), the literature began to show an interest in 'softer' issues in the workplace. Topics included the effects of employee moods (George and Zhou, 2002; Zhou and George, 2001) and leadership style (Zhou and George, 2003; Amabile *et al.*, 2004; Basadur, 2004; Mumford *et al.*, 2002; Shin and Zhou, 2003) on employee creativity, as well as ascertaining the most effective culture and climate to foster creativity (Martins and Terblanche, 2003; McLean, 2005). There was also an increasing focus on collective creativity (Armstrong, 2002; Kazanjian, Drazin and Glynn, 2000; Nemiro, 2002; Pirola-Merlo and Mann, 2004; Taggar, 2002; Kaylén and Shani, 2002; Sonnenburg, 2004) and creativity constituted though networks (Perry-Smith and Shalley, 2003; Styhre and Sundgren, 2003). In addition, another area that was recognised as needing expansion was the effect of cultural differences on creativity in the workplace (Shin and Zhou, 2003; Basadur, Pringle and Kirkland, 2002; Westwood and Low, 2003; Farmer, Tierney and Kung-McIntyre, 2003; Tierney and Farmer, 2002). Towards the second half of the 2000s, the focus shifted even more towards the way in which organisational factors impact on the way employees think and feel about their creative ability. The focus here was (again) on leadership (Gong, Huang and Farh, 2009)

and goals/incentives (Hirst, Van Knippenberg and Zhou, 2009; Sohn and Jung, 2010), but also on the way in which design and structure of work activities (Elsbach and Hargadon, 2006; Gilson, Shalley and Ruddy, 2005; Ohly, Sonnentag and Pluntke, 2006) moderate the way employees feel about working creatively. This also extended to work on meaningfulness in workplace creativity (Cohen-Meitar, Carmeli and Waldman, 2009).

Most research up to this point had simply taken the concept of creativity without question (Unsworth, 2001). In addition, it still had a highly psychological orientation, and in many cases is referred to as organisational creativity because this is the work setting where most research has taken place. There were calls for this area (e.g. Zhou and Shalley, 2008) to take a more critical stance, as well as to explore areas which have been lacking, such as cultural differences, the lack of research in non-western contexts, and the need to draw links between organisational creativity with diverse areas of knowledge. These areas have begun to be addressed. For example, a handful of authors have already begun to be more critical of the assumptions underlying the concept (Unsworth, 2001; Styhre, 2006; Driver, 2008). Moreover, this area has been linked with other areas of knowledge such as crisis management (Sommer and Pearson, 2007; Pearson and Sommer, 2011), creative management perspectives (Xu and Rickards, 2007; Nyström, 2000), and entrepreneurship (Hjorth, 2005). There has also been a move to explore work-related creativity in non-western contexts (Hempel, Sue-Chan and Christina, 2010; Zhou and Su, 2010; Erez and Nouri, 2010), but this is mainly focused on culture/cultural differences. However, it has been recognised that the work-related creativity literature is subject to cultural bias, since most is conducted from western (first world) perspectives (Westwood and Low, 2003). Subsequently, following these two criticisms: 1) that there is a lack of research in non-western contexts (Zhou and Shalley, 2008) and 2) that research is subject to a western cultural bias (Westwood and Low, 2003), as well as taking direction from literature review questions 2 and 3, I explore the contexts and work settings of the work-related creativity literature in the next section.

2.4   Contexts and Work Settings of Work-Related Creativity

In this section I analyse how non-western perspectives and practices are accounted for in the work-related creativity literature, as a way of explaining the gap that my thesis fills in this literature. My discussion is guided by the remaining two literature review questions:

What work settings (or relationships) are accounted for in the literature? And *In what ways are non-western perspectives and practices accounted for in the literature?*

I have highlighted and categorised various perspectives of the work-related creativity literature in Figure 2.2. The categories in the table provide details of the work setting and context of research as well as the constructs that lead to creativity, constructs that creativity has an implication on, and the area that the literature falls under. In order to map the literature and critically reflect how non-western perspectives are accounted for in the work-related creativity literature, I make particular reference to the work setting, and the context of research. In terms of the work setting, I have categorised the literature to reflect formal and non-formal work settings. Formal work settings include those purposefully directed at work via officially organised or regulated systems. This is most often reflected in the notion of 'the organisation'. Non-formal work settings reflect types of work that are not recognised by, or relationships that are not engaged through, officially accepted systems of work. Types of work settings and relationships that fall into this category are informal networks, unofficial relationships and connections, as well as work practices that are categorised as informal economic activity. I have also categorised the literature to reflect the context of research. I have divided this category in terms of the country of research and the perspective of theory. The country of research is useful to highlight whether research has been conducted in 'western' countries (i.e. Anglo-American or European countries) or in 'non-western' countries (e.g. in Africa, Asia or Latin America). Finally, the perspective of theory highlights whether the theoretical perspective of the research has been developed from a 'western' point of view, or whether it reflects 'non-western' theoretical perspectives that are local to the place of research.

Figure 2.2: Various Perspectives of Work-Related Creativity Literature

Author(s)	Work setting			Context		Fig.1*	Leads to creativity	Constructs		Area
	Formal setting	Non-formal setting/ relationship	Orientation of person	Country of research	Perspective of theory			Creativity leads to	Definition of creativity***	
Amabile & Gryskiewicz (1987)	Organisation	-	Creative work	USA	Western	A	Person & context	Innovation	None given	Organisational c.
Amabile (1988)	Organisation	-	Creative skills	USA	Western	A	Person & context	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Amabile (1996)	Organisation	-	Creative skills	-	Western	A	Person & context	New outputs	New & useful	Organisational c.
Amabile & Conti (1999)	Organisation	-	Creative work	USA	Western	A	Work environment (downsizing)	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Amabile et al. (1996)	Organisation	-	Creative work	USA	Western	A	Work environment	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Amabile & Gryskiewicz (1989)	Organisation	-	Creative work	(USA)**	Western	A	Work environment	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Amabile et al. (2004)	Organisation	-	Creative work	(USA)**	Western	A	Leader style	New outputs	New & useful	Organisational c.
Amabile et al. (2005)	Organisation	-	Creative work	(USA)**	Western	A	Positive affect	Positive affect	New & useful	Organisational c.
Andriopoulos & Low (2000)	Organisation	-	Creative work	UK	Western	A	Perpetual challenges	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Armstrong (2002)	Organisational forms	New forms of organisation	Creative behaviour	USA	Western	C	Recombining cultural materials in crisis	New org forms	(Re)combination	Collective c.
Baer et al. (3003)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	(USA)**	Western	A	Rewards	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Basadur et al. (2002)	Organisation/ business	-	Creative behaviour	South America	Locally interpreted	B	Divergent thinking (culture)	Creative outputs	New methods	Organisational c.
Basadur (2004)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	-	Western	A	Leadership style	innovation	Finding new solutions	Organisational c.
Basadur (1992)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	USA Japan	East & West	B	Organisation structure (culture)	Creative outputs	Finding new solutions	Organisational c.
Brennan & Dooley (2005)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	-	Western	A	Computer tool	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.

Study										
Cohen-Meiter et al. (2009)	workplace	-	Creative behaviour	Romania	Western	A	meaningfulness	Unclear	New & useful	Organisational c.
Drazin et al. (1999)	Organisation	-	Creative work	-	Western	A	Sensemaking in crisis	Success of projects	Process of engaging in creative acts (new & useful)	Organisational c.
Driver (2008)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	-	Western	A	Failure of imaginary	Production beyond kitsch	Unclear (contests usefulness)	Organisational c. (Critical)
Elsbach & Hargadon (2006)	Organisation	-	Creative work	-	Western	A	Workday design (challenging & mindless)	Creative outputs	New & useful	Organisational c.
Erez & Nouri (2010)	Organisation/ work	Social contexts	Creative behaviour	USA Israel China	East & West	B	Cultural values	unclear	New & useful	Culture & c.
Farmer et al. (2003)	Organisation	-	Creative work	Taiwan	Locally interpreted	B	Creative role identity	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Fisher & Amabile (2009)	Organisation	-	Bricoleur	(USA)**	Western	A	Temporally proximate stimuli (crisis, opportunity)	Creative outputs	New & useful	Organisational c.
Fong (2006)	Organisation	-	Creative performance	USA	Western	A	Emotion	Improved performance	(Re)combination	Organisational c.
Ford & Sullivan (2004)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	-	Western	A	Appropriate timing	Innovation	New & useful	Team c.
Ford (1996)	Organisation	-	Creative skills	-	Western	A	Person & context (Sensemaking)	Habitual acts/ Creative outputs	New & useful	Social psychology
George & Zhou (2001)	Business organisation.	-	Creative behaviour	Unclear (USA)**	Western	A	Personality traits	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
George & Zhou (2002)	Organisation	-	Creative work	USA	Western	A	Moods	Competitive advantage & survival	New & useful	Organisational c.
Gilson & Shalley (2004)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	UK	Western	A	Team interaction	Innovation	(Re)combination	Organisational c.
Gilson et al. (2005)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	Canada	Western	A	Standardization & team interaction	Innovation	Process of engaging in creative acts (new & useful)	Team c.
Gong et al. (2009)	Organisation	-	Creative work	Taiwan	Locally interpreted	B	Leadership style (Self-efficacy)	Survival & competitive advantage	New & useful	Organisational c.
Hargadon & Beckhy (2006)	Organisation	-	Creative work	Unclear (USA)**	Western	A	Collective interaction	Creative outputs	(Re)combination	Organisational c.
Hargadon & Sutton (1997)	Organisation	-	Creative work	USA	Western	A	Knowledge (networks)	Innovation	(Re)combination	innovation
Hempel & Sue-Chan (2010)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	USA China	Locally interpreted	B	Culture	unclear	New & useful	Culture & c. (Critical)

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				USA UK Sweden	Western	A	Goals	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Hirst et al. (2009)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	USA UK Sweden	Western	A	Goals	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Hjorth (2005)	Organisation	(informal) space	Entrepreneurial creativity	USA	Western	C	Art of creating space	New (org) forms	Tactical art	Entrepreneurship
Kaylén & Shani (2002)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	Sweden	Western	A	Interaction patterns	Survival & success	New & useful	Team c.
Kazanjian et al. (2000)	Organisation	-	Creative work	(USA)**	Western	A	Crisis	Technological learning	Process of engaging in creative acts (new & useful)	Organisational c.
Koh (2002)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	East-Asia	Western	A	Knowledge	innovation	(Re)combination	Organisational c.
Kijkuit & van den Ende (2007)	Firms	-	Creative behaviour		Western	A	Social networks	Innovation	Unclear	Theoretical
Kratzer et al. (2008)	Organisation	Formal & informal networks	Creative work	Holland	Western	C	Informal communication (networks)	Creative outputs	New & useful	R&D management
Kurtzberg & Mueller (2005)	Organisation	-	Creative work	Unclear (USA)**	Western	A	Conflict	Creative outputs	New & useful	Creativity
Madjar et al. (2002)	Work	Non-work	Creative work	Bulgaria	Western	C	Support for creativity	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Mainemelis (2001)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour		Western	A	Timelessness	Unclear	Unclear	Creativity
Mambula & Sawyer (2004)	-	Informal organisation	Entrepreneurial skill	Nigeria	Western	D	Necessity/ inadequacy	Survival	None given	Entrepreneurship
Martins & Terblanche (2003)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour		western	A	Org culture	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
McLean (2005)	Organisation	-	Creative work	USA	Western	A	Org culture & climate	Innovation	New & useful	Org culture & c.
Mumford (2000)	Organisation	-	Creative people		Western	A	HRM practices	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Mumford et al. (2002)	Organisation	-	Creative work		Western	A	Leadership style	Innovation	Generating new ideas	Organisational c.
Nemiro (2002)	Organisation	-	Creative work	Virtual	Western	A	Virtual team interaction	Innovation	New & useful	Team c.
Nyström (2000)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour		Western	A	Management perspective	innovation	Something unexpected	Creative management
Ohly et al. (2006)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	Germany	Western	A	Work routine	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Oldham & Cummings (1996)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	Unclear (USA)**	Western	A	Person & context	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.

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Study	Organisation		Creative behaviour	USA Canada	Western	A	Crisis management	Enhanced crisis response	New & useful	Crisis management
Pearson & Sommer (2011)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	USA Canada	Western	A	Crisis management	Enhanced crisis response	New & useful	Crisis management
Perry-Smith (2006)	Organisation	networks	Creative people	USA	Western	C	Social context Networks	Creative outputs	New & useful	Social c.
Perry-Smith & Shalley (2003)	Firm/ business	networks	Creative people	(USA)**	Western	C	Social context Networks	Creative outputs	New & useful	Social c.
Pirola-Merlo & Mann (2004)	Team projects	-	Creative behaviour	Australia	Western	A	Individual & team interaction	Innovation	New & useful	Team c.
Rasulzada & Dackert (2009)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	Sweden	Western	A	Org climate	Increased wellbeing	New & useful	Organisational c.
Shalley (1991)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	Unclear (USA)**	Western	A	Goals	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Shalley (1995)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	Unclear (USA)**	Western	A	Goals & evaluation	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Shalley et al. (2000)	Organisation	-	Creative work	USA	Western	A	work context & job satisfaction	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Shin & Zhou (2003)	Organisation	-	Creative work	Korea	Locally interpreted	B	Leadership style	Solutions to problems	New & useful	Organisational c.
Sohn & Jung (2010)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	Korea	Western	B	Thinking styles	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Sommer & Pearson (2007)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	USA Canada	Western	A	Crisis management	Survival & effectiveness	New & useful	Crisis management
Sonnenberg (2004)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	-	Western	A	Creaplex communication	Success	New & useful	Collaborative c.
Sørensen (2006)	Organisation	New form	Creative behaviour	-	Unclear (western)	C	Bodily transformation	Innovation	None given	Innovation
Styhre (2006)	Organisation	connections	Creative behaviour	-	Unclear (western)	C	Making connections	Innovation	Making connections	Organisational c. (critical)
Styhre & Sundgren (2003)	Organisation	Rhizome network	Creative behaviour	-	Unclear (western)	C	Making connections	Innovation	Making connections	Organisational c.
Sutton & Hargadon (1996)	Organisation	-	Creative work	USA	Western	A	Brainstorming	Creative outputs	None given	Brainstorming
Taggar (2002)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	Canada	Western	A	Person & context (teams)	Unclear	New & useful	Organisational c.
Tierney & Farmer (2002)	Corporate setting	-	Creative behaviour	Unclear (USA)**	Western	A	Self-efficacy	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.

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Tierney & Farmer (2004)	Firm/ company	-	Creative behaviour	USA	Western	A	Expectations & support	Creative outputs	New & useful	Organisational c.
Troyer & Youngreen (2009)	Unclear (organisation)	-	Creative behaviour	Unclear (USA)**	Western	A	Group conflict	Innovation	Finding new solutions	Group c.
Unsworth (2001)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	Unclear (USA)**	Western	A	Problems & Drivers	Unclear	Unclear (Critical of types of creativity)	Organisational c. (Critical)
Weick (1993)	Organisation	Informal organisation	Bricoleur	(USA)**	Western	C	Chaos & sensemaking	New order	(Re)combination	Sensemaking
Westwood & Low (2003)	Organisation	Social context	Creative behaviour	Various	Various	B	Person & context (culture)	Innovation	Unclear	Culture & c.
Woodman et al. (1993)	Organisation	-	Creative behaviour	-	Western	A	Person & context	Effectiveness & survival	New & useful	Organisational c.
Xu & Rickards (2007)	Company	-	Creative work	Europe Asia	East & West	B	Management perspective	Creative outputs	New & useful	Creative management
Zhou (1998)	Organisation	-	Creative performance	USA	Western	A	Work context (Feedback/autonomy)	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Zhou (2003)	Organisation	-	Creative personality	Unclear (USA)**	Western	A	Work context (monitoring)	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Zhou & George (2001)	Organisation	-	Creative performance	Unclear (USA)**	Western	A	Dissatisfaction & feedback	Survival & growth	New & useful	Organisational c.
Zhou & George (2003)	Organisation	-	Creative performance	-	Western	A	Leadership style	Innovation	New & useful	Organisational c.
Zhou & Su (2010)	Organisation	-	Creative performance	-	West & East-Asian	B	Social context (culture)	Survival & growth	New & useful	Culture & c.

Notes:

c.	- Creativity
Fig.1*	- Column indicates areas in Figure 2.3.
(USA)**	- Country is implied by related research or location of author.
Definition of creativity***	- For table of definitions see Appendix 1.

Drawing on the perspectives highlighted in Figure 2.2 I have mapped the work-related creativity literature to illustrate how both western and non-western perspectives have been accounted for and to clearly highlight the gaps in knowledge concerning non-western perspectives. I have constructed the map by juxtaposing the work setting, with the context of research, into four main areas as shown in Figure 2.3:

Context

	Western	**Non-western**
Formal Setting	Ⓐ **Organisational creativity** • Work context factors • Personal factors • Team and group	Ⓑ **Culture and creativity** • Cultural differences (using western constructs) • Cultural differences (using local constructs)
Non-Formal Setting/ Relationship	Ⓒ **Non-formal interaction, organisational forms and creativity** • Relationships & connections • Forms and space	Ⓓ **Informal context and creativity** • Entrepreneurship • (The Arts) • (Sociology) • (Geography)

Work Setting

Figure 2.3: Work-Related Creativity Literature Mapped by Work-Setting and Context

In Figure 2.3, I have identified each area with a letter (A, B, C, and D) and categorised all of the literature in Figure 2.2 to reflect where it is positioned in Figure 2.3. In the following discussion, I review the literature in the following four key areas using this map as a guide. My ultimate aim is to ascertain how non-western perspectives and practices are accounted for in the work-related creativity literature. The areas I discuss are as follows:

(A) Formal work settings in Western contexts: *Organisational creativity;*

(B) Formal work settings in Non-western contexts: *Culture and creativity;*

(C) Non-formal work settings/relationships in Western contexts: *Non-formal interaction, organisational forms and creativity;*

(D) Non-formal work settings/relationships in Non-western contexts: *Informal context and creativity;*

In the following discussion I review the literature based on the area of Figure 2.3 that it falls into. I do so to highlight the general perspective of each area, as well as to point to the perspectives that are lacking. My main aim is to highlight the gap which lies in area D.

2.4.1 Organisational Creativity

The literature in area (A) of Figure 2.3 focuses on formal work settings in western contexts. Most of the work-related creativity literature falls into this area and can be described as *Organisational creativity* following Shalley and Zhou (2008), who categorise creativity as a form of organisational behaviour engaged in by employees. The predominant orientation of this literature is on the factors that enhance or constrain creativity in organisations. These can be grouped into personal and work context factors and also the effects of team and group interaction on creativity in organisations.

Personal factors that impact on creativity are explained by personality or feelings of an individual which motivate them to engage in creative behaviour. These include personality traits (George and Zhou, 2001), moods (George and Zhou, 2002), affect and emotion (Amabile *et al.*, 2005; Fong, 2006) and self-efficacy (Tierney and Farmer, 2002). Work context factors are explained by the way in which certain conditions in the workplace have an impact on creative behaviour of employees. Examples include goals and challenges (Shalley, 1991; Shalley, 1995; Andriopoulos and Lowe, 2000), organisational culture and climate (Martins and Terblanche, 2003; McLean, 2005; Rasulzada and Dackert, 2009), work design and structure (Elsbach and Hargadon, 2006; Gilson, Shalley and Ruddy, 2005; Ohly, Sonnentag and Pluntke, 2006), as well as HR management strategies (Amabile *et al.*, 2004; Mumford *et al.*, 2002; Mumford, 2000; Tierney and Farmer, 2004) and leadership style.

A number of studies have also been conducted which examine the effects of both personal and work context factors on employee creativity. For example, interactionist approaches that examine the impact of work factors and personal factors on individual creativity in organisations (Amabile, 1988; Amabile and Gryskiewicz, 1987; Oldham and Cummings, 1996; Woodman, Sawyer and Griffin, 1993; Amabile *et al.*, 1996; Ford and Sullivan, 2004), as well as research that examines how the behaviour of employees can be moderated or directed to be more creative, such as through co-worker feedback (Zhou and George, 2001) or incentives (Hirst, Van Knippenberg and Zhou, 2009; Baer, Oldham and Cummings, 2003). There is also research on team and group interaction that falls into this area. Examples include the effects of brainstorming (Sutton and Hargadon, 1996), individual and contextual factors on team creativity (Pirola-Merlo and Mann, 2004; Taggar, 2002), and collaborative creativity (Sonnenburg, 2004; Gilson and Shalley, 2004; Hargadon and Bechky, 2006).

In addition to focusing on factors that enhance or constrain creativity, this literature is highly outcome-oriented. For example, the majority of definitions used by authors are product- or outcome-oriented where creativity is agreed as something that is new (novel) and useful (valuable) for the organisation. These are usually new and useful ideas (concerning products, services, processes, procedures, strategies and decisions). In addition, the overall goal of creativity is innovation – which is the application of these ideas. Overall, this discussion reflects that most of the literature in the work-related creativity area takes place in formal organisational contexts and is all conducted from western perspectives and theories. It focuses mainly on the factors that enhance or constrain creativity with the objective of implementing new and useful outcomes for the benefit of the organisation. What is useful to take from this discussion is that the majority of research that has been conducted about work-related creativity does not account for non-western perspectives and practices.

2.4.2 Culture and Creativity

As already highlighted, the literature on creativity suffers from cultural bias (Westwood and Low, 2003) and most of the work-related creativity literature has been conducted in western (Anglo-American-European/first world) contexts (Zhou and Shalley, 2008). Figure 2.2 highlights that the dominant context is the USA (approximately 33 studies, although not all of the authors are clear about the national context of their research), with a lesser amount of work

undertaken in Anglo-European contexts (Hirst, Van Knippenberg and Zhou, 2009; Pirola-Merlo and Mann, 2004; Taggar, 2002; Kaylén and Shani, 2002; Gilson, Shalley and Ruddy, 2005; Cohen-Meitar, Carmeli and Waldman, 2009; Pearson and Sommer, 2011; Andriopoulos and Lowe, 2000; Rasulzada and Dackert, 2009; Gilson and Shalley, 2004; Kratzer, Gemünden and Lettl, 2008; Madjar, Oldham and Pratt, 2002).

The literature in area (B) of Figure 2.3 consists of work that has been conducted in non-western contexts (Africa, Latin America, and Asia) within formal work settings (Basadur, 2004; Shin and Zhou, 2003; Westwood and Low, 2003; Farmer, Tierney and Kung-McIntyre, 2003; Gong, Huang and Farh, 2009; Sohn and Jung, 2010; Xu and Rickards, 2007; Hempel, Sue-Chan and Christina, 2010; Zhou and Su, 2010; Erez and Nouri, 2010; Basadur, 1992; Koh, 2000). The perspective that links all of this literature is the focus on culture. All of this work explores a relationship between non-western national culture and work-related creativity in some way. Most are conducted in East-Asian contexts, with the exceptions being Erez and Nouri (2010) who explore Chinese and Isreali contexts, Basadur (2002) who focuses on Latin American perspectives and Xu and Rickards (2007) who focus on various cultural perspectives from all over the world. It is also worth mentioning at this point that there is only one study that has been conducted in Africa (Mambula and Sawyer, 2004); however, I focus on this study in area (D) of Figure 2.3.

Non-western perspectives and practices are accounted for in the above literature on culture in three ways, which broadly reflect different extents to which authors have accounted for local cultural perspectives as opposed to western perspectives. Firstly, there is research which uncritically or reflectively applies western perspectives. For example, Basadur (1992) explored the way in which management ideas originating in North America were applied in a Japanese context, while Sohn and Jung (2010) investigated the influence of training and the external environment on creativity in Korea. In addition to this, some research has been constructed on the basis of western theory but highlights the importance of translating constructs and measures used in data collection into the local language of respondents. Basadur (2002), for example, explored how training in divergent thinking led to the change in attitude of South American managers, while Farmer *et al.*'s (2003) work investigated the impact of employees' creative role identity on their creative ability in Taiwanese organisations. Although these studies are based on western theories, in both cases constructs were translated into the local language. Finally, a number of studies (particularly more recent work) have recognised the

need to go beyond simply employing techniques such as translating measures used in data collection. This work has acknowledged the cultural bias that exists towards western perspectives (Westwood and Low, 2003) and has made clearer efforts to take local (non-western) perspectives into consideration. For example, Hempel and Sue-Chan (2010) question the underlying conceptualisations that people in different cultures have of creativity to highlight that culture impacts on the assessment of the creative idea. Erez and Nouri (2010) explore the way in which different cultural values lead to creativity and how certain work contexts may place more importance on cultural differences than others.

In sum, this literature reflects that relatively little research has been conducted in non-western contexts such as Africa, Asia and Latin America. Furthermore, the majority of this work focuses heavily on the East-Asian context. It appears that this area is growing since most of the work is relatively recent. In particular, it is notable that authors of more recent literature recognise that there is bias towards western perspectives and have thus sought to reflect local perspectives in their work. Overall, this literature reveals a gap concerning research which is conducted in non-western contexts and accounts for local perspectives and practices.

2.4.3   Non-Formal Interaction, Organisational Forms and Creativity

The literature in area C of Figure 2.3 refers to creative engagement that does not occur in a formal organisational setting, but which has been conducted in western contexts. The work I have grouped in this area includes research which accounts for non-formal relationships and connections as well as perspectives which do not follow the traditional organisational form. Although most of this work does refer to organisational contexts in some way, all of these authors refer to types of settings and relationships which do not reflect formal procedures or work settings. I will discuss the literature in two ways. The first accounts for relationships and connections, and the second to space and forms.

In terms of relationships and connections, a small number of articles have been published that focus on the impact of both formal and non-formal relationships on organisational creativity. Kratzer *et al.* (2008) investigate the alignment of both formal and informal network structures and the impact of these on creativity. Their findings illustrate that there is only marginal overlap between these formal and informal communication networks and that the latter had many more linkages in communication. In a similar vein, Madjar *et al.* (2002) also explored the

effects of formal and informal interaction on creativity. In their study, they focused on the relationship between work (supervisors/co-workers) and non-work (family/friends) support, and creative performance. They concluded that while both forms of support had an impact on creative performance, that of non-work support was far greater. Finally, work has also been done which examines the way in which patterns of social relationships (or networks) outside of the organisation impact on the creativity of individuals (Perry-Smith and Shalley, 2003; Perry-Smith, 2006). The reasoning of these authors is that only measuring the formal work context of organisations without incorporating the informal aspects of structure (such as social networks) may omit essential information about organisational dynamics, and in both studies the conclusion is that weak ties with individuals are generally beneficial for creativity. These studies all highlight how creativity takes place through both formal and non-formal relationships, and that non-formal interactions are relevant and valuable parts of the creativity process – perhaps more so than formal.

Styhre and Sundgren (2003) and Styhre (2006) also focus on a network model of creativity: the Rhizome model. However, their focus is slightly different. These authors conceptualise their model in relation to the organisational context (in the pharmaceutical industry), but are critical of the traditional notion of creativity which positions creativity in terms of new outcomes. Instead, drawing on William James and Gilles Deleuze, they view creativity as an act of making connections and associations that allow new ideas, resources and events to occur. Here, creativity is produced through a series of horizontal connections and lines of thought in organisations following the notion of the rhizome, which is an interconnected network or field that offers unlimited opportunities for connections[3] (and the creation of new ideas). From this perspective, creativity is actualised through a multiplicity of connections, which reflects a non-traditional perspective on work practices and relationships. The relevance of this study is that it proposes a way of looking at networks that does not follow the traditional notion of creativity in organisations.

Hjorth (2005) also takes a non-traditional perspective of organisational creativity by exploring the appropriation of space within formal organisations. He explains how space that is considered as 'other' can be appropriated within an organisational order. His research contributes to studies of organisational creativity by taking a new look at entrepreneurship.

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[3] This is in contrast to the tree metaphor of knowledge, which does not offer unlimited opportunity for connections (Styhre and Sundgren, 2003; Deleuze and Guattari, 1988/2004).

Drawing on de Certeau (1988/1984), he proposes the concept of heterotopias, which are temporary spaces that are tactically created within a prescribed space. Tactics are reflected as action which is mobilised by chance offerings. From this perspective he argues that entrepreneurship is a form of social creativity, which involves the construction of space (here aimed at play - or invention of the new) within an established order with the aim of actualising new practices.

There is also research which reflects the way in which new forms of organisation arise through creativity within conditions of crisis. For example, Armstrong (2002) takes the perspective that (collective) creativity can be the basis for new organisational forms. She argues that this takes place in contexts characterised by the presence of multiple cultural modes (multiplicity), dense interaction patterns, and environmental uncertainty such as crisis - particularly crisis that stimulates optimism. She explains that actors construct new organisational forms through a form of *bricolage* that combines cultural materials and that, in contexts of collective creativity, there is an increased likelihood that actors will incorporate cultural materials in novel ways. The example she provides is set in San Francisco in the 1970s and illustrates how the context of collective creativity provided by the New Left (socio-political movement) led to new kinds of lesbian/gay organisations.

In a parallel way, Weick (1993) also refers to the way in which creativity may lead to new organisational forms within critical (chaotic) conditions. He discusses creativity as a part of organisational sensemaking in a minimal organisation (a band of fire fighters). His main focus is on the process of sensemaking within chaotic conditions, with the aim of exploring how organisations can be made more resilient. He proposes that organisational resilience results from four sources: improvisation and *bricolage*; virtual role systems; the attitude of wisdom; and respectful interaction. In particular, he argues that improvisation and *bricolage* (which he explains as the recombination of whatever materials are at hand) lead to creativity. He uses the example of the Mann Gulch fire to illustrate how one fire fighter used the fire to fight fire and survive. In a situation of chaos, he was able to improvise and use what he had at hand, and thus engage in creativity to construct a new improvised organisational order. Equally, Sørensen (2006) argues that the creation of new knowledge (innovation/ creativity) happens through a crisis in which the body (individual, organisational or social) undergoes transformation. He explains that crisis is an event in which new and unforeseen connections become possible, and that the 'new' (i.e. something that is new) emerges in the dualism between order and chaos.

The conceptualisations of creativity that these four latter authors (Armstrong, 2002; Hjorth, 2005; Weick, 1993; Sørensen, 2006) propose are similar in that creativity reflects the mobilisation or (re)combination of whatever materials or connections are at hand.

There are several points that I draw from the literature in area C of Figure 2.3. First, the research in this area (as with area B) is limited, and the work that has been done focuses on non-formal relationships and organisational forms (as opposed to the informal economy). Second, the research that has been conducted on non-formal relationships and connections does not present these as the main focus of study. This is in spite of the recognition, particularly by Madjar *et al.* (2002), that non-formal relationships, such as support from family and friends, can have a far greater effect on creative work of individuals. The third point is that the literature also reflects that creativity can lead to the construction of new space within an order, as well as the construction of new forms of organisation. This is theorised by Hjorth (2005) for example, by drawing on de Certeau (1988/1984), who proposes that space can be temporarily constructed through the tactical mobilisation of chance offerings. While Armstrong's (2002), Weick's (1993), and Sørensen's (2006) views all reflect a similar proposition, that new organisational forms are constituted (via *bricolage*/unforeseen connections) during critical conditions. Overall, this area presents a great deal of room for growth and exploration of the non-formal dynamics of work-related creativity.

2.4.4 Informal Contexts and Creativity

The final area, D, of Figure 2.3 indicates the main area in which the gap in the work-related creativity literature is situated. The work in this area accounts for non-formal work-settings in non-western contexts. Out of all the literature in Figure 2.2, there is only one article, Mambula and Sawyer's (2004), that can be argued as falling into this area. I have included this article here because it refers to a form of creativity that is explored in the informal sector (informal economy) in Nigeria. Informal economic activity falls into the category of non-formal work settings because it remains outside of regulated economic activities (Chen, 2007), and is typically engaged by those in the margins of society (Jones, 2010b). Mambula and Sawyer's (2004) article therefore goes some way in filling a gap in this area because it incorporates both a non-formal work setting as well as a non-western context. However, it only partly fills this gap because the scope of the article is not entirely relevant. Although it refers to work-related

creativity, this is not the main focus of the research which is based on a theory of entrepreneurship. Nevertheless, although not directly relevant, this study is still worth reflecting on because of the work setting that the research has been conducted within.

The article investigates acts of entrepreneurial creativity that are relevant for business growth and survival within a severely constrained economy. In particular, it explores the creative abilities of an entrepreneur who owns an informal organisation (a small plastics manufacturing firm) in Nigeria. The research illustrates how this entrepreneur was able to devise ways of creatively coping with constraints through creating a "survivalist culture" that enabled him to sustain his business activities. Examples given of coping strategies are the different ways that he kept down costs, such as through the improvised use of second-hand parts, using recycled materials and repairing his own machinery. The main inadequacy of the study is that the authors give no definition of creativity. They only state that "in the paucity, inadequacy, scarcity or even absence of resources for production, indeed necessity can be seen to be the creator of invention" (Mambula and Sawyer, 2004:51). All the same, this study is useful because it recognises and accounts for an informal work context and relates this (albeit in a limited way) to creativity.

Although no definitive research has been conducted in the work-related creativity literature which focuses on non-formal work-settings in non-western contexts, there is connected work in other areas that make references to creativity. In particular, there are a number of authors (see Figure 2.4) who refer to notions of creativity in informal work settings in Africa (Konings and Foeken, 2006; Jones, 2010b; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010; Pieterse, 2005) and Latin America (Anderson, 1988; de Soto, 1989), as well as work in slums in various parts of the world (Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Anderson, 2010; Bendiksen, 2008; Dezeuze, 2006). Examples of research areas are extremely diverse and include the Arts, sociology/anthropology and geography. Academic work has been conducted primarily in sociology/anthropology (Anderson, 1988; Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010; Pieterse, 2005; de Soto, 1989), but also in geography (Konings and Foeken, 2006). The perspective that links all of this literature is that all of the studies refer to creativity in the informal sector in non-western contexts.

Figure 2.4: Perspectives of the Literature in Figure 2.3, area D (Non-formal work settings/ relationships in non-western context)

Author(s)	Work setting		Orientation of person	Context		Diag.1*	Constructs			Area
	Formal setting	Non-formal setting/ relationship		Country of research	Perspective of theory		Leads to creativity	Creativity leads to	Definition of creativity	
Anderson (1988)	-	Informal sector	Creative engagement	Mexico	Seeks local perspective	D	Survival leads to creativity in the 'unorganised-sector'	Creativity leads to the self generation of income	None given	Sociology/ Anthropology
Anderson (2010)	-	Slums	Creative engagement	Nigeria	Seeks local perspective	D	Poverty leads to resourcefulness, energy and optimism	Unclear (survival)	None given	The Arts
Bendiksen (2008)	-	Slums	Creative engagement	India, Kenya, Venezuela, Indonesia	Seeks local perspective	D	Hardship in slums leads to creativity	Unclear (survival)	None given	The Arts
Dezeuze (2006)	-	Slums (Informal proletariat)	Creative engagement	e.g. Mexico	Seeks local perspective	D	Subversive tactics (e.g. using misfortune to advantage) lead to creativity	Creativity leads to survival of hardship	None given	The Arts
Do Soto (1989)	-	Informal sector	Creative engagement	Colombia (Third world)	Seeks local perspective	D	Underdevelopment and impoverishment lead to the informal economy which is a creative society	Unclear	None given	Sociology/ Anthropology
Jones (2010)	Not functioning	Informal sector	Creative engagement	Zimbabwe	Uses local perspective	D	Kukiya-kiya (tactics of making do) leads to creative acts	Survival in crisis Solving problems	None given	Sociology/ Anthropology
Konnings and Foeken (2006)	-	Informal sector	Creative engagement	Various Africa	Seeks local perspective	D	Taking advantage of the 'opportunities', 'resources', 'assets', or 'capitals' available leads to creativity and imaginative innovation	Survival in economic crisis	None given	Geography
Mambula & Sawyer (2004)	-	Informal organisation	Entrepreneurial skill	Nigeria	Western	D	Necessity/inadequacy leads to creativity	Survival	None given	Entrepreneurship
Mawowa & Matongo (2010)	-	Informal sector	Creative engagement	Zimbabwe	Seeks local perspective	D	Crisis leads to responsive entrepreneurs		None given	Sociology/ Anthropology
Pieterse (2005)	-	Informal sector	Creative engagement	South Africa	Seeks local perspective	D	Unclear	Creativity helps to keep slums 'afloat'	None given	Sociology/ Anthropology
Scheper-Hughes (1992)	-	Slums (refer to types of informal work)	Creative engagement	Brazil	Uses local perspective	D	Poverty is destructive and creative	Creative means (e.g. survival strategies such as *jeito*) allow one to stay alive and thrive in hardship	None given	Sociology/ Anthropology

Notes: Diag.1* - Column indicates areas in Figure 2.3.

Theory Development: Towards a Perspective of Creativity and Informal Work

In addition to this academic work, it has also become trendy for artists to illustrate the creativity of life and work practices in slums (Dezeuze, 2006) in various parts of the world (e.g. Mexico, Venezuela, Indonesia, Nigeria, Kenya and India). This is demonstrated by the work of several authors through modes such as photography (Bendiksen, 2008), film (Anderson, 2010) and art exhibitions (Dezeuze, 2006).

There are two main points of commonality in this literature which are worth mentioning. Firstly, creativity is related to alternative theoretical concepts – namely, informal work, crisis (hardship), and survival. Second, a number of authors reflect that creativity is related to the ability to take advantage of opportunities in crisis by engaging in tactics. The first point is illustrated by Anderson's (1988) view that survival (of hardship) leads to creativity that manifests through the self-generation of income in the 'unorganised sector'. While do Soto (1989) similarly argues that underdevelopment and impoverishment lead to the informal economy which he calls a creative society. These two perspectives suggest that the informal sector is an area of creativity. In addition, Konings and Foeken (2006) suggest that, in the informal sector in Africa, people are able to survive economic crisis by taking advantage of the opportunities and resources available, and that this leads to creativity and imaginative innovation. However, these authors do not articulate creativity in any detail theoretically.

Jones (2010b) follows a similar line of thinking, but explains this concept in more detail while referring to a local interpretation of survival in the informal sector in Zimbabwe via tactics. He theorises the way in which people in Zimbabwe engage in '*kukiya-kiya*' survival tactics as a response to crisis. *Kukiya-kiya* is a ChiSona[4] word which refers to cleverly exploiting any resources at hand in order to sustain oneself. It is commonly understood as an instinctive response to circumstances such as crisis, and as a strategy for survival, and is associated with marginalised work activities in the informal sector (Jones, 2010b). In his discussion, Jones (2010b) indicates that the engagement in *kukiya-kiya* tactics leads to creative acts. His main argument is that the economy in Zimbabwe became a '*kukiya-kiya* economy' in the post-2000 crisis because almost everyone in the country was engaging in survival tactics to take advantage of any possibilities that arose. On a side note, it is relevant to point out that there is no word for creativity in Sub-Saharan Africa (Mpofu *et al.*, 2006), but that Mpofu and colleagues have nevertheless concluded that the (ChiShona) word *kujingirisa* is synonymous

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[4] This concept applies throughout the country – not only in the Shona lexicon, but also in Ndebele: *ukusanganisa/ukudoba-doba*, and Southern African English: 'make a plan' (Jones, 2010b).

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with creativity in Zimbabwe. The same word (although with a slightly different spelling) is referred to by Jones (2010b), who explains that *jingiridza* (defined as solving problems with limited resources) is a common synonym of *kukiya-kiya*. This may imply that *kukiya-kiya* survival tactics are therefore indicative of creativity in Zimbabwe.

Survival tactics are also mentioned by Scheper-Hughes (1992; 2008). She refers to a Brazilian interpretation which she refers to as *'jeitos*[5], and explains that these are individual, defensive tactics that epitomise tactics of resilience. These tactics are employed mostly by the poor and marginalised, but are also used by middle-class people. These forms of resilience are not necessarily uplifting, particularly because they often involve trickery and cunning manipulations, but they reflect resilience because they enable a person to take advantage of the system, and to improvise, in order to survive (Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Scheper-Hughes, 2008). Scheper-Hughes (2008) discusses a model of human hardiness, in which people employ resilience tactics. She refers to these tactics as 'normalisation', 'narrativity', 'reframing', *'jeitos* and *malandragem'*, 'making merry/*animaçao'*, 'socialisation for toughness', 'black humour' and ability to 'transcend trauma', and argues that human nature is both frail and resilient at the same time. She does not relate these explicitly to creativity but suggests that 'creative means' allow one to stay alive and thrive in hardship. Although Dezuze's (2006) work is not strictly an academic source, she too refers to the engagement in tactics in third world countries and relates these to creativity. She analyses the work of artists who depict the ingenuity and creativity of the slums and interprets this type of action as 'subversive' survival tactics. In particular, she refers to the work of the artist Alÿs who illustrates the Mexican notion of tactics, *'valemadrismo'*, which is the capacity to turn misfortune into an advantage. A point of commonality between these three latter authors is that they all refer to local interpretations of survival tactics which they draw from the work of de Certeau (1988/1984)[6].

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[5] Or *jeitinho* (see also Duarte, 2006).

[6] Cornwall (2007) also employs de Certeau's notion of strategies and tactics to explain the engagement of Yoroba women micro entrepreneurs in the informal economy in Nigeria. She highlights that tactics are used by these women as a way of improvising with the limited resources and opportunities that they face on a day-to-day basis (Cornwall, 2007). She does not, however, link this to any notion of creativity.

According to de Certeau, a person employing tactics (he links this with *la perruque* or *bricolage* in French) creates a space[7] in which he uses what is constraining him to his own advantage. He suggests that this is a method of 're-use' (re-using what one already has) which is an 'art', because it entails 'being in between' (plurality), at the ready to draw unexpected results from a situation, and argues that this involves a degree of creativity. He explains that a tactic takes advantage of opportunities through surprise by accepting the chance offerings, or possibilities, that arise at any given moment. Tactics are employed by the weak while strategies are employed by the powerful. A strategy is a mastery of time and places (which are permanent, as opposed to space which is not distinguished by specific times and places) through calculation and exertion of will. A tactic, by contrast, does not use power, but employs subtle cunning and manipulation of space and time, by taking advantage of surprise opportunities that arise unexpectedly. de Certeau (1988/1984) does not refer to survival, but Jones (2010b), Scheper-Hughes (1992; 2008) and Dezuze (2006) all draw on his notion of tactics and interpret it as a form of survival in hardship/crisis, whereby a person cleverly exploits or manipulates what he has at hand (Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Scheper-Hughes, 2008) and turns misfortune into advantage (Dezeuze, 2006).

Overall, my discussion relating to area D of Figure 2.3 highlights several key points. First, there is clearly a lack of research in the work-related creativity literature which accounts for non-formal work-settings in non-western contexts. Only one article by Mambula and Sawyer (2004) falls into this area. However, the main drawback of this work is that it does not theoretically explain the notion of creativity apart from attributing it as (western) entrepreneurial skill. As a result, this demonstrates a clear gap in the work-related creativity literature because there is almost no research directly related to creativity that is conducted in non-western contests, which does not take place in the context of the formal organisation. The next point is that while work has been conducted in informal work settings in non-western contexts, this has not been in the area of creativity. Instead, there is academic work in sociology/anthropology (Anderson, 1988; Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010; Pieterse, 2005; de Soto, 1989) and geography (Konings and Foeken, 2006), but also work in the Arts

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[7] "A *space* exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it … [it is] situated as an act of a present (or of a time), and modified by successive contexts. In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a "proper". In short, *space is a practiced place.*" (de Certeau, 1988/1984:117).

(Anderson, 2010; Bendiksen, 2008; Dezeuze, 2006). This work refers to alternative theoretical concepts and depicts creativity taking place in situations of crisis or hardship wherein people are able to overcome this and survive. For example, the informal sector is depicted as an area which promotes the survival of hardship and creativity (Konings and Foeken, 2006; Anderson, 1988; Jones, 2010b; de Soto, 1989). In addition, there are several authors who explain certain actions involved in survival that are linked to creativity (Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Dezeuze, 2006). They particularly draw on de Certeau (1988/1984) to explain how a person is able to take advantage of a difficult situation and turn it around to their advantage. A criticism here may be that this interpretation of creativity is still constructed from a western perspective and does not present a 'cultural' conceptualisation of creativity. However, and this is my final point, each of these authors has interpreted de Certeau's (1988/1984) concept of 'tactics' to reflect particular local cultures in Zimbabwe (Jones, 2010b), Brazil (Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Scheper-Hughes, 2008), and Mexico (Dezeuze, 2006). This illustrates that although this work is not related to cultural creativity, it does account for local conceptual interpretations.

2.5 Summary of Literature Review

I will now summarise my review of the work-related creativity literature by reflecting on the initial literature review questions I proposed as a guide. *1) What are the main perspectives underlying the work-related creativity literature? 2) What work settings (or relationships) are accounted for in the literature? 3) In what ways are non-western perspectives and practices accounted for in the literature?*

First, the majority of the research (as pointed out by Shalley and Zhou, 2008) in this area interprets creativity as a form of behaviour carried out by employees or creative workers. Most theories explore how workplace factors (e.g. goals, challenges, HR strategies, leadership, design of the work environment, and culture), personal factors (e.g. personality traits, moods, emotion, and identity), a combination of workplace and personal factors, or team and group interaction may enhance or constrain creativity within the workplace. These perspectives are mostly outcome-oriented and creativity is predominantly defined as new (novel) and useful (valuable) ideas (concerning products, services, processes, procedures, strategies and decisions) that are a precursor to innovation.

Second, most of the research in this area takes place in formal work settings, i.e. 'the organisation', and focuses on formal relationships. There is a limited amount of research exploring non-formal relationships and connections (such as informal networks and support from non-work sources) (Perry-Smith and Shalley, 2003; Kratzer, Gemünden and Lettl, 2008; e.g. Madjar, Oldham and Pratt, 2002; Perry-Smith, 2006), but these are not the main focus of study and these interactions are still assumed to take place in the organisation. There has, in addition, been work done by a small group of authors who do not simply take the organisational setting for granted. They posit that creativity is related to the temporary construction (or subversion) of space within an order (i.e. Hjorth, 2005), as well as implicated within the constitution of new organisational forms within situations of crisis (i.e. Armstrong, 2002; Weick, 1993; Sørensen, 2006). One piece of research depicts creativity in the informal sector of a developing economy (Mambula and Sawyer, 2004).

Third, the majority of this research has been undertaken within western contexts (e.g. Anglo-American-European), and from a western theoretical perspective. Very little work has been conducted in non-western contexts such as Africa, Asia and Latin America (i.e. Basadur, 1992; Basadur, 2004; Shin and Zhou, 2003; Westwood and Low, 2003; Farmer, Tierney and Kung-McIntyre, 2003; Gong, Huang and Farh, 2009; Sohn and Jung, 2010; Xu and Rickards, 2007; Hempel, Sue-Chan and Christina, 2010; Zhou and Su, 2010; Erez and Nouri, 2010; Koh, 2000). Most of this is focused on the East-Asian context, with only one article having been conducted in Latin America and Africa respectively. In terms of the theoretical perspectives, the literature exploring national culture and cultural differences in the workplace recognises (albeit to various extents) that creativity may be perceived quite differently depending on an individual's cultural orientations and it is important to account for this theoretically. Mambula and Sawyer's (2004) research is unique in that it acknowledges that there is a different type of work environment in the developing world, namely the informal sector.

Overall, my review of the literature illustrates that there is indeed a substantial gap in the area of work-related creativity. There is almost no research conducted explicitly about creativity in informal work contexts, and no theories to explain the creativity of informal work. As such, my research contributes to the field of work-related creativity because I present a conceptual perspective and methodological approach to explain creativity in relation to informal work. In the following section I outline this conceptual perspective.

2.6 Conceptual Perspective: Creative Tactics and Informal Work

In this section I build my conceptual perspective of creativity in the context of informal work. First, I reflect on the dynamics of work and creativity in formal and informal work contexts and surmise that it is necessary to account for embodied engagement in my conceptual perspective of creativity in the informal work context. Next, I discuss the concept of embodiment and outline four theoretical perspectives of embodiment, which focus on the human body as the main site of perception, experience and emotion in organisation theory. These are phenomenology, feminist theory, postmodernist theory and theories of practices - in particular of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel de Certeau. I subsequently focus on de Certeau's (1988/1984; de Certeau, Girard and Mayol, 1988) anthropology of everyday life as the most relevant way of exploring embodied engagement in informal work. In particular I draw on his notion of creative tactics (de Certeau, 1988/1984) to build my conceptual perspective and explain how creative engagement takes places in the informal work context. I then reflect on this conceptual perspective to justify why it is the most relevant approach. Finally, at the end of this section, I elaborate on the research questions I have employed.

As I have shown in my literature review, creativity is predominantly defined as new and useful (novel and valuable) ideas (concerning products, services, processes, procedures, strategies and decisions) forming the basis of innovation and tied to creative outputs in the organisational context. In this respect, the majority of the work-related creativity literature objectifies creativity as 'some*thing*' that is new and useful which occurs in an organisational context as a consequence of individual cognitive ability (Westwood and Low, 2003). This perspective is limited, however, because it focuses on creativity as reified outputs that are disconnected from individuals and discounts the embodied dynamics of engagement in informal work contexts in the non-western world. In these contexts, individuals are often constrained by a critical lack of resources and opportunities and engage in informal work as a survival strategy (Gërxhani, 2004). Many are self-employed (Thomas, 1992; ILO, 2002; 2009) and essentially create work for themselves. In this respect, a pertinent characteristic of informal work is that it is closely tied to the actions of the individuals who engage in it and is thus reflective of dynamic, 'bodily' engagement. As a result, it is more relevant to account for the notion of embodiment in the creative engagement in informal work, rather than focusing on creativity as reified organisational outputs.

There are a number of theoretical perspectives on embodiment. These include the body as an aspect of spatial analysis in geography and anthropology (Low, 2003); as a temporal dimension which examines the developmental changes that living bodies go through over time; as a physical element of experience which explores the effect of bodily processes on cognition; from an experiential perspective that explores how embodied socio-cultural practices have an effect on language and cognition; and also from a meta-theoretical perspective which contrasts with the Cartesian mind and body distinction. The latter holds the view that embodiment is not separate from knowledge and thought but inherently implicated in cognition (Heracleous and Jacobs, 2008). In line with this perspective, Styhre (2004) discusses four perspectives of embodiment which focus on the human body as the main site of perception, experience and emotion in organisation theory. He focuses on: phenomenology, feminist theory, postmodernist theory and theories of practices. Following Styhre (2004), I will briefly outline these perspectives to ascertain their relevance in underpinning an embodied perspective of creative engagement in informal work practices.

Phenomenology is a philosophical study of human experience which focuses on the way things are presented to us through experience (Sokolowski, 2000). Among the major figures in phenomenology (i.e. Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger), Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962; 1968) was responsible for developing an embodied phenomenology of perception which accounted for the lived body. He did so by positioning the human body as the primary location of meaning and experience because he saw the body as "our general medium for having a world" and enabling experience (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 146). The implication of this perspective on embodiment for organisation theory is that organisations - or organising processes - cannot be perceived aside from the human body and their life world (Styhre, 2004), as the body is the site of experience and perception.

While Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology focuses on the way in which the body is implicated in experience, feminist and postmodern theories on the other hand take critical perspectives of the body in organisation theory. Feminism focuses on the ways in which the differences between men and women are socially produced (Nicholson, 1996). Research looks at the way in which embodied activities - such as talking, walking, dressing, and behaving - are gendered practices performed by organisational members. In particular, feminist theory critically examines these practices to understand how human bodies are used as organisational resources (Styhre, 2004). A postmodern view of embodiment in organisation theory similarly

takes a critical perspective of the body, but does so in a different manner to feminist theory. An embodied postmodernist perspective assumes that the body is always implicated in our engagements in society and focuses on ignorance and re-problematisation of the body (Hassard, Holliday and Willmott, 2000; Boje, Gephart and Thatchenkery, 1996) in organisations and society. In particular, it allows a critique of the 'facticity' of the body because it is an indeterminate concept that cannot be fully controlled (Styhre, 2004).

The final perspective on embodiment discussed by Styhre (2004) are theories of practice, of which he highlights Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus (Bourdieu, 2000; 1990; 1984; 1977) and Michel de Certeau's anthropology of everyday life (de Certeau, 1988/1984; de Certeau, Girard and Mayol, 1988). Both Bourdieu and de Certeau present studies of the way in which humans engage in social systems - such as organisations, cities, or local neighbourhoods - and assume that that this is essentially an embodied experience because humans interact - i.e. walk and talk - though their bodies (Styhre, 2004). Bourdieu's concept of embodied practice is formulated in his notion of 'habitus', which explains how bodily habits produce culture and social structure (Low, 2003). Bourdieu's perspective essentially explains how the mind, body and emotions are unconsciously conditioned so that the way we perceive, judge or act in the world - for example, via cultural features such as socio-cultural status and class position - become embodied in everyday life. This conditioning takes place when various external constraints and possibilities are encountered and then internalised (Low, 2003; Styhre, 2004; Wacquant, 2008). A major theme running through Bourdieu's work is his critique of domination that is realised in his focus on inequality and defence of those who are marginalised (Wacquant, 2008; Hillier and Rooksby, 2002).

de Certeau (1988/1984; de Certeau, Girard and Mayol, 1988) also examined the embodied practices that make up everyday life, but did so through his anthropology of everyday life (Styhre, 2004). The aims of his perspective are to enable us to reflect - through an ethnographic lens - on the plurality of everyday practices, particularly the marginal practices and narratives of the 'other' (Napolitano and Pratten, 2007). His main research interests are marginality and otherness - similar to Bourdieu - but also plurality of (hi)stories and the embodied narratives that make up an ethnographic field (Napolitano and Pratten, 2007). His ethnographic method is particularly aimed at finding better ways of explaining 'the cultural' which simultaneously encourage 'otherness' to flourish (Highmore, 2007). de Certeau's most famous conceptual notion is his articulation of tactics and strategies (Highmore, 2007), in

which he distinguishes between the strategic, planned actions of the powerful and the tactical, subversive arts of the weak (de Certeau, 1988/1984: 29-37). He posits that tactics are opportunistic, spontaneous and contingent actions of the weak which purposefully subvert the strategies of the powerful and create space for the 'other' (Mitchell, 2007a). Furthermore, as already mentioned, a person employing tactics creates space by creatively using what is constraining him/her to his/her own advantage. S/he does so by engaging in plurality, re-using what is at hand and taking advantage of opportunities (de Certeau, 1988/1984). A final point to note is that whilst Bourdieu clearly accounts for a theory of practice through his concept of habitus, de Certeau 'tactically' does not. Alternatively, in his discussion of strategies and tactics, he mirrors the subversive nature of tactics and purposefully avoids presenting a 'neat' theory. His approach is, instead, to focus on ethnographic details and he lets his description of practice stand for itself by providing an explanation of practices via the subversive actions of Kabylian (Algerian) migrants in France (Mitchell, 2007a; Napolitano and Pratten, 2007).

Of these four perspectives of embodiment in organisation theory, phenomenology is useful for focusing on the body as the primary location of meaning and experience; feminist and postmodernist perspectives are relevant for mounting critiques of the uses of the body; and theories of practice for understanding the way in which humans engage in society through embodied practices (Styhre, 2004). Since my research is concerned with establishing an explanation of creative engagement in the informal economy and that informal work practices are closely tied to the bodily engagements of informal workers, theories of practice would be the most relevant perspective to employ. Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, feminist and postmodernist perspectives of embodiment are all limited because they focus exclusively on the body. On the contrary, instead of focusing directly on embodiment, Bourdieu's and de Certeau's theories of practice allow a focus on engagement that accounts for embodiment, but also emphasises marginality. However, of the two, de Certeau's 'theory' of practice, in particular his notion of tactics (and strategies), is more applicable for explaining creative engagement in the informal economy. There are two main reasons for this. First and foremost, the concept accounts for creative engagement. In particular it resonates with the work of researchers who have referred to a notion of creativity in the informal economy and cited Certeau's concept of tactics (Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992; 2008; and Dezuze, 2006). In addition de Certeau's overall approach accounts for a postcolonial perspective because he focuses on exploring the everyday, marginal practices and narratives of the 'other'.

As a result, I build my perspective of creativity in informal work contexts by drawing on de Certeau's (1988/1984) notion of tactics. As already mentioned, de Certeau does not, in fact, articulate a theory of creativity, but his notion of tactics is helpful to adopt as a way of explaining creativity. This is because it does not focus on new and useful outcomes, but instead reflects a process wherein a person tactically uses their constraints to their advantage in order to take advantage of chance opportunities. This perspective is useful for explaining creativity in informal work contexts because it is able to account for the fact that people bodily engage in informal work and are pushed to overcome constraints because they lack opportunities. This latter point is acknowledged in the work of Jones (2010b), Scheper-Hughes (1992; 2008) and Dezuze (2006), who all suggest (drawing on de Certeau, 1988/1984) that tactics are creative acts which allow people to survive harsh conditions such as crisis within contexts where work is interpreted as informal. A further aspect which highlights the value of de Certeau's (1988/1984) perspective is that it has been interpreted to reflect local forms of engagement in several countries across Africa and Latin America. For example, as already highlighted, Jones relates tactics to the Zimbabwean concept of *kukiya-kiya*, which encapsulates survival tactics that are a response to crisis. Scheper-Hughes (1992; 2008) refers to *jeitos*, which are tactics of resilience in hardship in Brazil, and Dezuze (2006) relates tactics to the Mexican notion of *valemadrismo*, which is the capacity to turn misfortune into an advantage[8]. The relevance of this is that although this concept is essentially constituted from a western theoretical perspective, it can be reconstituted to explain non-western theoretical perspectives and applied to explain how people creatively engage in informal work practices.

2.6.1 Conceptual perspective

Following these perspectives and drawing on de Certeau's (1988/1984) concept of tactics, I view creativity as the tactical subversion (or construction) of space within an order, wherein a person uses what is constraining them to their advantage in order to take action. It involves the ability to be 'in-between' (engage in plurality), take advantage of chance opportunities that may arise at any given moment, and use what one already has at hand (re-use). As I have already pointed out, this is markedly different to the predominant way of interpreting

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[8] Tactics are also interpreted locally as *debrouiller* in Cameroon (Waage, 2006) and *dubriagem* in Guinea Bissau (Vigh, 2006b), but these authors do not refer to creativity.

creativity in the work-related creativity literature, which focuses on new and useful organisational outputs. Overall, given that I am explaining creativity in an alternative work context, this is the most appropriate approach to adopt because it not only accounts for forms of engagement that are prevalent in the informal sector, but is also able to account for non-western theoretical perspectives. I have subsequently used this perspective in an exploratory manner to explore my concept of creativity in contexts of informal work.

I will now reflect further on the conceptual perspective I have employed in terms of what the model is; how it has high quality in relation to the literature; and how the notion of creativity relates to my results - i.e. the stories I have written. The conceptual perspective I have employed is not an extended theory but a conceptual perspective that explains how people engage in creative work practices in the informal sector. I have elaborated on these explanations by collecting ethnographic narrative data and presenting narratives of creative engagement. This is in keeping with de Certeau's approach whereby he avoids presenting an extended theory and focuses on ethnographic and narrative details. The conceptual perspective that I have proposed has high 'quality' (e.g. Tsui, 2004) in relation to the literature because it resonates with the work of local[9] authors (Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992; 2008; and Dezuze, 2006), who have mentioned that the informal sector is a creative area of work. As Tsui (2004) argues, an essential aspect of high-quality indigenous research is that it should incorporate, and resonate with, literature by authors who write about local non-western contexts, as opposed to incorporating theories from the west. As I have pointed out, these authors have cited de Certeau's notion of tactics when referring to forms of engagement in local, non-western contexts - i.e. *kukiya-kiya* in Zimbabwe, *jeito* in Brazil and *valemadrismo* in Mexico. As such, although de Certeau's (1988/1984) concept of creative tactics is a western theory, it can be reconstituted to explain creative engagement in non-western contexts because it resonates with local forms of engagement in the informal sector. In addition to this, my postcolonial perspective also mirrors de Certeau's focus on highlighting marginality and 'otherness'. Finally, the notion of creativity I propose fits with my results (i.e. my narratives in the three story chapters) as an exemplar. I use it to demonstrate numerous examples of creative engagement in the context of informal work wherein each narrative presents different manifestations of creative engagement from the individual perspective of informal workers.

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[9] In this respect 'local' refers to the informal sector in non-western contexts rather than a single cultural context.

Following on from my conceptual perspective, I propose five research questions to help guide my research:

1) *How and why do people engage in informal work?*

   (This question will help me to reflect on the types of informal work that people engage in, as well as understand why they engage in it, and what actions are involved in this).

2) *How do people tactically subvert (or construct) space by using what is constraining them to their advantage, and thus take action?*

   (This question will help me to understand how people use their constraints to their advantage in order to take action).

3) *How do people take action by using what they have at hand and/or taking advantage of chance opportunities that may arise at any given moment?*

   (This question will help me to understand how people take action through chance occurrences or by re-using what they already have).

4) *How can I account for local engagement and informal work practices using my methodology?*

   (I will use this question to determine the most appropriate methodology to use in my research, and way to design my methodology).

5) *How can creative work practices best be presented so as to allow the perspective of participants to be heard?*

   (I will use this question to determine how I can best account for the perspective of the individuals who will be involved in my research).

The first three questions will help me to explore the above perspective in my research and explain creativity. Questions 4 and 5 are relevant for guiding the methodology of my research which I outline in the following chapter. In the following section I explain the methodology of my study. I give an overview of the narrative and ethnographic methods I have employed, and explain how I have translated the data I collected from the informal sector into the narratives in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

3 Research Methodology and Design

In this chapter I explain my research methodology and design. Given that my research is exploratory and that I am seeking to understand a hitherto unexplored perspective of creativity in informal work settings in non-western contexts, it is essential for me to use methodologies which are able to account for the engagement in this type of work setting. In particular the unique dynamics and social interaction of this setting, as well as the perspectives of informal workers. I decided that this would best be accomplished if I were able to interact with people engaging in informal work and thus understand from their perspective how and why they did so, and subsequently relate this back to my conceptual perspective of creativity. After exploring the alternative methodologies available, as well as the dynamics of informal work, I believe that a combination of ethnography and storytelling is the most locally reflective (Tsui, 2004) approach to use. To conduct my research, I framed my study as an ethnography and collected data through a variety of narrative methods so that I could understand the perspective of research participants and the phenomena I have explored as fully as possible. The main data collection methods I used were narratives (gained through social dialogue), observations and audio-visual material such as photography and videography.

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of my research is to explore the concept of creativity in the context of informal work. I aim to develop a conceptual perspective to articulate this, develop a methodology to explore this concept in practice, and use stories to illustrate creative engagement in the context of informal work. I do so by exploring the five research questions which I highlighted in the previous chapter:

1) *How and why do people engage in informal work?*

2) *How do people tactically subvert (or construct) space by using what is constraining them to their advantage, and thus take action?*

3) *How do people take action by using what they have at hand and/or taking advantage of chance opportunities that may arise at any given moment?*

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4) How can I account for local engagement and informal work practices using my methodology?

5) How can creative work practices best be presented so as to allow the perspective of participants to be heard?

Given this, in the following chapter I explore the available research methodologies in order to justify the approach that I have ultimately taken to explore creativity in the context of informal work. This chapter includes six main sections. In section one I begin by first giving an explanation of the informal sector in order to highlight what kind of work dynamics and practices this encompasses. In section two I explain my philosophical position. In the third section I outline a range of different research strategies and explain that a combination of ethnography and narrative inquiry as 'narrative ethnography' is the most appropriate approach to use in my research. In the subsequent section I elaborate on my chosen methodologies. Here I give an overview of different ways in which these have been applied in the literature, and highlight methods (of data collection, analysis and presentation) that are commonly used. In the fifth section I explain how I designed my research and highlight the specific methods that I incorporated to undertake my research. Within this section I also explain how I evaluated the quality of my research by engaging in reflexivity. In the sixth and final section, I summarise the main points of this chapter.

3.2 The Informal Sector

I will first start by giving a more detailed explanation of what the informal sector is so as to illustrate the work setting in which I have undertaken my research. Since the aim of my research is to explore creativity in the informal sector, it is important for me to define this type of work and give an explanation of the unique dynamics and social interaction in this work setting as a first step in building a locally reflective methodology. First, I explain the origins of the term and define this concept. Following this, I highlight the kinds of work activities that people often engage in. In addition, I highlight some particularities of the informal sector in Africa because this is where I have undertaken my research.

The concept of the informal sector originates from a study about a third world context (Gërxhani, 2004). The social anthropologist Keith Hart (1973; 1970) was the first person to

bring this concept to academic literature after he observed and studied it in Ghana. He used the concept to describe a part of the urban labour force, which works outside the formal labour market. The terms formal and informal (sector/ economy) became more widely used because the International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted this terminology in the 1970s (Hansen and Vaa, 2004). Over time, the concept has gained prominence because of the permanence of the informal economy and the recognition of the large amount of people who work in it worldwide (Chen, 2007).

Most definitions of the informal economy emphasise the legality or regulation of work. For example, Castells and Portes (1989) define it as a specific form of income-generating relationships which are unregulated by the institutions of society, but in an environment in which similar activities are regulated. The implication is that there is some sort of absence or insufficiency of work relative to the legitimate economy where informal work is seen as 'other' to formal legitimate work (Latouche, 1993). However, despite the high emphasis on legality, it is interesting to note that although authorities may think of these activities as unlawful, they are often considered to be legitimate by the people who engage in them because, for them, these are normal and everyday practices (Hansen and Vaa, 2004). This is especially the case in developing countries. Here, informal sector activities are often not considered to be unlawful because they simply represent a survival strategy for the people who engage in them (Hussmanns, 2005). In fact, the informal economy in the developing world differs greatly from that of the developed world because it is linked with survival (Gërxhani, 2004), rather than the evasion of formal regulations (Leonard, 2000).

The informal sector is a diverse sector of work which people engage in for many different reasons (Leonard, 2000). In most cases, people engage in this kind of work because they are excluded from the formal economy for some reason (Williams, 2010). Often the most visible form of informal work is street-vending, but the majority of people work in small workshops or are self-employed and work from home (Thomas, 1992). There are a number of reasons why people engage in informal work (employment) in Africa. In his pioneering study, Hart (1973) reasoned that it was due to price inflation, inadequate wages, and that the urban labour market did not have enough employment for the number of workers. Hansen and Vaa (2004) argue that it is the collapse of the State that has given rise to the informal economy because it cannot provide adequate facilities or employment for workers. As already mentioned, Gërxhani (2004) refers to survival as a defining feature of the informal sector. In addition,

there are many workers in the formal economy who supplement their income by engaging in informal activities (Hansen and Vaa, 2004; Meagher, 1995).

In Africa, the number of people working in the informal sector is growing and more than half the adult population is in some kind of informal employment (Hansen and Vaa, 2004). This is higher than developed countries and many other developing countries (ILO, 2002). In particular, the informal economy in Africa is characterised by a high degree of self-employment. For example, in the 1990s the ILO estimated that 70% of all informal activities in urban Africa were by those engaged in self-employment (ILO, 2002; 2009). This illustrates a trend towards more individuals simply creating work for themselves when there is no formal work to be found. There are also changes taking place in the informal sector in Africa, such as the engagement of new kinds of people. For example, it was previously a male-dominated way of working but it is now becoming more commonplace for women and youth to work in this area as well (Hansen and Vaa, 2004). Recently, informal employment has grown to be a larger source of employment for women than for men in the developing world, because women and youth often have no other choice but to engage in the informal economy for their livelihood and survival (ILO, 2009).

The notion of informal economy has two main implications for the development of my methodology. First, since this area of work is not regulated and many people (particularly in Africa) are self-employed, the implication is that this type of work is not easy to keep track of and likely to change constantly. This is particularly because there are no formal procedures to go by and work depends predominantly on the (unregulated) actions of the individual who engages in it. The second point is that the most visible types of informal work activities take place in the street, although this is not where most of this work takes place. Thus, the most accessible examples of informal work are found on the streets, but this may only capture a limited perspective of informal work activities. Drawing on this, any research methodology or research design used to explore informal work activities needs to account for constant change, and the fact that work is not defined by place but is highly dependent on the individual.

3.3 Philosophical Position and Research Philosophy

Having established that my research involves understanding how and why people creatively engage in informal work, as well as the unique dynamics and social interaction in this work setting, the next important point to establish is my research philosophy. In any research that is practically undertaken, the research philosophy that is adopted reflects important assumptions about the way in which a researcher views the (social) world, including what constitutes reality (ontology), knowledge (epistemology) and the researcher's involvement in the research (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009).

I have compiled five research philosophies in Figure 3.1. There are five common western/European philosophies: positivism, (critical) realism, interpretivism, and postmodernism, which I draw from a number of authors (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Ackroyd, 2004; Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009). In addition there is also a perspective on postcolonial philosophy drawn from the sources discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2, but particularly from Bell (2002), who discusses different perspectives on African philosophy. In this table, I have included for each perspective: the researcher's view of ontology (reality), epistemology (knowledge), axiology (values) and the data collection methods most often used (following Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009), as well as the model for human relationships, and the overarching goal of the perspective (following Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006).

The relevance of highlighting these perspectives is to explain the philosophical orientation I have taken in my research. Since my research involves understanding how and why people creatively engage in informal work, the most applicable western/European philosophy is interpretivism. The reason for this is that interpretivism refers to the way in which humans attempt to make sense of the world around them, and the ultimate aim of this philosophical orientation is to promote understanding of (organisational) life. It accepts that knowledge is particular to specific situations, that reality is constructed though social interaction, but that subjective meanings motivate individual actions (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009).

Figure 3.1 Philosophical Perspectives

	Western/European philosophies*				African Philosophy****
	Positivism	Realism/ Critical Realism**	Interpretivism	Postmodernism	Postcolonial philosophy
Ontology: the researcher's view of the nature of reality or being	External, objective and independent of social actors	Objective; Exists independent of human thoughts and beliefs or knowledge of their existence (realist), but is interpreted through social conditioning (critical realist)	Socially constructed, subjective, may change, multiple	Fragmented; Constantly shifting and fluid plurality	Locally constituted
Epistemology: the researcher's view regarding what constitutes acceptable knowledge	Only observable phenomena can provide credible data, facts. Focus on causality and law like generalisations, reducing phenomena to simplest elements	Observable phenomena provide credible data, facts. Insufficient data means inaccuracies in sensations (direct realism). Or, phenomena create sensations which can be misinterpreted (critical realism). Focus on explaining within a context	Knowledge is particular. Subjective meanings of social phenomena. Focus upon the details of situation, a reality behind these details, subjective meanings motivating actions	Provisional, developed through exposure and experience	Local perspectives, subjective meanings
Axiology: the researcher's view of the role of values in research	Research is undertaken in a value-free way, the researcher is independent of the data and maintains an objective stance	Research is value-laden; researcher is biased by world views, cultural experiences and upbringing, which impact on research	Research is value-bound, the researcher is part of what is being researched, cannot be separated & will be subjective	Values are socially constructed though should be interrogated though personal reflection	Ethical value of knowledge should be questioned
Model of human relationships	Hierarchy	Network of relationships/structures	Community	Self-determination	Collective
Data collection techniques/ Methods most often used	Highly structured, large samples, measurement, quantitative, but can use qualitative; Surveys, interviews	Methods chosen must fit subject matter, quantitative or qualitative. Multiple data e.g. surveys, observation, ethnography	Small samples, in-depth investigations, qualitative; Participant observation, ethnographic interviewing	Deconstruction, critique of theorising practice	Methods which account for perspective of participants e.g. narratives and discourses of minorities via ethnography
Results/ outputs	Prescriptions for management practice	Theory which identifies causal mechanisms	Narrative texts, case studies, ethnographies	Reflexive accounts	Accounts which give voice. E.g. Narrative texts, oral narratives
Overarching goal	Prediction and control	Meaning though reason	Understanding	Freedom	Critique/questioning of Eurocentrism/western dimensions

Notes:

* Continental philosophical perspectives based on Burrell and Morgan (1979); Hatch and Cunliffe (2006:56) and Saunders et al. (2009:119).

** Some aspects of Critical realism drawn from Ackroyd (2004).

*** African philosophical perspective based on postcolonial philosophy extrapolated from Bell (2002), and reference to postcolonialism in Chapter 2, section 2.2.

Research Methodology and Design: A Focused Narrative Ethnography

However, since interpretivism is a western philosophical perspective, this presents a discord in terms of its applicability in non-western contexts (Bell, 2002). My intention is not to construct an African theory of creativity, but to acknowledge that I have conducted my research in an African country, Zimbabwe. As such, it is not useful to focus specifically on African philosophy (e.g. Dompere, 2006), but it is necessary to pose two questions. First, whether interpretivism is relevant to use in a non-western context, and second whether it is able to account for the ways of life in this locality. Bell (2002) presents a potential counter to this when he highlights that interpretive inquiry has become highly cross-disciplinary across different cultures. In particular, interpretive perspectives have been employed in non-western research particularly because it is used to generate understanding of local perspectives.

This may (to an extent) answer the first question, but does not shed light on the second; i.e. is an interpretivist philosophical position able to account for the ways of life in a non-western locality? This is answered partly by Bell's (2002) point that it is used to generate understanding of local perspectives, but this does not reflect ways in which local knowledge may be expressed or shared, or the reasons for expression. For this, I draw on postcolonial philosophy (Said, 1978; Banerjee and Prasad, 2008; Prasad, 2003; Prasad, 1997; Young, 2008; Fenkel and Shenhav, 2006; Muecke, 1992; Nkomo, 2011) because it critically accounts for and seeks to highlight local, minority, perspectives that are unheard. For example, it could be argued that since the creativity of informal work is unaccounted for in the work-related creativity literature, it could also be argued that individuals working in this way are the minority since their voices are not heard. In addition, postcolonial philosophy also accounts for the high emphasis on the narrative aspect of African (and other non-western) philosophies. For example, Bell (2002) refers to narrative as the essence of a dialogical nature of knowing, and states that it is a point of access into the world of others (in Africa) since it helps us to know others' ways of seeing their world. I emphasise African narrative since this is the context of my research, but narrative (or storytelling) is equally valued, in many cultures, as a form of communication that is fundamentally tied to the expression of worldviews and values (Benham, 2007).

Thus, to effectively answer the research questions I have posed, I draw on interpretivist and critical postcolonial philosophies and adopt a 'critical interpretivist' perspective (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000; Jack and Westwood, 2006; Frenkel, 2008) that incorporates a critical postcolonial lens. This perspective enables me to conduct an interpretive study of creativity in the informal

sector, which is grounded in critical (postcolonial) philosophy (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000). This will first involve critically problematising (Alvesson and Sandberg, 2011) current knowledge to ascertain how non-western perspectives are currently accounted for in knowledge and, following this, gaining insight into social phenomena (Saunders and Thornhill, 2009) in a manner which accounts for local non-western perspectives (Frenkel 2008; Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006; Westwood, 2001). This extends to the incorporation of methodologies that allow interpretive research but also account for and highlight forms of engagement in the local context of research (Tsui, 2004). In the case of this research, it is essential to account for the local dynamics of work - i.e. informal work context - as well as the narrative and dialogical aspect of knowing, worldviews and values that are highlighted by postcolonial and non-western perspectives (Bell, 2002; Benham, 2007). In the following section I discuss a range of available, qualitative methodologies that may be applicable to use in this research.

3.4 Available Methodologies

Given that my philosophical perspective underpins research aimed at gaining meaning and understanding of social phenomena in a manner which accounts for local non-western perspectives, in this section I identify and reflect on a number of qualitative research strategies. It is important for me to highlight the main purposes of different strategies that are available as this helps to demonstrate why the strategy (and methodologies) I have ultimately chosen is the most relevant for the context of my research. I have identified five main research strategies within the literature. These are: case study, action research, grounded theory, ethnography and narrative inquiry (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009; Bryman and Bell, 2007; Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). I give a brief overview of each research design in Figure 3.2 to highlight the main purposes and objectives of each.

Each of the strategies I have outlined in Figure 3.2 is useful for undertaking different kinds of research, because they all have different orientations towards how research is conducted, such as the aim of the research, what kinds of questions are asked, or what is considered as appropriate data. As a way of evaluating the applicability of these research strategies, I draw on Yin (2009:8) who proposes three conditions that can be used to evaluate and compare research strategies or methods. I find Yin's approach useful for highlighting the advantages and disadvantages of the research strategies and for evaluating which are most applicable for my

research. The three conditions refer to: 1) the kind(s) of research question(s) posed (e.g. who, what, where, how many, how much, how and why); 2) the extent of control a researcher has over behavioural events (or over research participants, I add); and 3) the extent to which the approach focuses on contemporary as opposed to historical events. However, in addition to these I also add two more conditions following the critical angle of postcolonial philosophy which I pointed to in Chapter 2 (Said, 1978; Muecke, 1992; Bell, 2002). These are 4) the ability to account for (local) perspectives of participants; and 5) the ability to allow the 'voice' of participants to be heard. I have tabulated these five conditions in Figure 3.3 to illustrate how they relate to the main research designs in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Brief Outlines of Five Qualitative Research Designs

Research Design	Brief outline of approach
Case Studies	Case study research involves the investigation of contemporary phenomena in a real life setting via multiple sources of evidence. Sources include interviews, observation, documentary analysis and questionnaires (Robson, 2002). This strategy is usually used when the boundaries between the phenomena and context that it is within are not clearly defined (Yin, 2009). The strength of this approach is that it enables a rich understanding of the context as well as the processes that are taking place within it (Morris and Wood, 1991).
Action Research	Action research is a very specific kind of strategy which addresses real life problems within a context. It does so by conducting research *in* action as opposed to research *about* action (Coghlan and Brannick, 2005). The research usually takes place over matters which are of genuine concern to organisational members and involves the resolution of organisational issues along with those who are directly impacted by these issues. In this way, researchers are involved in a democratic partnership with organisational members (Eden and Huxham, 1996).
Grounded Theory	Grounded theory is attributed to Glaser and Strauss (1967). This strategy was developed with the intention of first predicting and explaining behaviours and using these to build theory (Goulding, 2002). As a result, data is collected without an established prior framework. It is collected and analysed iteratively until a theory emerges. It is only after this point that the data is related to prior theoretical perspectives (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009).
Ethnography	Ethnography originated in anthropology (Linstead, 1997) and is used to describe and explain the social (and organisational) world. It involves the study of people's behaviour in everyday contexts as it takes place. A researcher will typically be immersed in the social world and extensively observe participants' behaviour. Data is collected from a large range of sources but observation and informal conversations are the most common methods (Hammersley, 1988). It is participant-centred, and is therefore appropriate for gaining insights about contexts and understanding it from the perspective of those involved. It is also relevant for making overlooked aspects explicit (Ybema *et al.*, 2009b).

Narrative	Narrative inquiry is the explicit study of narratives, stories or descriptions of a series of events. It is both a method of study, as well as a simultaneous phenomenon of study. It is based on experience that is expressed in lived and told stories as it assumes that the story form is the basic unit that accounts for human experience (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007). As such, narrative is interpreted as a common form of communication through which people tell stories for many different purposes (Czarniawska, 2004).

Given that I am exploring how and why people creatively engage in informal work, and am seeking to understand this from a local perspective, I could have chosen any one of the five strategies (following Figure 3.3). However, on reflection, action research would not be appropriate because it is concerned with directing change in particular contexts (Coghlan and Brannick, 2005; Eden and Huxham, 1996) and this is not an aim of my study. I also rule out grounded theory because it is aimed at first collecting data without an established prior framework (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Goulding, 2002), and this is an approach that I have clearly not taken in my study. This leaves case study, ethnography and narrative inquiry.

Figure 3.3 Relevant Situations for Different Research Methods

Research Design/ Method	Form of research question	Requires control over behavioural events/ participants?	Focuses on Contemporary events?	Able to account for (local) perspective?	Able to allow 'voice' to be heard?
Case Studies	How, why, what	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Action Research	Concerns change	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Grounded Theory	How, why	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ethnography	How, why	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Narrative	How, why	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Notes:	Table adapted from Yin (2009:8) with additional sources (Saunders *et al.* 2009; Pinnegar and Daynes, 2008).				

At this point it is worth taking a look at the kinds of approaches used in the literature. I will refer to literature which I reviewed in Chapter 2 and explore the methodological approaches employed in the work-related creativity literature (in Figure 2.2), as well as the literature which refers to creativity in the informal sector in non-western contexts (in Figure 2.4). I have tabulated all of the empirical literature discussing work-related creativity in Figure 3.4. This table highlights that an overwhelming majority of this literature has employed quantitative methods, particularly using questionnaires to collect data. Some of these also incorporate qualitative methods, mainly in the form of interviews but also through observation, informal discussions, narratives and project assessment. Strikingly, there are only six studies which have used wholly qualitative methods (Hargadon and Bechky, 2006; Hargadon and Sutton, 1997; Andriopoulos and Lowe, 2000; Amabile and Gryskiewicz, 1987; Hempel, Sue-Chan and Christina, 2010; Kazanjian, Drazin and Glynn, 2000).

This highlights the overwhelming reliance on the use of quantitative approaches in the study of work-related creativity. Another striking revelation is that there are very few studies that explicitly mention the use of case studies (Kazanjian, Drazin and Glynn, 2000; Mambula and Sawyer, 2004), ethnography (Hargadon and Bechky, 2006; Hargadon and Sutton, 1997; Sutton & Hargadon, 1996) or narratives (Amabile *et al.*, 2004; Amabile *et al.*, 2005). For instance, Kazanjian *et al.*, (2000) employed a case study approach to explore the process of creativity in large organisational projects; and Mambula and Sawyers (2004) used this approach to understand and identify the performance factors of an informal organisation. The ethnographic studies were all conducted to explore the process of creative problem-solving in organisations (Hargadon and Bechky, 2006; Hargadon and Sutton, 1997; Sutton & Hargadon, 1996). The studies which incorporated narratives (Amabile *et al.*, 2004; Amabile *et al.*, 2005), meanwhile, did so as minor parts of longitudinal research projects that explored the impact of work-place support and affect on employees. However, these narratives were not incorporated through the frame of narrative inquiry but via sub-sections of electronic questionnaires.

Figure 3.4: Methodologies Used to Conduct Empirical Research in Work-Related Creativity Literature (literature taken from Figure 2.3)

Author(s)	Research approach / design	Methodology	Quantitative methods of data collection		Qualitative methods of data collection						Secondary methods of data collection		Presentation of research
			Survey/quest.	Simulation	Interviews	Observation	Focus Groups	Narratives	Informal discussion	Project assessment	Historical	Org. materials	
Amabile & Gryskiewicz (1987)	CIT**	Qualitative			✓								Text based
Amabile & Conti (1999)	Longitudinal	Mixed	✓		✓								Text based
Amabile et al. (1996)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓										Text based
Amabile & Gryskiewicz (1989)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓										Text based
Amabile et al. (2004)	Longitudinal	Mixed	✓					In questionnaire					Text based
Amabile et al. (2005)	Longitudinal	Mixed	✓					In questionnaire					Text based
Andriopoulos & Low (2000)	Grounded Theory	Qualitative			✓								Text based
Armstrong (2002)	Historical	Secondary data									✓		Text based
Baer et al. (3003)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓										Text based
Basadur et al. (2002)	Field experiment	Quantitative	✓										Text based
Basadur (1992)	Unclear	Mixed	✓		✓	Visit companies							Text based
Cohen-Meitar et al. (2009)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓		✓*								Text based
Farmer et al. (2003)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓										Text based
Fong (2006)	Lab Experiment	Quantitative		✓									Text based
George & Zhou (2001)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓						✓*				Text based
George & Zhou (2002)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓										Text based
Gilson & Shalley (2004)	Unclear	Mixed	✓		✓	✓							Text based
Gilson et al. (2005)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓		✓								Text based
Gong et al. (2009)	Unclear	Mixed	✓		✓								Text based
Hargadon & Beckhy (2006)	Ethnography	Qualitative			✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	Text based
Hargadon & Sutton (1997)	Ethnography	Qualitative			✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	Text based
Hempel & Sue-Chan (2010)	Problem-solving tests	Qualitative			✓								Text based
Hirst et al. (2009)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓										Text based
Kaylén & Shani (2002)	Action Research	Mixed	✓			✓			✓				Text based
Kazanjian et al. (2000)	Case Study	Qualitative			✓		✓						Text based
Kratzer et al. (2008)	Unclear	Mixed	✓		✓								Text based
Kurtzberg & Mueller (2005)	Longitudinal	Mixed	✓					In questionnaire					Text based

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Reference	Design	Method type						Format
Madjar et al. (2002)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓					Text based
Mambula & Sawyer (2004)	Case Study	Mixed	✓	✓	✓		✓	Text based
Nemiro (2002)	Grounded Theory	Mixed	✓	✓	✓			Text based
Ohly et al. (2006)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓					Text based
Oldham & Cummings (1996)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓	✓				Text based
Pearson & Sommer (2011)	Lab Experiment	Quantitative	✓					Text based
Perry-Smith (2006)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓	✓*				Text based
Pirola-Merlo & Mann (2004)	Longitudinal	Quantitative	✓					Text based
Rasulzada & Dackert (2009)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓					Text based
Shalley (1991)	Lab Experiment	Quantitative	✓	✓				Text based
Shalley (1995)	Lab Experiment	Quantitative	✓	✓				Text based
Shalley et al. (2000)	Unclear	Mixed	✓	✓				Text based
Shin & Zhou (2003)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓					Text based
Sohn & Jung (2010)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓					Text based
Sommer & Pearson (2007)	Lab Experiment	Quantitative	✓	✓	✓	✓		Text based
Sutton & Hargadon (1996)	Ethnography	Mixed	✓	✓	✓			Text based
Taggar (2002)	Experiment/ CIT	Quantitative	✓					Text based
Tierney & Farmer (2002)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓					Text based
Tierney & Farmer (2004)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓					Text based
Troyer & Youngreen (2009)	Lab Experiment	Quantitative	✓	✓				Text based
Zhou (1998)	Lab Experiment	Quantitative	✓	Role play				Text based
Zhou (2003)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓					Text based
Zhou & George (2001)	Cross-sectional	Quantitative	✓					Text based

Notes:

*Interviews and discussions were not the main method of data collection in these studies, and were used to decide which participants to include in survey.

** CIT: Critical incident technique

Another prominent find is that all of this literature is presented in textual format. This may include diagrams to illustrate theoretical points, but there are no visual or narrative 'illustrations' of how the process of creativity takes place - only textual description. This is surprising considering the complexity of creativity as a concept - but may be explained by the focus on determining causal relationships rather than how and why creativity takes place. Overall, I draw from this literature that there is an overwhelming use of quantitative methods (such as questionnaires) used to study creativity, and very few wholly qualitative studies. In addition, in terms of the research which has employed ethnography, case studies and narratives; both case study and ethnographic approaches have been used to explore creativity as a process, while narrative inquiry has not been used as an overall approach in any study. Furthermore, all of the studies have only used text-based methods to present their research. Finally, the majority of this literature has been conducted in an organisational setting and there is only one study (Mambula and Sawyers, 2004) which indicates a methodological approach used in an informal work setting. As a result, I have also explored the methodological orientation of the literature covered in Chapter 2, which refers to creativity in the informal sector in non-western contexts to reflect on the approaches used by these authors (see Figure 3.5).

The table highlights the academic literature ethnography and case study approaches that have been used. For instance, do Soto (1989) used a case study approach to explain what the informal sector is and does in Peru, and (as I already mentioned) Mambula and Sawyer (2004) use this approach to understand and identify the performance factors of an informal organisation. Mawowa and Matongo (2010), on the other hand, use ethnography to understand the dynamics of roadside currency-trading in Zimbabwe and how this was fuelling the informal sector. Finally, Scheper-Hughes (1992) used an extensive ethnographic approach (with a high emphasis on narrative inquiry) to understand how people live and work in the Alto do Cruzeiro *favela* (slum) in Brazil, as well as to highlight and celebrate the ways of life and voices of the *favelados* (slum-dwellers). From these, it is clear that the aims of Scheper-Hughes' (1992) work are the most reflective of the aims of my thesis, i.e. to understand how and why people engage creatively in informal work from the perspective of those engaged in this kind of work, and to highlight their voices because this area of creative work is unaccounted for.

Figure 3.5 Research Methodologies Used to Study the Informal Sector (literature taken from Figure 2.3)

Author(s)	Work setting	Research approach / strategy	Qualitative methods						Quantitative methods	Secondary sources	Outputs	Goals of methodology
			Interviews	Observation	Diary entries	Narratives	Visual methods	Participation				
Anderson (1988)	Informal sector	Economic modelling							Economic modelling		Growth prediction	Ascertain growth in sector
Anderson (2010)	Slums	Documentary	Interviews				Video recording				Visual documentary	Highlight/celebrate ways of life
Bendiksen (2008)	Slums	Photography					photographs				Photographic compilation	Highlight/celebrate ways of life
Dezeuze (2006)	Slums	Theoretical								Examples of art installations	Examples of art installations	Highlight/celebrate ways of life
do Soto (1989)	Informal sector	Case study	Interviews	Observation			photographs		Economic modelling		Case study & photographs	Explain what sector is
Jones (2010)	Informal sector	(Unclear)			Solicited diary entries					Television	Text	Understand dynamics
Konnings, et al. (2006)	Informal sector	Theoretical	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mambula & Sawyer (2004)	Informal sector org.	Case study	Interviews	Observation					Survey	Historical data	Case study	Understand dynamics
Mawowa & Matongo (2010)	Informal sector	Ethnography	Semi-structured interviews	Observation				Participation			Ethnography	Understand dynamics
Pieterse (2005)	Informal sector	Theoretical (advise ethnography)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scheper-Hughes (1992)	Slums	Ethnography	Interviews	Observation		Narratives	photographs	Participation			Ethnography & Narratives	Understand dynamics/ celebrate ways of life

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It is also useful to reflect on these strategies in relation to the philosophical perspective that I employ, i.e. critical interpretivism with a critical postcolonial lens. In Figure 3.1, I highlighted the types of methodologies that aspects of my philosophical perspective are associated with. I point out that interpretivism is associated with qualitative strategies such as narrative inquiry, ethnography and case studies (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009), while postcolonial philosophy is associated with the narratives and discourses (of minorities), as well as ethnographic approaches (Muecke, 1992; Bell, 2002). A common thread is the focus on narrative and ethnographic forms of inquiry of some sort because these perspectives capture meaning and understanding of situated perspectives and local forms of engagement.

Thus, although ethnographic and narrative forms of inquiry appear to be more strongly associated with the philosophical approach of my research, as well as with research that has similar aims to my own research (i.e. Scheper-Hughes, 1992), this still does not rule out a case study approach. All three strategies are relevant for undertaking in-depth explorations of how and why 'something' has taken place, focus on contemporary events, and are able to account for a local perspective and participant voice. However, it is clear that ethnography and narrative inquiry are the most able to account for forms of engagement in informal work settings, as well as for local perspectives of informal workers.

First, ethnography is particularly participant-centred, and is therefore appropriate for gaining insights about contexts and understanding them from the multi-vocal (many voices) perspective of those involved (Ybema et al., 2009b). In addition, this approach emphasises the need to be flexible and responsive to change (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009), and that data collection is often unstructured and does not involve a detailed plan of action (Hammersley, 1988). These points reflect that this approach is able to account for the unique dynamics of informal work settings - in particular the constant change and flux - and that work is not necessarily tied to a fixed place and is highly dependent on the individual.

Second, narrative inquiry assumes that the story form is the basic unit that accounts for human experience and is based on experience expressed in lived and told through stories (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007). A particular advantage of this approach is that it reflects the way people naturally communicate (Benham, 2007; Czarniawska, 2004). As well as this, it is able to vividly reflect the perspective and voice of the narrator or characters in the story (Leavy, 2009), thus making the perspective of the individual prominent, and also at the same time bring theories vividly to life (Phillips, 1995). As a result, this approach is able to account for the perspective

and voice of the individual, and reflects that in Zimbabwe (as well as elsewhere), there is a high cultural emphasis and value placed on narrative communication. Although a case study approach could be used (e.g. Mambula and Sawyer, 2004; de Soto, 1989), I do not feel that it would adequately account for the contextual or cultural dynamics. A further advantage of narrative inquiry is that it places an emphasis on the use of narratives in the final presentations (outputs) of research (Rhodes, 2001; Rhodes and Brown, 2005). The advantage of this over a case study approach is that narrative presentation enables a more vivid illustration of complex forms of engagement such as creativity. As a result I decided to use both ethnography and narrative enquiry as two complementary research strategies because these approaches are able to account for the unique dynamics of the work setting that I am exploring. Ethnography is a useful approach for going in to this field and collecting data because it reflects the unique dynamics of this work setting. Narrative inquiry is relevant because it accounts for the way that people normally communicate in Zimbabwe (and other similar contexts), and so does not impose foreign structures in terms of the way people share their experiences. In the following section I will give a detailed overview of these approaches.

3.5 Overview of Chosen Methodologies: Towards a Focused Narrative Ethnography

Ethnography and narrative inquiry are usually described as two different methodological approaches (Gubrium and Holstein, 2010). However, there are certainly overlaps between them - in terms of methods of data collection, analysis and presentation. In addition, there is recent work referring to the notion of 'narrative ethnography' (Gubrium and Holstein, 2010), which describes an intersection between these two approaches and involves the ethnographic scrutiny of social situations through narratives.

A notion of narrative ethnography already exists, but not in the same way that is proposed by Gubrium and Holstein (2010). This version refers to a particular form of ethnographic research output (Tedlock, 2004; Tedlock, 1992; Tedlock, 1991; Behar, 1996; Behar, 1993; Goulet, 1994; Thornton, 1983) that is limited to a narrative style of writing the ethnography as if it were a story. Gubrium and Holstein (2010), on the other hand, explain that narratives have different features depending on the context that they are formed in and thus present the need for an approach which bridges the intersection between narrative inquiry and ethnography. This

requires a direct and intense exploration of the field via narratives. The authors argue that analytical methods need to take into account what is said, how it is said, and also the conditions in which this takes place. This approach has been incorporated into a number of ethnographic studies (Chase, 1995; Gubrium, 1992; Marvasti, 2003; Miller, 1997; Weinberg, 2005), although it has not necessarily been recognised as such.

I ultimately draw on a combination of ethnography and narrative inquiry following Gubrium and Holstein (2010) wherein I explore my field - the informal sector - via local narratives. I have used ethnography primarily as a frame for my research design and within this I have placed a high emphasis on narrative methods of data collection, analysis and representation. In this section I give two separate overviews of ethnography and narrative inquiry (respectively) to present different methodological perspectives, and highlight accompanying methods of data collection, analysis and presentation that are proposed in the literature. In the subsequent section (3.6), I explain my research design - i.e. how I carried out my research - which I call a focused narrative ethnography, and I draw on the perspectives which I discuss in the current section.

3.5.1 Ethnography

In the following discussion I begin by outlining the main purpose of ethnographic study, before emphasising a selection of different ethnographic approaches that have shaped the direction of my research. I also give a brief overview of the methodologies I have drawn on. According to Mitchell (2007b), ethnography literally means 'writing culture'. It involves the study of people's behaviour in everyday contexts as it takes place. It is rooted in the description of specific cultures, societies and social contexts and involves a long-term immersion in a particular setting. The result is a (descriptive) account of peoples' lived experiences in this setting (Hammersley, 1988; Mitchell, 2007b; Hammersley, 1992; Davies, 1991; Yanow, Ybema and van Hulst, Forthcoming 2012). Ethnography originated in cultural anthropology (Linstead, 1997; Davies, 1991; Goulding, 2005; Obbo, 2006) and was used to describe and explain societies. The central concept remains dominant and has now become established across the social sciences. In fact, it has now become so established that it is often used as a general term to describe any long-term qualitative research (Mitchell, 2007b). However, it does have its own distinct aims and purposes.

Ethnography is a methodology that is particularly participant-centred because the main aim is to gain an understanding of people's experiences. This is achieved by focusing directly on the way in which people undertake certain actions in a particular context, and by understanding it from their perspective (Ybema *et al.*, 2009b; Yanow, Ybema and van Hulst, Forthcoming 2012). This allows a researcher to gain an understanding of people's interpretations from direct participation in their world (Obbo, 2006). To achieve this, a researcher will typically become immersed in the social world and extensively observe participants' behaviour. For example, a year's submersion in a locality is recommended (Sanday, 1979); however, if the subject of study belongs to the researcher's own society, then the requirement would be less because the researcher would have some pre-existing knowledge of the context in which their study is located (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009). Data is collected from a large range of sources, with observation and informal conversations being the most common methods (Hammersley, 1988; Mitchell, 2007b). The particular strengths of ethnographic research is that it is participant-centred (and is therefore appropriate for gaining insights about contexts and understanding it from the perspective of those involved) (Ybema *et al.*, 2009b) and it provides detailed, in-depth, close-up investigations (Neyland, 2008). There are many different takes on ethnographical research in various areas of study. These include organisation and management perspectives (Linstead, 1997; Yanow, Ybema and van Hulst, Forthcoming 2012; Neyland, 2008; Ybema *et al.*, 2009a), critical ethnography (Madison, 2005; Denzin, 2001; Noblit, Flores and Murillo, 2004; Thomas, 1993), focused ethnography (Knoblauch, 2005), and visual ethnography (Pink, 2007; Pink, 2005; Banks, 2001; Morphy and Banks, 1997; El Guindi, 2004). These are all relevant to my research and I will thus highlight them in more detail below to indicate how they have shaped the direction of my research.

Different Ethnographic Approaches

Organisational ethnography refers to studies which are conducted specifically in an organisational context where the topics of study are related either to organisation studies (Yanow, Ybema and van Hulst, Forthcoming 2012; Ybema *et al.*, 2009a; Yanow and Geuijen, 2009) or to ethnographic studies in management research (Neyland, 2008). From the perspectives of these authors, the purpose of ethnography is to understand organisations and their organising and management processes. Linstead (1997) holds a slightly different view, in that he suggests that ethnographic investigation and understanding (drawn from anthropology) is useful for conducting management research in non-western contexts because

it is sensitive to local cultural and historical experiences. The main reason I refer to organisational ethnography - in contrast to ethnography in wider terms - is to emphasise that this perspective is recognised (Linstead, 1997; Banerjee and Linstead, 2004) as a useful approach to take when conducting organisation and management research in non-western contexts, because it is sensitive to local experience. Furthermore, although I have not conducted my research in an organisational setting, my research is still relevant to organisation studies through my focus on creative work practices.

Following on from this reference to ethnographic study, which is sensitive to local cultural experiences, I also refer to critical ethnography (Madison, 2005; Denzin, 2001; Noblit, Flores and Murillo, 2004; Thomas, 1993). This approach is not only sensitive to local experiences but goes further in that a critical ethnographer takes a clear and active position in relation to their topic of study. Thomas (1993) refers to it as conventional ethnography that has a political stance, while Fine (1994) refers to it as an 'activism stance' because it exposes the effects of marginalised locations and also offers alternatives. Madison (2005) points out that it is concerned with a compelling duty (based on an ethics) to account for processes that are unfair or unjust. In this way, a critical ethnographer is driven to question the taken-for-granted assumptions by interrogating below the surface of appearances, highlight any imbalances in operations of power and control, and contribute to emancipation and address social justice. A further aspect of this perspective is that critical ethnographers should also question how their own actions (of studying and representing a domain) may be acts of domination during research (Noblit, Flores and Murillo, 2004). Although I have not conducted a critical ethnography per se in my research, I have found this a useful approach to reflect on because of its focus on ethical and reflexive conduct as well as the aim of questioning taken-for-granted assumptions and appearances. It has thus, in part, shaped my perspective of reflexivity which I discuss in section 3.6.5.

The third type of ethnography I highlight is focused ethnography (Knoblauch, 2005), which I draw heavily on. This is a very specific form of ethnography in which fieldwork is conducted according to a restricted timescale (e.g. Heath, vom Len and Knoblauch, 2001; Jirotka and Goguen, 1994; Imas and Weston, 2012) and is characterised by relatively short-term field visits. However, the limited timescales are compensated by the intensive use of audio-visual techniques during data collection and analysis - as such, length is substituted for by intensity. Criticisms of this kind of shorter approach point to the short timescales and that it is too

directed at specific objectives (Knoblauch, 2005). Knoblauch (2005) states, however, that this is simply one legitimate form of field work that is used under specific circumstances. Yanow and Guijen (2009) support this view by suggesting that there may be a case for faster, shorter ethnographic research in certain circumstances. Focused ethnography is similar to traditional ethnography in that it uses a mix of data, and the main purpose is to gain participants' perspectives. However, there are eight specific features of this approach: 1) Demands on time are compensated by intensity of data collection and analysis. 2) Data intensity is accommodated for by use of recording devices (e.g. tape recorders /video-cameras). 3) It concentrates on focused aspects of a field (i.e. via specific question). 4) It focuses on action, interaction and social institutions in which subject matter is verbal; as well as visual conduct and visual representation of objects. 5) It relies heavily on observation. 6) It requires background knowledge of how a field works. 7) Transcription of data is essential. 8) It is more applicable to studying interactions and activities (Knoblauch, 2005). Although this approach does have several criticisms, it is useful because it accounts for research settings that are bound by restricted timescales, as well as research in highly changeable settings (Knoblauch, 2005). For example, a colleague and I used this approach to conduct an ethnographic study in the slums and shanty towns of Brazil and Zimbabwe (Imas and Weston, 2012). We found this approach appropriate because we had limited timescales and were not able to spend extended amounts of time in the field. However, it was particularly useful for the type of setting because we focused on capturing interaction, activity and visual dynamics. As such, I have similarly drawn on this approach in my current research because it is able to account for the highly changing dynamics of the informal sector.

Knoblauch's (2005) focus on the audio-visual aspects of ethnography leads me to the topic of visual ethnography, which refers to the use of visual image as an approach to engaging in ethnography (Pink, 2007; Pink, 2005; Banks, 2001; Morphy and Banks, 1997; El Guindi, 2004; Harper, 1987). Visual imagery has become an increasing part of ethnographic research because it is an additional way of contributing to meaning (Chaplin, 1994; Pink, 2007, 2005) and illustrating complex engagement (Leavy, 2009). Images do not, necessarily, have to be the central focus of the research and should be incorporated when it is appropriate and enlightening to do so (Pink, 2007). This form of ethnography can be viewed as an entire approach in itself. I have referred to this approach because I have used it (in conjunction with focused ethnography) to capture and convey additional meaning and complexity of engagement that textual data is not able to convey. However, since I have not carried out my

research based wholly on visual imagery, I will refer to it in more detail in the following section, in relation to my methods of data collection and presentation.

Methods of Data Collection and Presentation of Data

In this section I highlight some perspectives on data collection and presentation that are associated with ethnography, and which were central in shaping my research design. I do not refer to data analysis in this section because I reflect on this in my overview of narrative inquiry. As I have already highlighted, ethnography is particularly participant-centred because it seeks to understand how people take action from their perspective (Ybema *et al.*, 2009b; Yanow, Ybema and van Hulst, Forthcoming 2012). Methods of data collection thus involve participation in the everyday lives of people, facilitating observation of particular behaviours and events and enabling open and meaningful discussion (Davies, 1991). In order to do this, a researcher becomes immersed in the social world of the participant. Data is collected from a large range of sources, with observation and informal conversations being the most common methods (Hammersley, 1988; Mitchell, 2007b). Other approaches include identifying key informants, conducting unstructured interviews, gathering life histories, carrying out surveys, collecting video and photographic material (Davies, 1991), and also narratives (Cortazzi, 2007). In traditional ethnography, data is usually collected in an unstructured manner. Data analysis tends to involve the search for patterns, and taking into consideration emic and etic interpretations (Goulding, 2005). There is no standard way of presenting data but it is usually organised around key themes or the participants' perspectives (Hammersley, 1988).

Although observation is the main form of data collection (Davies, 1991), and I do draw on this, I will briefly refer to the ethnographic interview and use of visual methods, because I have incorporated these perspectives into my process of narrative collection. The ethnographic interview is a particular kind of interview in which researchers establish respectful, ongoing relationships with their interviewees, and build a rapport which facilitates the exchange of ideas. It is distinguished by the quality of emerging relationships, and the way it is aimed at empowering interviewees to shape the exchange, questions asked and even focus of the study (Heyl, 2007). Since the purpose of ethnography is to explore the meaning of actions and events, the researcher's job is to genuinely communicate, during the course of the interview, the sentiment that "I want to know what you know in the ways that you know it." (Spradley, 1979:34). In addition, several researchers suggest that interviewing is a complex form of social interaction and that the subsequent interview data is co-produced through the interactions of

the interview (Mishler, 1986; Rubin and Rubin, 1995; Kvale, 1996; Maso and Wester, 1996; Michrina and Richards, 1996). Although I did not frame my data collection via interviews - rather a spontaneous collection of narratives through social dialogue - I reflected on these perspectives to determine how to shape my interactions with my research participants. An additional form of data which I collected was visual data. My emphasis in this approach was to treat these as representations and not facts (Pink, 2007; Banks, 2001). In this way, I incorporated the two most common formats: photographs and video footage. There are three main ways of collecting visual data: 1) Making representations (i.e. producing images to study society); 2) examining pre-existing images/representations about society; and 3) collaborating with social actors for the production of visual representations. I incorporated the first method because it enabled me to capture additional meaning and complexity of social interaction.

Finally, I will reflect on various methods of data presentation which are relevant to my research methodology. Hammersley (1988) states that there is no structure or format for how an ethnography should be presented. However, he does suggest that it may be organised either around key themes that emerge through analysis, or around the perspectives of the main participants. There are two approaches worth mentioning which apply to the style of presentation as opposed to the discussion of concepts. The first is the narrative approach to writing ethnographies, and the second is visual ethnographic narrative. This form of narrative ethnography - as I mentioned earlier - (Tedlock, 2004; Tedlock, 1992; Tedlock, 1991; Behar, 1996; Behar, 1993; Goulet, 1994; Thornton, 1983) refers to there being different genres of narrative output in ethnographic research. There are different approaches, such as monograph which is an exhaustive coverage of the topic; life history or memoire which conveys lived experience; and ethnographic dialogue which reflects on the narratives presented as well as the authors' participation (Tedlock, 1991). In addition, postmodern ethnographers have, more recently, highlighted the importance of authorship (i.e. first person voice) and emphasise that the overall form of presentation is an extremely important aspect of the research. The latter also encourage experimentation with the style of presentation (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009). I drew on Tedlock's (1991) narrative style of writing when constructing my stories (in Chapters 5, 6, and 7) to highlight each character's personal dialogue. I also used the first person style of authorship to write my thesis.

Furthermore, I incorporated visual data in two of my stories (in Chapters 6 and 7) in the form of visual ethnographic narrative (Pink, 2007; Harper, 1987; Edwards, 1997). There are three

main ways of going about this, and I have incorporated the first two. The first is the realist approach which simply documents or supports information, and parallels written text. The second is creative, expressive photography which parallels the use of stories (Edwards, 1997) and is produced in formats such as a photo-essay[10] (Pink, 2007; Pink, 2005), and videography (Heath, vom Len and Knoblauch, 2001; Knoblauch, 2009). I employed visual narrative presentation to contribute enhanced meaning of the engagements of certain individuals (Chaplin, 1994; Pink, 2007, 2005). My reference to narrative approaches takes me to the next methodological topic of discussion - narrative inquiry - which I discuss in the following section.

3.5.2 Narrative Inquiry

As with the previous section on methodology, I will also highlight the different narrative approaches that have shaped my research. As before, I will first give a brief overview of this methodological approach, and then point to various methods of data collection, analysis and representation I have drawn on. Narrative inquiry assumes that the story or narrative form is the basic unit that accounts for human experience. As such, this way of doing research is based explicitly on experience that is expressed in lived and told stories. From this perspective, reflecting on the narratives of others enables us to draw meaning about their existence, identities and social worlds (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007; Czarniawska, 2004; Bach, 2007; Riessman, 2008; Boje, 2001; Polkinghorn, 1988). Particular advantages of this approach are that it reflects the way people naturally communicate (Benham, 2007; Czarniawska, 2004), whilst at the same time emphasising the plurality of different possible narratives. In addition, this approach is able to highlight the unfolding of events and experiences (Rhodes and Brown, 2005; Boje, 2001; 2008), and has the ability to access intangible and complex aspects of social life and engagement (Leavy, 2009; Hendry, 2007).

The study of narrative has taken two turns (Gubrium and Holstein, 2010). The first was focused solely on exploring the internal organisation or structure of stories. From this perspective, accounts tell us how inner life relates to distinctive social worlds (Czarniawska, 2004; Riessman, 1990; Riessman, 1993; Cortazzi, 1993; Cortazzi, 1994; Leiblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber, 1998). However, this method of focusing only on the internal content or form of a

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[10] A book, article or other text produced mainly of photos.

narrative came to be seen as limiting because it does not account for the scene or setting that the story is narrated in, or for the fact that people tell stories in different ways and for different reasons. As a result, the second turn thus puts an emphasis on narrative as 'narrative practice'. This perspective takes us outside of the stories to also reflect on the practical actions and occasions associated with story construction (Gubrium and Holstein, 2010; Gubrium and Holstein, 2001; Holstein and Gubrium, 2000; Cortazzi, 2007; Riessman, 2008; Boje, 2001; Goffman, 1959; Bauman, 1986; Czarniawska, 2008; Boje, 2008; 1994). From this perspective, narrative practice refers to both the internal organisation of the story but also to the way that narratives are bodily practised in everyday life, for example how they are communicated, assembled, conveyed and received. In my research I have followed the second turn.

As with ethnography, narrative inquiry is also studied from a range of different perspectives. These include narratives (and storytelling) in organisation theory (Czarniawska, 2004; Phillips, 1995; Rhodes, 2001; Rhodes and Brown, 2005; Boje, 2008; Boje, 2001; Czarniawska, 2008; Boje, 1994; Boje, 1991; Boje, 1995; Boje, Gephart and Thatchenkery, 1996; Boje, 2007; Czarniawska, 1997; Czarniawska, 1999; Gabriel, 2000; Gabriel, 2004; Gabriel and Griffiths, 2004), embodied narratives (Sparks, 1999; Gibbs and Franks, 2002; Langellier and Peterson, 2004; Peterson and Langellier, 2006), cultural perspectives (Benham, 2007; Vambe, 2004; Vambe, 2001; Kabira, 1983; Ross, 1986), and postcolonial perspectives (Vambe, 2004; Tedmanson, 2008; Cheung, 2008). I will briefly discuss these in more detail below.

Different Approaches to Narrative Enquiry

Narratives (and storytelling) are employed in organisation theory because they are viewed as opening up windows into the symbolic, emotional, and political lives of organisations. They provide access to a deeper understanding of organisational realities and experiences (Gabriel, 2000; Gabriel and Griffiths, 2004) because they embody certain underlying knowledge about the organisation (Rhodes, 2001). For example, Gabriel (2000; 2004), as well as Gabriel and Griffiths (2004), proposed that organisations possess a living folklore which gives insights into the character of the organisation. Czarniawska (1999), on the other hand, argues that management and organisation theory is analogous to a literary genre. Boje (2008; 2001; 1994; 1991; 1995) refers to a storytelling organisation which he defines as a collective system of storytelling through which the performance of stories is an essential part of the sensemaking of organisational members. In particular, he argues that organisational stories are often not coherent, but chaotic and fragmented because they are continuously flowing and emerging. I

have highlighted these perspectives to illustrate that narrative research is a well-established approach for carrying out research in organisation studies. It is thus interesting in comparison that research about organisational creativity has not followed the same vein (as I indicated in my discussion in section 3.4). In this way I am extending an approach, which is commonly used in organisation theory, into the area of work-related creativity.

The notion of embodied narratives refers to the ways in which the body is accounted for in narrative research. The body has been explored in a number of ways. These include the examination of the body through narratives (Sparks, 1999), the bodily performance of narratives (Langellier and Peterson, 2004; Peterson and Langellier, 2006), and how references to bodily engagement are made within narratives (Gibbs and Franks, 2002; Heracleous and Jacobs, 2008). The two latter perspectives are relevant in this research because they account for the bodily performance of narratives in communication and acknowledge that embodied experience is implicated in the generation of meaning (Heracleous and Jacobs, 2008; Gibbs, 1999). In particular, a performative perspective specifically emphasises that we bodily perform narratives in the process of communication, and this is relevant for interpretation and understanding of narrative engagement (Langellier and Peterson, 2004; Peterson and Langellier, 2006). In addition, people often use figures of speech - e.g. tropes such as metaphors[11] - when narrating their experiences as a way of conceptualising complex

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[11] Tropes, such as metaphors, are figures of speech in which an alternative word is used to construct meaningful imagery that adds meaning to the literal term. In particular, a metaphor refers to a likeness between two or more things (Oswick, Keenoy and Grant, 2002). There has been extensive exploration of metaphor in organisation theory (Oswick, Keenoy and Grant, 2002; Morgan, 1980; 1983; 1986; Czarniawska-Joerges, 1995; Tsoukas, 1991; 1993; Grant and Oswick, 1996; Cornelissen, 2004; 2008) for example metaphors of organisational identity (e.g. Cornelissen, 2002); and organisational theatre (Cornelissen, 2004; Mangham, 1996; Boje, 1995; 2002). In this area several authors have acknowledged that metaphors are implicated in storytelling (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1995; Czarniawska, 1998; Gabriel, Geiger and Letiche, 2011; Letiche, Kuipers and Houweling, 2011; Caicedo, 2011; Reissner, Pagan and Smith, 2011; Riad, 2011; Musacchio Adorisio, 2011). This includes references to embodied metaphors in narratives (Heracleous and Jacobs, 2008; Gibbs and Franks, 2002). A further point worth noting is that metaphor has also been employed in postcolonial literature in a number of ways (Mbembe, 1992; Bassnett and Trivedi, 1999; Tymoczko, 1999; Vieira, 1999; Islam, 2012). For example, conveying alternative underlying meaning (e.g. Mbembe, 1992), facilitating the transmission of cultural elements from one culture to another across a linguistic divide (e.g. Tymoczko, 1999) or as a way of expressing 'cannibalistic' cultural appropriation through the notion of 'anthropophagic culture' (e.g. Vieira, 1999; Islam, 2012).

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phenomena. In terms of embodiment, this ranges from the use of metaphor to bridge a linguistic divide (Tymoczko, 1999), to body metaphors which convey complex experiences such as illness (Gibbs and Franks, 2002) or the creation of, and interaction with, embodied metaphors such as sculptures (Heracleous and Jacobs, 2008).

Another relevant approach to narrative inquiry which I refer to is a cultural perspective (Benham, 2007; Vambe, 2004; Vambe, 2001; Kabira, 1983; Ross, 1986). As I have already briefly highlighted, in many local cultures storytelling is a valued form of cultural communication, wherein stories are the primary way in which life's lessons, values and world views are conveyed (Benham, 2007). For example, storytelling is highly valued in Aboriginal culture and knowledge is preserved through this mode. The *dreamtime* stories, for instance, explain the origins of the world and the existence of people in society (Ross, 1986). In Hawai'i people *talk story,* which involves sitting together and sharing stories about hopes and dreams, relationships and possibilities (Benham, 2007). Similarly to these cultures, storytelling is also a highly valued way of maintaining cultural identity in Zimbabwe. A communal narrator (*sarungano*) would be trained to pass on oral narratives as a way of transmitting communal memory and cultural values in society, as well as being a spokesperson for the vulnerable and underprivileged (Vambe, 2004; Kabira, 1983). As a result, following these perspectives - as I indicated in my philosophical discussion - I view my research context as fundamentally comprised of narratives, and I have thus drawn on techniques of narrative collection, analysis and representation within my overall ethnographic approach.

This latter area of narrative inquiry leads on to a further topic that I deem relevant to highlight, which is the post-colonial narrative perspective. From this perspective, narratives are viewed as a powerful way of opening up space for those who are the silenced or unheard (Bakhtin, 1986) because they are grounded in the (local) lived experiences of people and enable the 'other' to speak for themselves (Tedmanson, 2008; Cheung, 2008). For example, this is highlighted in the way that narrative tradition in Zimbabwe has continued into the post-independence period where the modern *sarungano* focuses not only on the expression of culture (ideas, beliefs and struggles), but also resistance and the critique of domination and tyranny (Vambe, 2004; Vambe, 2001). Although I have not taken an overt postcolonial perspective when constituting my research design - e.g. explicitly critiquing domination and tyranny - I have incorporated an underlying philosophical perspective that is based on

postcolonial theory where I view narratives as a powerful way of highlighting local voice and experience.

Methods of Data Collection, Data analysis, and Presentation of Data

There are extensive examples of different ways of carrying out narrative research. In the following I will highlight a selection of relevant methods of data collection, analysis and representation which I have drawn on. Data collection involves the explicit collection of narratives. Approaches range from interview sessions where stories are actively elicited, or passively collected (Czarniawska, 2004; Mishler, 1986; Gabriel, 2000), the collection of spontaneous stories as they arise (Boje, 2001), to the collection of visual narratives (Leavy, 2009; Bach, 2007). In addition, narratives are also perceived as emerging from co-constructed flowing conversations (Imas and Weston, 2012; Boje, 2008; Cunliffe, 2002; Shotter, 2006). I have drawn on these two latter perspectives, wherein I collected narratives through emerging conversations and visual methods and combined them with the ethnographic data collection techniques I referred to in the previous section, involving interaction with participants.

There are also a wide range of analysis techniques designed to specifically analyse the meaning of narratives. These generally follow the two narrative turns I have already mentioned, and include techniques which focus on the internal organisation or structure of narratives (Czarniawska, 2004; Riessman, 1990; Riessman, 1993; Cortazzi, 1993; Cortazzi, 1994; Leiblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber, 1998), as well those that focus on the practical, embodied actions and occasions associated with narrative construction (Cortazzi, 2007; Riessman, 2008; Czarniawska, 2008). I will only refer to the approaches that have shaped my analytical approach. I follow the second turn in narrative analysis following Cortazzi (2007), who emphasises that simply analysing narrative content or structures is not sufficient for ethnographic research, because one also needs to account for performative dimensions, as well as functions of narratives. Although Cortazzi (2007) does outline an approach to ethnographic narrative analysis, I have instead drawn on Riessman's (2008; 1993; 1990) techniques of narrative analysis because I viewed these as more suitable for my research. Riessman (2008) focuses on both the internal content of narratives and their performative dimensions. She proposes a technique called 'personal narrative analysis' (PNA), that is applied to interpret how people perceive reality, make sense of their worlds, and also perform social (inter)actions. Analysis involves understanding the overall story told by the storyteller as well as the dynamics of their actions in their context. However, her approach also highlights the

distinctive themes in accounts of experience, to interrogate how social experiences are put together (Riessman, 2008; 1993; 1990). Furthermore, an emphasis on the performative aspects of the narratives enables a reflection of the embodied nature of the narratives (Gibbs and Franks, 1992; Heracleous and Jacobs, 2008). In addition to Riessman's approach, I have also drawn on Boje's (2008; 2001) microstoria analysis, which is an approach employed to analyse local stories of the 'little people' - which are fragmented and polyphonic - rather than constructing a totalising account. As a result, following these two authors I analysed each story as a 'micro-personal narrative' to understand each individual's 'local' story and reflected on the situated performative dimensions of their narrative.

The final methodological aspect of narrative enquiry that I will refer to is narrative output or representation. Narrative representation is an essential aspect of narrative enquiry because it is deemed important to represent theory in a form which mirrors how data has been collected. Equally, it is seen to add an enhanced dimension to the way theory is understood since it helps bring concepts to life (Phillips, 1995). In this way, narrative enquiry places considerable emphasis on the presentation of research outputs. Rhodes (2001) explains that representation happens when a writer creates social constructions that are embedded with relevant theories and models. (Re)presentation[12] is a further form of this type of writing that purposefully blurs the difference between literature and critical commentary, and encompasses the way in which the stories of narrators are shaped into the form of narrative fiction such as novels, short stories, plays, songs, poems and films (Leavy, 2009; Phillips, 1995; Rhodes, 2001). I have employed narrative representation by writing stories - based on narratives I collected in the field - as a way of illustrating my conceptual perspective. I have additionally combined this with the narrative approach to writing ethnography (e.g. Tedlock, 1991), which I referred to in the previous section, as a way of highlighting the voice of the characters in my stories. A further style of representation that I have used is visual narratives (Leavy, 2009; Bach, 2007), which I have already mentioned in relation to visual ethnographic narrative (Pink, 2007; Harper, 1987; Edwards, 1997) and highlighted in the previous section. As I have already pointed out, I have incorporated visual imagery into the final presentation of some of my stories to exemplify an extra layer of meaning about particular instances of social interaction that would not have been possible through wholly textual stories.

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[12] Brackets in original.

In the following section I will explain how I designed my research and the specific methods that I employed. I draw on the perspectives of ethnography and narrative enquiry that I have discussed thus far.

3.6 My Research Design: A Focused Narrative Ethnography

In this section I explain my research design which I refer to as focused narrative ethnography. In doing so I draw on the ethnographic and narrative methods which I highlighted in the previous section. As I have highlighted, I have used ethnography primarily as a frame for my research and within this I have placed significant emphasis on narrative methods of data collection, analysis and representation. There are two main factors which have shaped my research design: my research philosophy and my research context. As I have highlighted in section 3.3, I draw on a combination of interpretivism, social constructivism and postcolonial philosophy. To recap, interpretivism places an emphasis on gaining meaning of social phenomena; social constructivism situates meaning as collectively constructed though social dialogue and places an emphasis on reflexivity; while postcolonial philosophy stresses the need to account for and highlight meaning of local perspectives and the narrative aspect of knowing. All of these perspectives have guided my thinking in terms of how I should carry out my research. The second factor that has shaped my methodology is my research context; in particular, the dynamics of the informal sector such as the constant change and flux, and the fact that work is not tied to a fixed place but is highly dependent on the individual.

I have structured this section as follows. First I explain my choice of research context and the participants I included in my study. I then explain the specific methods of data collection, analysis, and representation which I have employed. Finally, I explain my reflexive method of evaluating the quality of my research.

3.6.1 My Research Context and Participants

In this section I outline my context of study as well as my choice of research participants. I chose to conduct my research in the informal sector of Zimbabwe and collect my data from people who were engaged in informal work practices. This was the ideal choice for undertaking research about the informal sector for three reasons. First, there was a prolific

and thriving informal sector present throughout the time of my study. Second, other authors had also referred to an attitude of creativity that they linked with informal work in the country (e.g. Jones, 2010b). My third reason was easy access. I will first elaborate on my reasons for choosing Zimbabwe as my research setting and then explain how I selected my research participants.

My first reason for choosing Zimbabwe as my research context was the presence of a thriving informal sector there during the post-2000 period. Various authors (e.g. Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Raftopoulos, 2005; Raftopoulos, 2009) have documented the crisis which was ongoing during this time, in particular highlighting the persistent deterioration in social, economic and political spheres of life which severely impacted the lives of most Zimbabweans. In particular, it has been noted that as formal employment deteriorated during the post-2000 crisis (Parsons, 2007), informal economic activities grew to account for the majority of market-based activities (Schneider, Buehn and Montenegro, 2010), becoming the most important area for household survival and the most meaningful way to make a living (Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). As well as this, my second reason was that other authors had also referred to an attitude of creativity that they linked with informal work in the country (Jones, 2010b; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010; Parsons, 2007; Musoni, 2010). These were particularly reflected in the work of Jones (2010b), who refers to the enormity of change in the country in relation to work practices. He explains, for example, that informal work used to be viewed only as a marginal way of working, which was previously only associated with 'down-class' youth and part-time female work. However, this shifted to become an accepted way of working by nearly everyone and was the source of livelihood for much of the urban population. Jones (2010b) also argued that the increase and changes in the informal economy were driven by a discourse of necessity and survival. Furthermore, as I highlighted in Chapter 2, he also refers to a notion of creativity in relation to the way people engage in informal work. In particular he refers to *kukiya-kiya* survival tactics, which he explains are a creative response to crisis in the country.

My third reason for choosing Zimbabwe as my research context was access. I am from Zimbabwe, so this afforded me easy access and gave me a level of pre-existing knowledge about the social dynamics which I could draw on in my research (as suggested by Knoblauch, 2005). As a result, the unique combination of an actively thriving and growing informal economy, references to creativity by other authors - particularly the notion of creative 'tactics' - and my ease of access made it an ideal setting for me to conduct my research in.

Once I had chosen to conduct my research in the informal sector of Zimbabwe, I had to decided on the exact location and which participants to collect data from. I chose to conduct my research in and around Harare, mainly because this is where I was living, and selected three areas where people were engaged in high amounts of informal work. These were the streets of Harare (the capital city), as well as Mabvuku and Hatcliffe Extension (which are two high-density suburbs). The streets of Harare would allow me to explore the most visible aspect of the informal sector, in which people are engaged predominantly in street-vending activities (Thomas, 1992). Mabvuku is one of the oldest high-density suburbs (Mlambo, 2008) where many people work in home-industries (Kamete, 2004), while Hatcliffe Extension is an extremely poor area with limited infrastructure because many buildings were demolished during Operation Murambatsvina[13] (Morreira, 2010). I visited these spaces and engaged in ethnographic investigation by immersing myself in these settings and interacting with people who were visibly engaged in informal work (Hammersley, 1988; Mitchell, 2007b; Davies, 1991; Hammersley, 1987). In addition, since many people engage in informal work that is not readily visible in the streets (Thomas, 1992), I also identified participants via referral. In this respect, if I spoke to someone who mentioned someone else who was engaged in informal work, I attempted to seek out this person and engage with them. I engaged informally with many people in these settings. However, there were thirty individuals I established meaningful engagements with and collected more in-depth data from. As a result, these thirty individuals can be seen as the main participants in my study.

3.6.2 My Methods of Narrative Collection

I undertook my research during intermittent periods spanning two years (due to restricted timescales) and engaged in a combination of ethnographic and narrative inquiry. Overall, I conducted an ethnographic study of a narrative field (Gubrium and Holstein, 2010), and within this I incorporated narrative and ethnographic perspectives as my main approach to data collection, analysis and representation. Since I was not immersed in these contexts on a permanent basis, my approach can be seen as a focused ethnography (Knoblauch, 2005). In this respect I directed my attention at specifically exploring my concept of 'tactical' creativity, and intensive data collection, through which I collected three types of data, namely narratives,

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[13] I elaborate on this in Chapter 4.

observations and audio-visual material such as pictures and video footage. However, although I focused on this specific topic, I still took an unstructured, improvised (Imas and Weston, 2012) approach to collecting data in the streets (as is usually the case in traditional ethnography (Hammersley, 1988; Mitchell, 2007b)), which mirrored the unstructured nature of the informal sector. I will explain my process in more detail below.

My improvised method involved engaging with people I met in the moment while they went about their work in the streets. Once I had encountered a potential storyteller,[14] the first thing I did was to engage them in conversation and build a rapport (Heyl, 2007) before mentioning my research. It was only once I had sufficiently built a rapport, and established a conversational relationship, that I broached the topic of my research. I first explained what my research was about and then invited the person to be involved – giving a clear indication of what this would entail (Madison, 2005). I explained that my research involved exploring the ways in which people work and what their work means to them, and invited them to share their experiences of work with me.

It was important to gain their consent upfront and I left each person with the ultimate decision as to whether they wanted to be involved or not, so they would not feel coerced (Davies, 1991). In this respect, all storytellers were fully aware that their communication with me would be used for a research project and only those who were happy to be involved, and gave consent, were included. Admittedly, some individuals at first seemed apprehensive of a stranger approaching them with quite an unusual request, but once I had engaged with them and built up a rapport they became excited about the prospect of sharing their 'story(ies)' and engaging with me. An essential aspect of my research was obtaining consent from my storytellers (Davies, 1991; Madison, 2005). I followed Onyango-Ouma's (2006) approach in which ethics are emergent and are based on morals. I decided that it was more appropriate to ask for verbal agreements with each storyteller because this would reflect the oral nature of our engagement as well as the cultural value placed on oral communication and relationship building (Onyango-Ouma, 2006; Narayan, 1993). The storytellers gave their permission for their stories to be collected and were happy to do so. In fact, my storytellers were very willing and excited to share their stories with me, and did not want to be left out (e.g. Scheper-

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[14] Due to the emphasis I have placed on narratives in my research, I refer to my research participants as storytellers.

Hughes, 1992). This was to the extent that they wanted validation that their stories were being recorded[15].

These spontaneous encounters allowed for the emergence of flowing conversations and narratives (Boje, 2008; Cunliffe, 2002; Shotter, 2006). This style allowed for the topics of discussion to be directed by the storyteller and for them to discuss topics which they deemed important to convey to me. Although my style of data collection was informal, I was aware of the time limits and the need to give some direction to these conversations. I therefore referred to three broad questions to provide a link with my research topic. The questions I asked were as follows:

(1) *What type of work do you do?* (To direct the conversation to the topic of the person's work, and so that there were general boundaries that related to my research topic);

(2) *Do you have any work-related constraints or problems?* (This refers to any problems or constraints that may be faced, for example the Zimbabwe crisis since this was instrumental in shaping social dynamics);

(3) *How do you solve these problems or overcome these constraints?* (This refers to the ways that any crisis-related problems were solved or constraints overcome).

During my engagement, the rapport I established allowed me to facilitate an exchange of ideas (Heyl, 2007), and opened spaces for the storytellers to share their stories related to work and what it meant to them, and left the space open for them to tell me whatever information was important to them, in the way they chose to relay it.

In addition to the oral narratives, I also collected visual material via video recordings (see Appendix 3 for an example of a visual recording) and pictures. This was a way for me to capture visual narratives (Pink, 2007; Banks, 2001; Morphy and Banks, 1997; Harper, 1987; Edwards, 1997; Bach, 2007), which depict storytellers engaging in ways that were visually inspiring. This reflects the sentiments that storytelling is not only an oral process and artefacts should be included when it is important to understand the meaning of these for the social actors (Pink, 2007; Pink, 2005; Banks, 2001; Edwards, 1997; Harper, 2002). As such, visual

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[15] For example see Dexter's engagement with me in the first story of Chapter 6.

narrative enquiry provides an additional layer of meaning to narrative inquiry (Bach, 2007). I supplemented my oral and visual narratives with field notes I compiled from observation (Davies, 1991) of contextual dynamics and the interaction of the storytellers. I did so to highlight what each storyteller told me in their story and how they told their story to me (Riessman, 2008). I also engaged in reflexive analysis of my own interaction with each storyteller and considered what kind of impact this may have had on these experiences (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009).

At this point, it is necessary to acknowledge that I conducted these conversations in English. I do not speak ChiShona[16], so I accept this is a limitation because this may compromise local expression. However, this is compensated for by the fact that English is widely spoken by most Zimbabweans as one of the three national languages, along with ChiShona and Ndebele. In addition, I was born in Zimbabwe and lived there for a large part of my life so I have an understanding of contemporary culture and interaction to draw from as a home researcher (Onyango-Ouma, 2006). Furthermore, I focused on the quality of the relationships that I built with my storytellers to account for any loss of communication (Onyango-Ouma, 2006; Narayan, 1993). Following my data collection, I transcribed all recordings (see Appendix 2 for an example of a story transcript) and began to analyse my data. I discuss this process in the next section.

3.6.3 My Methods of Narrative Analysis

When it came to analysis of the stories, I immersed myself in the stories from the point of transcription. Transcription is often an under-regarded process, but I found it to be very important as the process of transcription transported me back to the points of story collection and allowed me to think back and reflect on the process. These narrative transcripts were therefore a way for me to reconnect with each storyteller and their narrative(s), and I immersed myself in them, reading and re-reading them many times during my process of analysis. I analysed each narrative from three different perspectives (see below) and considered many questions in the process.

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[16] The local language spoken in the region where Harare is situated.

I conducted an in-depth analysis of each of the thirty narratives, and additional observational and visual material, to gain an understanding of how each individual creatively engaged in informal work practices. For my analysis technique, I drew on Riessman's (2008) personal narrative analysis technique which reflects on both the content and the performance of a narrative. This approach enabled me to gain an understanding of each individual's perception of reality and how they made sense of their social world. I did this by reflecting on the thematic content of each story. I also reflected on the dynamics of each individual's actions in their context, and the way they performed their story. Although I have not included all of the storytellers and their narratives in the story chapters of my thesis, they all enriched my understanding (see Appendix 4 for an example of story analysis notes).

I first reflected on the content of each narrative:

> *How did each storyteller construct their story? What scenes did they depict in their story? What characters did they depict? How were the characters in the story connected? What was the relation between the characters and the storyteller? How did the storyteller refer to their informal work? Did they mention their personal life? If so, in what way was it incorporated into the story? Was there a deeper story being told about their work activities?*

Next I reflected on the content of each narrative in relation to the first three of my research questions:

> 1) *How and why do people engage in informal work?*

What type of work did the storyteller do? Did they have a main job or many jobs? How did they refer to their job? Did they refer to the topic of work - if at all? In what ways was their work considered as informal? How did they come to work in this way?

> 2) *How do people tactically subvert space by using what is constraining them to their advantage, and thus take action?*

Did the storyteller discuss any constraints or problems? How did they refer to these? How are these constraints or problems related to their work? Did these problems have any relation to the crisis in the country? How did each storyteller solve their problems or overcome their constraints? How were these related to their work? How did these enable them to take action?

3) How do people take action by using what they have at hand and/or taking advantage of chance opportunities that may arise at any given moment?

Did the storyteller mention any unconventional or unexpected ways in which they overcame their constraints? How did they engage in new practices - if any? How did they construct new spaces of action? How were these related to their work?

Finally, I analysed each narrative to understand the performative and embodied actions of each storyteller:

What was the storyteller's engagement in the story? How did they perform or refer to embodiment in their story? Did their actions contradict the type of story they were telling? Did the storyteller convey emotions in their story? How did the storyteller engage with the space they were in? Did their actions extend to me (the researcher)? To what extent did they attempt to involve me in their story and engage with me?

All aspects of the analysis were essential in consistently drawing out meaning about the storytellers' narratives and their performance, in relation to my conceptual perspective. My analysis was a platform for me to subsequently construct a collection of six narratives which illustrate different ways in which people creatively engage in informal work practices in Zimbabwe.

3.6.4 My Methods of Narrative Representation

"The ethnographer, like the artist, is engaged in a special kind of vision quest through which a specific interpretation of the human condition, an entire sensibility is forged. Our medium, our canvas, is "the field", [...]. In the act of "writing culture", what emerges is always a highly subjective, partial, and fragmentary – but also deeply felt and personal – record of human lives based on eyewitness and testimony." (Scheper-Hughes, 1992: xii)

In the following section I reflect on my methods of narrative presentation, and explain how I constructed the six narratives which I have presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Each of these

narratives represents a different perspective of how thirteen individuals creatively engage in informal work practices in Zimbabwe.

In order to construct my six narratives, I have drawn on three approaches to presenting my data. The first is the method of (re)presentation (Rhodes, 2001), which I have used as a way of reflecting theoretical concepts within the narratives and emphasising my theoretical perspective. By employing this technique, I provide the reader with a window into the everyday lives of the storytellers in a way that conveys meaning about how they creatively engage in informal work practices. The second approach I have drawn from is the narrative style of writing the ethnography, as if it were a story that is typical in many ethnographic studies (Tedlock, 2004; Tedlock, 1992; Tedlock, 1991; Behar, 1996; Behar, 1993; Goulet, 1994; Thornton, 1983). In this respect I have incorporated ethnographic dialogue (Tedlock, 1991), which presents a final narrative (that reflects social dynamics) as well as providing a reflection on the author's experience of participation. For example, in all of the final narratives I deliberately present and emphasise the personal narrative of each individual in order to make their voice prominent so that they do not become lost behind the text. In addition, I have also narrated my own experiences as a way of highlighting the unwritten dynamics that were at play during our engagement. This reflective perspective of my own experience also extends to the way that I have authored my thesis in the first person (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009; Leavy, 2009). I have done this to emphasise that I have shaped the final presentation of my thesis as a whole. The third method of presentation I have drawn on is the use of expressive visual narratives (Pink, 2007; Harper, 1987; Edwards, 1997; Bach, 2007). Incorporating visual narratives is a way for me to relay complex forms of engagement and social experiences that would otherwise be lost through purely textual form (Leavy, 2009; Bach, 2007; hooks, 1995). For example, I have incorporated visual images (Pink, 2007; Edwards, 1997) as a creative expressive format (in my narrative of Dexter) as well as in a documentary format (in my narrative where I depict the communal engagement of the poor).

Through these stories, I do not reflect a universal perspective of Zimbabweans or Zimbabwean society. My stories reflect in-depth accounts of the lives of thirteen people working in and around Harare in the informal sector, at the height of the post-2000 crisis in the country, and should be taken as such. They are retrospective, and reflect a particular time in history which I have included as a way of explaining the extraordinary lengths that these storytellers went to in order to deal with the ongoing crisis and creatively engage in informal work practices. It is

also important for me to note that the creative engagement that I depict is situated against a backdrop of crisis and hardship. This may be perceived as a 'rose-tinted' view of crisis in Zimbabwe or elsewhere. In these stories I highlight that there is hardship in crisis, but it is equally full of positive opportunity and constructive forms of engagement that are inspiring and transformational. In doing so I mirror both the frailty and the resilience that are inherent in crisis (Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Scheper-Hughes, 2008), as a way of emphasising the lengths that people go to when dealing with difficult circumstances.

In Chapter 4 I provide a background story of the ongoing crisis in Zimbabwe. This chapter differs from the other three story chapters because I have drawn on literature rather than my data. However, I still refer to it as a story because it is my own interpretation of these events. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the dynamics of crisis in the country and how this may be implicated in constraining the way people live and work in Zimbabwe. I do so following the authors who related creativity in informal settings to the survival of crisis or conditions of hardship (Mambula and Sawyer, 2004; Konings and Foeken, 2006; Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). In addition, I link this with the substantial growth of the informal sector in Zimbabwe to reflect the extent to which social dynamics had shifted. For example, how nearly everyone was engaging in informal practices and *kukiya-kiya* 'tactics', despite these actions formerly being considered as marginal (Jones, 2010b). I end this chapter by providing a reflective interpretation of the notion of ongoing crisis.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 consist of six narratives which I have constructed from the material I collected during my data collection. These highlight the lives and work of thirteen individuals during the post-2000 crisis period in Zimbabwe. I have constructed these to share with you their experiences (from their own perspective and voice) during this time of crisis and to illustrate how their engagements enabled them to both tactically and creatively overcome their constraints, and take action. Each chapter reflects three different perspectives on how people overcome constraints and take action. In the first story chapter, Chapter 5: *Narratives of Changing Attitudes and Practices of Work*, I reflect how informal work is a space of creative action. Here I illustrate the increase in informal activities in society, and highlight changing societal attitudes towards societal-work practices. In Chapter 6: *Narratives of Artistic Engagement in Informal Work*, I reflect the way in which people in Zimbabwe engage in informal activities in order to creatively construct (and artistically 'create') their own informal employment as spaces of action. While in Chapter 7: *Narratives of Communal Engagement in*

Informal Work, I reflect how groups of people work together to creatively construct spaces of communal action. I illustrate how marginal communities help each other in a time of hardship and are able to achieve more together than they can alone.

Within each of the story chapters are two stories which all follow a similar format. I begin by briefly explaining the purpose of the story as a way of introduction, before going on to outline the form of presentation that I have used. I then follow this with the main story. At the end of each chapter I present a reflective analysis of the theoretical concepts I have incorporated in the stories. The topics reflected in the stories do not follow the same thread, nor does every story reflect creativity in the same way. I have done this intentionally to emphasise the shifting and emerging nature of these concepts, and to illustrate how they are enacted in different ways across all chapters.

I will now reflect further on my results as narratives, in particular by focusing on how 'good' the stories are; how addresses should resound when they are read; and whether the choice of respondents has an influence on the results as narratives. First, in narrative research it is not relevant to consider how 'good' or 'bad' a narrative may be since this is highly subjective (Furman, 2004). Instead, what is important is how effective a narrative is in conveying a message to the reader. In this study, the narratives I have constructed are intended to explain how informal workers engage in creative work practices, convey a range of different ways in which this happens, and make the voice of each informal worker prominent. In the spirit of highlighting voice, readers of these narratives should feel a sense of affective connection (Furman, 2004) with the narrator as they tell their story. In addition, the reader should reflect on the complexity of each narrator's engagement, in particular by appreciating the lengths that they have gone in order to creatively overcome their constraints with very few resources.

3.6.5 My Method of Evaluating My Research: Reflexivity and Ethics

In this section I discuss my reflexive approach to evaluating the quality of my research. Reflexivity is an approach which is used to evaluate the quality of certain types of qualitative research, such as interpretive research (Angen, 2000; Pyett, 2003). It involves a researcher continually assessing any relationships between knowledge and the ways in which knowledge is produced (Calás and Smircich, 1992). In this way, close attention is paid to the way in which different elements of research are woven together whilst knowledge is being developed,

including an assessment of how any empirical material is interacted with, (critically) interpreted[17], and written (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000). In broad terms it means turning back on oneself and reflecting on the way in which the outcomes of research are affected by the people (researchers) and processes involved in the research. It expresses researchers' awareness of their connection with, and effects upon, the research situation (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009; Davies, 1991). There are a number of approaches including *critical reflexivity*, which involves the questioning of the deeper meanings about researchers' attempts to do research; *radical reflexivity*, which questions the ways in which researchers themselves make truth claims and construct meaning (Cunliffe, 2002) - and often includes a critical commentary throughout the text (e.g. Cunliffe, 2003); and *reflexive critique* on research practices using multi-level frameworks (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009; 2000).

It is important to note that reflexivity is not the only approach used to evaluate the quality of qualitative research. This may be done in a number of other ways (see Finlay, 2006), and this approach sits in a much wider debate which questions which is the 'best' approach to use. One dominant perspective is the use of the traditional positivist criteria of evaluation - validity, reliability, and generalisability - which aim to give concrete, measurable, methods of validation (Finlay, 2006). These criteria have been used extensively in relation to qualitative research which relies on multiple methods - such as case study research (Yin, 2009). However, the usefulness of these criteria has been criticised, and they are the subject of frequent debate (Blaikie, 1991; Angen, 2000; Hammersley, 1987; Pyett, 2003). These criticisms are based on the premise that for certain types of qualitative research - i.e. interpretive research - these criteria do not (or cannot) apply because they do not account for the ideals and goals of this type of research. This kind of research is aimed at understanding, representing, and explaining complex social phenomena, rather than measuring phenomena (Angen, 2000; Pyett, 2003). However, although there is considerable debate, it is generally agreed that qualitative research needs to be 'trustworthy' in that it should demonstrate 'rigour' in the research process and 'relevance' with respect to the end product of the research. In addition, the criteria used should allow researchers (if this is the aim) to move past scientific terms of criteria and instead use criteria which highlight the 'special qualities' of qualitative research and explore the social relevance and broader impact of the particular research project (Finlay, 2006). Thus, I have

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[17] 'Interpretation' refers to reflection on underlying meanings, while 'critical interpretation' refers to a reflection of ideology, power, and social reproduction.

employed reflexivity because it is the most pertinent way of evaluating the quality of my research.

I have drawn on Alvesson and Sköldberg's (2009, 2000) multi-level approach in order to engage in reflexivity throughout my research. The authors propose four levels of reflective critique of a research methodology. The first level is 'interaction with empirical material' (for example consisting of a reflection on accounts in interviews, situational observation and other empirical materials). The second is 'interpretation' (which is a reflection on underlying meanings). The third level is 'critical interpretation' (which involves a reflection of ideology, power, and social reproduction). The final level is 'reflection on text production' (which is a reflection of a researcher's own text, claims to authorship, and selectivity of the voices represented in the text). Reflexivity arises when the relations between the layers are reflected upon. My approach has been to reflexively consider these layers of my research throughout the process, and question why and how I have carried out my research in the way that I have, and what kind of impact this would have on the people and processes involved. In addition, I thoroughly questioned my research after each new draft that I wrote (I have written three), which resulted in me making significant changes to each draft. Throughout my research, the focus of my reflexive approach[18] has been directed towards what Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009:313) refer to as 'R-reflexivity', which focuses on the consideration of alternative views and approaches in research. It "aims to open up new avenues, paths and lines of interpretation to produce 'better' [more appropriate] research ethically, empirically and theoretically". In line with this, my approach in my research has been to consistently question the taken-for-granted ways of doing research in the area of work-related creativity.

Davies (1991) points out that, along with reflexivity, there is a greater awareness of ethics in research. "Ethics is concerned with principles of right and wrong" (Madison, 2005:80). It regards questions of morality, being honourable, and generating good will. Ethical reflection was an important part of my reflexive critique of my research. It was essential for me (following Madison, 2005) to reflect on my responsibility towards my research participants, their safety, dignity and privacy; and to make sure (as far as I could) that my work did not harm anyone in any way. I took an approach to ethics which was emergent in the field (Pink, 2007) and based on moral conduct (e.g. Onyango-Ouma, 2006). Areas that I was particularly

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[18] On reflection, after having conducted my research, my approach to reflexivity lines up with Alvesson and Sköldberg's (2009) description of R-reflexivity.

concerned about beforehand included informed consent, confidentiality (Davies, 1991), and the impact of any 'tools' that I used in my research (Pink, 2007). For example, during my research I made sure that my research participants gave informed consent to be involved in my research and that their personal details were kept confidential (Davies, 1991; Homan, 1991). For example, I informed all of my research participants about my research prior to recording any data from them. I did not coerce anyone to be part of my study and only included them if they were happy to be involved. I also negotiated the degree of confidentiality that they wanted for their personal data. Most of my participants chose for their details to be kept confidential and anonymous - and I have thus changed their names in my thesis. However, certain participants agreed for me to include images which I collected from my video recordings. I established verbal consent and did not ask participants to provide written evidence or signatures as confirmation because participants may have been intimidated by this (especially the poor communities). Instead, I placed an emphasis on the quality of consent (Madison, 2005) and building relationships with participants (Onyango-Ouma, 2006; Narayan, 1993), because this was more ethically appropriate to the locality of the research setting (Pink, 2007). As I have highlighted, my ethics were based on emergent morals. In line with this I also (reflexively) considered the appropriateness of the 'tools' I used in my research and how research tools - such as recording equipment or technology - that are taken for granted in the western world may have been interpreted in a non-western research context (Pink, 2007). Following this, I chose to use recording equipment as well as clothing that did not stand out or look expensive, as a way of accounting for this.

Overall, I continuously engaged in reflexivity by questioning the way that I carried out my research, as well as the impact that my research or actions might have on the people I engaged with. I considered this essential throughout my research.

3.7 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter I have focused on my research methodology and research design. First, I reflected on different perspectives of research methodology to ascertain which would be the most appropriate for my research. Based on the research questions, which I have highlighted in Chapter 2, as well as reflecting on the context of my research and my research philosophy, I reviewed the strengths and purpose of a range of research methodologies. I reflected on the

appropriateness of each methodology by reflecting on their ability to account for the unique dynamics of the informal sector and work practices. As a result, I chose to employ ethnography and narrative enquiry as two complementary approaches in my study. I then discussed these two methodologies to give an overview of different approaches that have been applied in the literature and different methods (of data collection, analysis and presentation) associated with them. Following this, I explained my research design - focused narrative ethnography - in which I employ a combination of approaches used in narrative enquiry as well as ethnographic research. I then elaborated on the details of my approach, including my context of choice, the way I identified my research participants, and also my various methods of data collection, analysis, presentation and reflexivity. Overall, a focused narrative ethnography was the most appropriate approach for me to carry out my research because it enabled me to account for the unique dynamics of informal work, and the emphasis on narrative communication in my research context.

4 Research Context: A Story of Crisis in Zimbabwe

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I provide a background story of my research context, Zimbabwe, as a way of illustrating how people lived and worked at the time of my study. This story chapter differs from my subsequent three story chapters because I have drawn on literature rather than my research data. However, I still refer to it as a story because it is my own interpretation of the dynamics of the crisis. My story is about the development and impact of the contemporary crisis period in Zimbabwe, which has been ongoing since the end of the 1990s. I highlight how the crisis is related to the substantial growth of the informal sector in the country and illustrate how the accepted ways of working have substantially changed. I have focused on the topic of crisis following the authors (Mambula and Sawyer, 2004; Konings and Foeken, 2006; Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010) who related creativity in informal work settings to the survival of crisis and hardship. Thus, the main purpose of my story is to emphasise the harsh and erratic dynamics of crisis in the country, and to illustrate how these dynamics may be implicated in constraining the way people live and work. I first present my story to cover a number of issues to do with the crisis, and also the informal economy, and then I provide a summary and reflective interpretation of the main points that I have highlighted in my story.

4.2 The Story of Zimbabwe's Post-2000 Crisis

There is much debate in the literature about what constitutes 'the crisis' in Zimbabwe, because it covers many interrelated issues (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003). In particular, the issue of land reform has played a formative part in the development and escalation of the crisis (for example see Hammar, Raftopoulos and Jensen, 2003; Raftopoulos and Savage, 2005; Richardson, 2004; Scoones et al., 2010). The addition of economic, social and political issues has, however, extended the crisis beyond the issues of land reform to make it a more complex and distinct occurrence. For example, during the late 1990s the effects of increasing foreign debt and government over expenditure, combined with the impacts of the land reform programmes, led to the devaluation of the dollar and unanticipated rates of hyperinflation. In

addition to this, there was an increase in poverty due to the failed structural adjustment of the 1990s and an increase in HIV/AIDS. These factors all contributed to a veritable meltdown in the country and the period in history that has become known as the 'Zimbabwe crisis' (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Raftopoulos, 2005; Raftopoulos, 2009) - which I refer to here as the 'post-2000'[19] crisis. The post-2000 crisis has been ongoing for over 10 years. During this time Zimbabweans have essentially existed in an unabating state of crisis because they are failing to receive the expected conditions of life from the country compared to the pre-crisis period (Barton, 1969).

The Golden Years before the 'Crisis'

Despite these outcomes, the country has not always been associated with crippling crisis. I state this point to draw attention to the extent of change and the adverse impacts on people living and working during the crisis. For example, at the time of independence Zimbabwe was a beacon of hope for all, paving the way for change and growth in the new country (Villa-Vicencio, 2005:v). Growth and stability looked encouraging in the early years after independence (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003) and this was especially the case in social improvement. For example, during this time the government found a balance between delivering services to a high standard and attracting foreign investment. In particular the national economy grew, during the 1980s, to become the second strongest in Southern Africa – after South Africa – and exhibited economic resilience despite the country suffering from drought. There were also steady improvements in education and healthcare between the 1980s and 1990s (Richardson, 2004)[20]. However, the early years after independence were not free from problems and it was during this time that the seeds for subsequent economic difficulties were beginning to be sown (Parsons, 2007). For example, the economy was already inflation-prone due to a decade of sanctions before independence. In the 1980s there was a lack of discipline in fiscal policy, as well as artificial attempts to boost wages. By the 1990s there was already a severe shortage of foreign currency. This led to the adoption of an IMF-supported Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). The ESAP included fiscal

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[19] Although I refer to the 'post-2000' crisis, this is more of a label which contextualises the crisis in relation to other crucial events in Zimbabwe. I do not always refer exclusively to the time after the year 2000 because the impacts of this period of crisis were already noticeable before the year 2000, in the late 1990s.

[20] See Richardson (2004) for a thorough overview of the growth in education and healthcare.

constraint which led to a reduction in the provision of social services, reduced job security in the government sector and the closure of inefficient industries - which resulted in unemployment. As a result, people were already beginning to work in the informal sector at this time, because of the lack of jobs in the formal sector. It is notable that the government supported this because of the widespread unemployment (Parsons, 2007).

Nevertheless, it was only in the late 1990s that the economy began to show evidence of strain. This worsened after the year 2000 when the economy spiralled into decline (Jones, 2010a; Jones, 2010b; Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Raftopoulos, 2009). The relative stability that was established after independence was reversed and there were increasing numbers of people living and working in a constant situation of uncertainty and deteriorating living conditions. The following analogy sums up the extent of decline in the country. In the 1980s and 1990s, Zimbabwe was one of the few countries in Africa to export more than it imported (Richardson, 2004), and was commonly referred to as the 'Breadbasket of Africa'. However, during the post-2000 crisis "Zimbabwe fell from being the breadbasket to the bread beggar of Africa" (Makochekanwa and Kwaramba, 2010:3). There is little doubt that the post-2000 crisis has been a negative and traumatic time for many people (Parsons, 2007) because of the high rate of change and the adverse ways it has impacted on peoples' lives and their livelihoods. There have been impacts in three main areas: economic, social, and political.

Economic Turmoil and Development of the 'Black Market'

Overall, the decline and collapse of the formal economy in Zimbabwe is due to a number of interrelated factors (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003). For a start, the economy had become over-burdened and was already showing signs of strain during the 1990s. There were a number of reasons for this, including compensation payments paid to the War Veterans, the army's involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DCR), and the failed ESAP (Mlambo, 2008). The subsequent commencement of the land reform programme aggravated the struggling economy even further. These included steep declines in agricultural and industrial production, a decline in tourism, a drop in exports, a reduction in foreign investment and a lack of foreign currency earnings (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Raftopoulos, 2009). A combination of these factors caused a number of profound impacts on peoples' lives, for example the spiralling inflation made it extremely difficult to purchase goods. All of these factors combined to form the initial impetus for the expansion of the parallel economy or black market in the country.

In particular, the disintegration of commercial farming, industrial production and tourism brought about a reduction in foreign currency earnings and exports (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Richardson, 2004). The government and business people depended on this for many imported goods and foreign payments (Richardson, 2004) and as a result formal business began to suffer. The lack of internal production and foreign currency subsequently impacted on the amount and price of goods available, and the currency devalued. Despite this, the government did not adjust the exchange rate to reflect the lack of supply and high demand on foreign currency, thus effectively creating the black market. All of these factors perpetuated the development of an informal sector in the economy in which people began trading goods and foreign currency in underground, unregulated, markets (Richardson, 2004). The growth of the black market led to a number of foreign currencies being circulated in addition to the Zimbabwe dollar, and price arbitrage could often be conducted in a very small space of time at virtually no transaction cost (Hanke and Kwok, 2009), which made a few people extremely rich very quickly.

In addition to the growth of the black market, another significant change in the economy was the increasing inflation. Inflation was already apparent due to the lack of foreign currency causing a sharp rise in the cost of goods. The government responded to this by imposing price controls on certain goods (Richardson, 2004). This subsequently affected the business activities of people who sold controlled commodities, because they could not ask the actual price for their goods. Inflation by this point was already high, but it worsened considerably when the government reserve bank began printing extra currency to compensate for the devaluation of the currency (Bratton and Masunungure, 2008). This led to a state of hyperinflation which spiralled out of control. At its highest point, inflation reached 79.6 billion percent in mid-November 2008[21]. The effect of this was that prices doubled in 24 hours (Hanke and Kwok, 2009), leading store owners to change the retail price of their goods within a single day. In addition, the hyperinflation caused the value of currency notes to deteriorate so quickly that supplies of new notes were being brought into the system every few months rather than years. All of these developments effectively left people without purchasing power as they chased the prices of goods every day, and this considerably enhanced the growth of informal economy. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that most hyperinflations are associated with wartime or

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[21] This is officially the second highest monthly inflation rate, and the 30th highest rate of hyperinflation, in the world (Hanke and Kwok, 2009).

the collapse of Communism (Hanke and Kwok, 2009), and not a peacetime economy as in Zimbabwe (Moss, 2007).

In addition to the deteriorating value of the currency, a further effect of the lack of foreign currency was that the government could not afford to produce official bank notes and started producing temporary 'bank notes' or 'bearer's cheques' instead. This caused a lack of 'hard cash' in the system and the only place people could obtain it was by buying it from the parallel economy(Richardson, 2004). An alternative to this was to trade at a premium on the black market for non-cash Zimbabwe dollars, whereby people exchanged money virtually via bank transfers. In addition to multiple currencies being used between people on the black market, some stores adapted to this and offered goods in both Zimbabwe dollars and U.S. dollars (Hanke and Kwok, 2009). The hyperinflation came to an abrupt end in 2009 when the economy was officially 'dollarised' (Jones, 2010b) and the US dollar was allowed to be used as 'official' day-to-day tender.

Troubled Political Economy

Price controls, frequent changes in government policy and reports of violence had a combined impact on business practices in the country. For example, the government imposed price controls aimed at controlling certain basic commodities such as maize meal (Richardson, 2004). This affected suppliers of controlled commodities because they could not ask the actual price for their goods. In general, unforeseen changes in policy are a relevant issue because this causes uncertainty for businesses since they are unprepared for changes that may adversely affect their work. An example of this uncertainty is the indigenisation move which involved an appropriation of local business such as mining (Solidarity Peace Trust, 2010). A further point that has had an impact on business practices are the reports of politically motivated violence. This is one of the factors that has prompted many people, including a high number of trained professionals, to leave the country (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003) and has also led to a drop in tourism because this sensitive industry thrives on politically stable environments (Marongwe, 2003).

The overall business environment during this time was severely affected due to the knock-on effects of the collapse of the agricultural industry and the closure of major industries. These closures resulted in a sharp rise in unemployment. In addition to this, the hyperinflation and changing government policies made it very difficult to conduct business in a formal and

regulated manner. These changes in the work environment led to substantial growth in the informal economy. Although already well-developed, the informal economy grew to encompass a greater proportion of economic activity than the formal sector and became the primary way for people to be engaged in work (Jones, 2010b; Parsons, 2007).

Social Deterioration

In addition to these economic impacts, the crisis led to a number of adverse social changes in the country. This is evident in the deterioration of living conditions which was precipitated by the economic decline. The most noticeable changes related to the shortage of commodities resulting from both a reduction in industrial production and a lack of foreign currency for imports (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003). For example, this was apparent in the lengthy queues that often formed outside empty shops. The fast pace of economic change caused by hyperinflation (Jones, 2010a) had a knock-on effect on the pace of social change. For example, this resulted in a day-to-day living which involved buying anything that was needed when it was available before the prices went up. This fuelled the informal sector as people began trading goods and 'wheeler-dealing' on the black market (Richardson, 2004). In addition, the crisis also led to food shortages. For instance the land reform, coupled with severe drought, led to an extreme decline in the production of maize seed. This consequently led to food assistance for five million people at the end of 2008 (Raftopoulos, 2009).

Social impacts of the crisis are also evident in the deterioration of social services, such as healthcare and education. The government made tangible improvements to education and healthcare in the 1980s and 1990s (Richardson, 2004), and the healthcare system in particular became a model for other countries in the developing world. However, the problems caused by the 2000 land reform also affected these sectors. For example, children remained out of school because the fees were unaffordable, and government expenditure dropped which lead to a collapse in public services such as healthcare (Richardson, 2004). In addition, the drop in government expenditure caused a lack of upkeep of electricity and water services, and this had a detrimental effect on their supply (2004). For instance, the government did not have sufficient funds of foreign currency to pay for electricity, and this led to a shortage of electricity and an erratic supply to household consumers and industry. Water supplies have similarly been affected due to the lack of pipe maintenance as well as the lack of foreign currency to purchase water treatment chemicals (Makochekanwa and Kwaramba, 2010). As well as severe shortages of commodities and services, there has been a crisis of displacement

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(Raftopoulos, 2010). This is evident in the displacement of refugees to neighbouring states and the high migration of trained professionals (Raftopoulos, 2009) to many 'overseas' countries. In addition, there is a disparity between the wealthy and the poor which is illustrated by the dichotomy between those who can afford to go on shopping trips abroad and the majority of people living a hand-to-mouth existence (see Morreira, 2010). Overall, the crisis has become so far-reaching that there is little doubt it has resulted in extensive changes in the structure of society (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003). Although the hyperinflation ended in late 2008, early 2009, the crisis did not abate because substantial social problems still prevailed.

4.3 The Development of the Informal Sector in Zimbabwe

The post-2000 crisis has affected everyone in the country to some degree because it has been so extensive, and it has also resulted in fundamental shifts in the way people work. In particular these changes substantially increased informal economic activities and many more people were employed in the informal sector than before the crisis (Hanke and Kwok, 2009). The sector has greatly expanded over time to the point that, during the post-2000 crisis, more people worked in the informal sector than in the formal sector. In particular, the post-2000 crisis led to many more people engaging in this sector because of a need to survive the crisis. In addition, there have been a number of changes in the meaning of work altogether. The main example is that the informal economy was formerly seen as a marginal way of working but became a culturally accepted way of working for nearly everyone in Zimbabwe (Jones, 2010b). Despite the difficulties of working during a time of crisis, as well as the government's various attempts to clamp down on informal activities, they have not abated. Many people still work in this way and the survival strategies they employ have only continued to contribute to informal work.

The informal sector is not a new phenomenon however, and has been apparent in some form or other since colonial times with the introduction of a legally regulated formal economy. This does not translate into linear progression from past to present because contemporary economic, social and political conditions differ greatly from colonial times (Hansen and Vaa, 2004). However, it does illustrate the origins of this phenomenon and demonstrate that both formal and informal activities have co-existed since colonial times due to the formal regulatory

frameworks developed by the colonial governments. It is these that have shaped – and given credence to – the notion of the informal economy, and work practices in Zimbabwe.

The Development of the Informal Sector in Colonial Zimbabwe

During colonial times, work was dominated by a capitalist system of production in which a large portion of the urban workforce was lawfully enforced, by the British colonialists, to engage in waged employment. In this way, a British-style capitalist system developed and was enforced by the settlers' legal system of exchange (Phiminster, 1988). This was a form of enclave capitalism which dominated many and benefited the few elites (Moyo, 2007). This British-style economic system and the accompanying work activities very quickly became established as the dominant style of exchange and work in urban areas in colonial Zimbabwe. For example, the African population found it difficult to survive during the early 1900s, because of high prices, low wages and poor social conditions. They instead undertook their own, often illegal, employment that was not sanctioned by the government. One of the main reasons why the African population engaged in informal work activities was due to overwhelming poverty. Often wage earners did not earn enough to support themselves and their families and so supplemented their incomes with informal work. Therefore, during the early days of colonialism, it was high prices, low wages and poor social conditions, along with a shortage of money, that made the African population resort to informal jobs such as the production of home-made beer and market gardening (Yoshikuni, 2006). Another period before independence that is worth mentioning is the 1940s. In this decade, the conditions for most people, but particularly the African population, were desperate. The African population survived through informal activities such as beer brewing to supplement their income. In addition, some Shona workers made ends meet by developing a barter system, known in Shona as *tswete*. Stolen goods were exchanged on the black markets in the designated African areas. These survival tactics provided momentary sources of extra income for many people who were struggling to survive. The informal economy persisted in a similar manner as covert and illegal survival tactics until the 1980s, but was not widespread because the work activities and movements of the African people were severely curtailed (Phiminster, 1988). Throughout this time, informal industries were essentially illegal but they continued because of neglect by the colonial administration (Kamete, 2004).

The Informal Sector at Independence

After independence, Zimbabwe's initial economic performance was promising. The government was able to deliver services of a high standard, many foreign businesses were prepared to invest in the country and the economy grew by about 4% per annum. It was economically resilient, despite setbacks such as drought, and was seen as the second strongest economy in Southern Africa (Parsons, 2007). At independence, in 1980, the informal economy was small and accounted for only 10% of the labour force. This was mainly due to the laws and by-laws, still in place from colonial times, that curtailed the movements of indigenous people (Tibaijuka, 2005). However, although there was economic growth and job security, this was not mirrored by strong formal employment, and unemployment crept up (Parsons, 2007). The informal sector has typically been related to the low-income labour-class of the population, and also tied in with the high-density areas of the country. For example, during this time informal industries became established in high-density areas such as Mbare, Mabvuku, Dzivarasekwa, Kambuzuma and Tafara. These were typified by backyard business and flea market stalls. In addition to this, there was a shortage of housing which prompted people to construct unauthorised dwellings. These were typically wooden shacks constructed at the back of houses and were typically used for homeowners to generate extra income (Mlambo, 2008).

During the 1990s, the country began to suffer from harsh economic conditions due to the failed Economic Structural Readjustment Programme (ESAP), and this led to the closure of inefficient industries (Parsons, 2007; Mlambo, 2008). The results of the ESAP were enormously detrimental because the government was unable to provide adequate employment and housing for people (Hansen and Vaa, 2004). The poor were burdened by the poor economic performance, so the government relaxed the stringent by-laws (from the colonial era) which permitted people to engage more easily in informal activities (Mlambo, 2008), during these harsh economic conditions (Mlambo, 2008). There was a tolerance to, and emphasis on, work in the form of 'home industry' and also on 'self-help' programmes because of the neo-liberal ideologies of entrepreneurialism (Jones, 2010b). As a result, the informal sector grew because the formal sector could not provide employment at a rate that satisfied the demand for employment (Kamete, 2004). By 1999, during the incubation period of the post-2000 crisis, it accounted for 59.4% of the GDP, which was the highest in Africa (Mlambo, 2008).

The Informal Economy during the Post-2000 Crisis

Engagement in the formal economy was slowly increasing between the 1980s and 1990s, mainly due to rising unemployment. However, in the 2000s during the crisis, the informal sector grew exponentially and changed. Two of the main reasons for the growth and change were soaring unemployment and the collapse of the formal economy, which resulted in an unprecedented rate of hyperinflation and the development of the parallel cash economy. It was certainly the post-2000 crisis which consolidated the deterioration of formal employment (Parsons, 2007). This was mainly due to the closing down of established industries and subsequent upsurge of retrenchments. Between 2000 and 2006 there was a reduction in the manufacturing sector of about 41%, and the number of people gainfully employed in the agricultural sector reduced from 450,000 to an estimated 45,000 (Parsons, 2007). In addition, over the 12 months before May 2007, 15,000 government employees left their jobs in search of better rewards elsewhere. Overall, the rate of de-industrialisation during the 2000s was phenomenal and, by mid-2009, the country was only managing to operate at 10 per cent of its industrial capacity (Mawowa and Matongo, 2010).

The increase in unemployment highlights the fall in the number of people working in the formal sector. In the mid-2000s it was estimated as 80% of the working-age population (Parsons, 2007), and by 2009, 95%. As Zimbabwe's formal economy contracted, informality increased and became the most important area for household survival, and the most meaningful way to make a living (Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). Additional factors impacting the informal sector included the failure of the State to provide adequate facilities. This resulted in dwindling access to household services and many people fell into poverty. As a result, the informal sector increased and was vividly portrayed by the flooded roadside markets and flourishing informal currency trade, while formal retail shops were empty (Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). In 2007 the informal economy accounted for over 62% of market-based activities (Schneider, Buehn and Montenegro, 2010).

In 2000, before the crisis fully developed, informal activities consisted of a range of activities. These included 'vending', which took place in the streets, shop-fronts, bus-stops, road-side stalls and designated sites, as well as 'markets', which consisted of flea-markets and peoples-markets. Activities also included 'home-based enterprises', which people ran from home, and 'home industries', which straddled the line between informal activities and small industrial businesses and were formally sanctioned by the government (Kamete, 2004). During the post-

2000 crisis, growth in these informal activities was mostly visible as vending and flea-market trading. Informal activities continued to grow and their form changed, with new kinds of people engaging in these activities, new channels of exchange, and an overall cultural acceptance of informal activities mainly based on an attitude of survival.

The first noteworthy change is that whilst the informal economy used to be a marginal way of working, it became a culturally accepted way of working by nearly everyone (Jones, 2010b; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). Activities that were formerly associated with 'down-class' urban youth and part-time female work became the source of livelihood for much of the urban population, and involved nearly everyone from urban poor, to civil servant, to former farm workers (Jones, 2010b) – a far wider spectrum of society than was expected (Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). There was also a change in the channels of acquiring commodities (Mawowa and Matongo, 2010; Morreira, 2010) due to a shortage of products, such as food-stuffs, since an adequate supply could not be sustained by the formal sector. For example, foraging and bartering increased because of the irregular channels of distribution and the shortage of commodities (Morreira, 2010). It became more common to find commodities such as eggs and toilet paper on sale in the street than in the shops, which were empty more often than not. The commodity shortages were exemplified by the increase in cross-border trading and scenes were described at the border post between Zimbabwe and South Africa in which large containers of staple goods such as cooking oil, rice, maize meal, canned foods, blankets and clothing moved into Zimbabwe. This movement of goods was imperative to the continuation of life in urban areas of Zimbabwe (Morreira, 2010).

In addition, there was also a sharp increase in underhand cash transactions in the parallel economy. This was mainly due to hyperinflation and the shortage of foreign currency (Jones, 2010b; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010), but changes were also brought about by several government policies. These policies included rigid price controls and the fixing of foreign exchange, as well as the banning of all *bureaux de change* in the country and the closure of corporate foreign currency accounts. They resulted in an increase in informal currency exchange and the trading of cash. Unofficial cash transactions were also encouraged by prolific cross-border trading and foreign currency remittances from the Zimbabwean diaspora, because these transactions could not be conducted through the formal channels (Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). Jones (2010b) argues that the increase and changes in the informal economy were driven by a discourse of necessity. He refers to the 'wheeler-dealer' strategies

in the informal sector as *'kukiya-kiya'* survival tactics (which I referred to in Chapter 2). He defined the 'real economy' of Zimbabwe as a *'kukiya-kiya* economy' because nearly everyone in the country engaged in these activities. This illustrates a shift in the cultural attitudes towards work because informal work had become the predominant and 'normal' way of working in Zimbabwe and was no longer considered marginal.

Although the informal sector became an important way for people to survive during the crisis, it was not seen as such by all. Engagement in the informal sector was seen to add to the crisis and to perpetuate the hyperinflation in the economy. For example, currency exchange was deemed illegal, and dealers were often arrested by police for illegally trading in foreign currency (Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). The growth of informal activities was halted in May and June 2005 when Operation Murambatsvina was launched. This was a government attempt to enforce by-laws which would stop all forms of illegal activities. It attempted to 'clean up' vendors, flea-market traders, foreign-currency dealers, informal workshops, and to destroy any structures that were illegally built without planning permission (Vambe, 2008). It involved the destruction of flea-markets and informal housing used by informal traders and vendors and the urban poor. By the end, hundreds of people were affected as they became homeless and lost their livelihoods (Tibaijuka, 2005). In some areas the demolition was more extreme than others. In most areas informal shops and back-yard buildings were destroyed but the main buildings were left untouched. But in areas such as Hatcliffe Extension (the high-density area near Harare where I carried out part of my field-work), all of the buildings were demolished (Morreira, 2010).

However, the 'clean-up' of the informal economy did not stop informal activities and many people simply carried on engaging in vending, flea-market trading and foreign-currency dealing. Even in the days after Operation Murambatsvina, informal traders went back to trading on the streets. The clampdown simply made them more covert and creative about hiding these activities from the law (Musoni, 2010).

4.4 Summary and Conclusions

The main points that I have highlighted in my 'story' are the development and impacts of the crisis, and how this is linked to the growth and change in character of informal work practices. In terms of crisis, I have two points of reflection. First, what becomes apparent is that the

issues associated with the crisis (e.g. economic, social and political) are closely interrelated and there is no single cause or impact. Crisis is therefore a relative concept because it may be experienced quite differently from one person to the next. This implies that it would also be interpreted in many different ways at the level of the individual. My second point of reflection on the topic of crisis is that the post-2000 period can be seen as a time of *ongoing crisis* during which peoples' needs have not been adequately met for over 10 years. The implication of this is that the crisis is a chronic occurrence rather than a rupture or break in normality (cf. Vigh, 2008). Given this, the crisis may thus be implicated in constraining the way people work in an ongoing chronic manner.

In terms of informal work practices, my story highlights that the informal sector (and associated practices) was already in existence before the post-2000 crisis period. But at the onset of the crisis, it grew exponentially and changed in character. In particular, whilst informal practices had previously been associated with marginality, during the crisis they became a culturally accepted way of working for nearly everyone in the country. There have thus been substantial cultural changes relating the way people work. In the following three story chapters, I share with you the experiences of a range of individuals who were engaging in informal work practices during the post-2000 crisis. The purpose of these stories is to illustrate, at an individual level, how their engagements enabled them to tactically and creatively overcome their constraints.

5 Narratives of Changing Attitudes and Practices of Work

5.1 Introduction

In the following narratives I reflect two main perspectives. The first is the change in individual attitudes towards ways of working wherein informal work has become a more accepted and valuable way to work than formal work. The second is the subsequent change in work practices whereby the informal sector and informal work practices are 'spaces' of action, compared to the formal work 'place' which is no longer functioning.

In the first story, *"It's Who You Know that Counts: Networks and Connections"*, I tell the story of Rudo, a secretary, who is forced to engage in a variety of informal work activities to make ends meet because she cannot support herself entirely through what she makes from her regular job. She does so by engaging in numerous networks that she has established. In the story, I show how networks of action are an important way to enhance informal work activities and maximise opportunities. I also depict that, for Rudo, engaging with others is a powerful space of motivation in difficult times. It is who you know that counts and you cannot achieve very much if you do not have a network of people that you can turn to when needed.

In the second story, *"Re-establishing norms in the informal economy"*, I narrate a story from the perspective of Adam. Adam owns a business that is no longer productive within the highly uncertain economic environment that has been hard-hit by hyperinflation (as I have illustrated in Chapter 4). Instead, I depict Adam contrasting his deteriorating business with the dynamic and thriving informal sector in the streets, and reflecting on the way that informal work practices have sprung up in the streets and other unlikely spaces. In addition, I also depict him question the changes in society around him. I highlight how the growth of the informal economy reflects changes in the societal perceptions towards the way people work.

I have presented both of these stories in a similar format. I tell them both from the perspective of the individual as if they are telling the story directly to you. Around this I have woven a background to each story which I have constructed from my own experiences whilst collecting my data.

5.2   It's Who You Know that Counts: Networks and Connections

5.2.1 Story

It's lunch time, and Rudo sits in her office at her (official) workplace. She explains how she feels about the crisis going on around her and reflects on different aspects of it. On the one hand she talks about the harsh realities and constraints that she faces because of the crisis. On the other, in a contradictory way, she excitedly relays all the activities that she engages in during her spare time. She explains with pride that she has her own business, which enables her to make a living and meet new people whom she gains inspiration and motivation from. From the way Rudo acts it is clear that the latter is exciting for her to talk about. Her story winds back and forth between these perspectives as it reflects her constraints and perseverance...

"Well," Rudo explains ..."*here I work as an Admin secretary assisting with any admin work or secretarial work. In my spare time I also sell Tupperware and I also sell Jean Guthrie [beauty products]. [...]This I do in my spare time to increase my salary. And, well, of late I have a relative of mine who I am assisting and she does get some sugar here and there. And, of course, I do help her [to sell it]!!"*

"... I have been doing the Jean Guthrie since 2003 and the Tupperware since 2005. You know the situation. At the end of the day I might get my salary and it's not enough. I might need a lot of things, and with the kind of economy that we have, if you just sit around, you know, nothing will work out for you. So, at the end of the day you have to do this and that, [and] get something to sell."

"... before, maybe things were not that hard. I would just rely on my salary and when you get paid at the end of the month and you do your budget it would work out well. But, like I am saying, now things have really changed. There are so many changes, you name it. Socially ... and ... you know ... At the end of the day you need to eat, you need quality food and you need to send your children to school, even the things that you ... It's different from the way things were before [...]. It's not possible at this time. It's not possible when you don't have enough."

"Well, it's probably being faced by almost everyone because you hear almost everyone is complaining. Daily things that you really come across ... shortage of food, basic commodities ...

you are trying to think: where am I going to get this? Where am I going to get this? you know? And it's mainly a problem for everyone ... it's like a crisis for everyone. Kind of because, you know, in this case we now rely on products which are coming from South Africa. People are buying groceries there and coming here to sell them. You buy those things and they are quality. Unlike if you try to shop around here and you come across the prices, they are just beyond."

"[I got the idea to do all this other work]... Well, with some of these things you get motivated. Like with the Jean Guthrie I used to attend this women's conference. And, you know, I got motivated the last time I attended because there were so many people sharing their experiences. You know, business women telling us how they have come to the top and where they have started from. And with such experiences you just want to learn and find out more. You want to be in that position as well, though it's not easy. But I just try and associate with those kinds of people. I just go in there and I ask how it's like and things like that. And they help you with commission. And that's how they helped me to start up my own small ... I call it a mini [business] ... that I do in my spare time. It's a bit difficult these days because people, they are concentrating more on things to eat. Unlike before, I would like phone a friend and they would refer me to their networks and I would take my products there for demonstration during lunchtime, and people put in orders there. You know, it was so exciting. But now it's a bit tricky. It's not everyone who is buying; it's once in a while when you get someone looking for a perfume, looking for products for their face."

"Well, in this situation, I haven't done much [business] really. But, you know, you always try to find ways. I keep checking with my old clients to see if there is anything that I can do for them; you know, some will tell you that their budgets are tight but I keep on checking, and once things are ok they will buy. But it's once in a while ... [I do this because] well, at the end of the day, you want something that keeps you going. And this is also why I had to join Tupperware. Ladies, they always want to decorate their houses! So it's moving, but like I say, as of late they are more wanting to buy basic foods. Basic foods and things like that. You get orders for Tupperware once in a while."

"Ya, [the networking], someone used to coordinate that, but of late she really hasn't been having those conferences. Because, those Jean Guthrie and Tupperware conferences, they help a lot and they motivate people. Like, next week I will be going to South Africa! and I will be attending this Tupperware conference in Sun City!!! So, in a way it uplifts you and motivates you, even when things are a bit tight ... I think I get [motivation] from sharing those experiences

with other people … This is part of my personal life, but like I said I do extra work that helps me with the income for my family, because at the end of the day you get some extra money. Like, even in this case I am going to Sun City and I will be taking my daughter. So it's something which is good, once in a while."

"You know, what I also can say is that these days we are living in challenging times. You have to work like 24-7, not 24-7 as such but it's quite a lot. You know, you have got your job here and you have got your products to sell and you have to meet your other targets, like the Tupperware at the end of the day. They give you targets to work on and at times it becomes so difficult. So it's quite stressful to be honest and you need a break once in a while. It's quite stressful. Because even here at work you have got some deadlines, at times, that you have to meet, and it's not always easy. You are running around, and even like when things are normal and people are buying and things like that, you have to have some spare time where you can go and deliver your products, come back to the office and carry on and work. And we do have meetings at times and when we have those meetings [for the Tupperware/beauty products] we do have to attend. So [it's tough] trying to fit in your own spare time and work time."

"[And] like I was saying, I have got a very close relative of mine, she asked me if I could help her with the sugar selling. And of course we agreed on a price and we worked on how she would pay me back my commission. It's like, she gets it here and there and, whenever she has got stock, she phones me … and now because I have got my networks, it's a bit easier. I know, cos out there a lot of people are also doing that there are competitive rates, you look around, shop around and see how others are selling and for how much. That's how we set up. We set also our prices at things which are reasonable. […] You know, cos I have to tell her, if you put it at so much it will not move. So you have to beat others and put them at a lower level."

"I think most people are into selling and well I can say cos here and there I get lot of inquiries, and like I said, it's also a challenge for me cos another person can just say 'please can you bring such a quantity' and here I am at work and I can't just go in and out, in and out. I have to do my work, so maybe we then reschedule time, after work or at lunch time or if a person can come and collect. They [networks] are very important, because at the end of the day, whenever you have something you also communicate with those same people. And at the end of the day also, as long as there is trust … you know you also have to be someone who is trustworthy. That is also important. Because, you know, with the situation that we are faced, you find it's not everyone who is being honest. A person can just, like, put an advert on the email and say

I'm selling this and at the end of the day they are after ripping people [off], something like that..."

5.2.2 Reflection

I will now present a short reflection of this story to illustrate how Rudo engages in creative action in relation to informal work. There are two main examples of creative action. The first involves the informal sector being a space of action, and the second involves Rudo gaining inspiration from engaging with others through the spaces established by her informal networks. These examples are both set within the dynamics of ongoing crisis, which is a constant source of constraint. It is an ongoing state of crisis for her because she is constantly unable to meet her fundamental needs (in comparison to a time mentioned before the crisis), despite constant attempts to do so. For example, I depict Rudo perceiving many societal changes going on around her and explicitly highlighting that life is very different from before. In particular, she is faced with shortages of basic commodities and foodstuffs, and is constantly questioning where she is going to find the resources she lacks.

In the story, I also indicate that crisis is pervasive and that Rudo is not alone in facing hardship - that it is a crisis for everyone. This is to illustrate that there is a general sentiment that other people are facing similar ongoing problems. In addition, by emphasising these points in the story I stress Rudo's heightened awareness of crisis, but also that she has become attuned to it. I show her awareness through the way she constantly refers to the harsh social dynamics going on around her throughout the story. However, at the same time she does not seem surprised by anything that is taking place, which indicates that she has become accustomed to facing constant constraints as if they are something normal. However, although she appears powerless to prevent what is constraining her, I also depict in the story that she alters her attitude towards these constraints by being prepared to always take some kind of action. I show this in her awareness that she has to do something (anything) and cannot simply sit around doing nothing. This attitude is intrinsically connected with her ability to engage in creative action.

The first example of creative action that I illustrate is the ability to be on the look-out for opportunities, despite challenges that are faced, ready to take advantage of any opportunities that arise. For example, in my story, Rudo faces severe constraints related to her main 'place'

of work because she does not earn enough money to support herself. I indicate this through her finding it difficult to buy quality food and pay for school fees for her child. Rudo is able to overcome this by starting her own informal business selling Tupperware and beauty products as a way of making ends meet. However, simply starting a business does not in itself illustrate creative action because this does not explain how or why this takes place. It is Rudo's attitude and dynamic ability of engaging with her constraints and prior resources that exemplify this. For example, through Rudo's indication that she cannot just sit around and must do something (anything), I illustrate that she is able to be constantly in-between, in other words, ready for opportunities. As a result, she is ready to take the new business opportunity that her relative proposes, whilst at the same time combining it with the networks that she already has at hand. In this way, where she was previously faced with constraints, she has now engaged in creative action within the space of her informal work opportunity. A further point that I highlight in Rudo's story is her embodied metaphoric reference to her creative engagement. When speaking of her new business opportunity she explains that she has to 'beat others' so that they are in a 'lower position'. This conveys an image of her making every effort to creatively get ahead of her competition and win customers[22]. I have included this embodied metaphor in the story because it adds a further dimension to Rudo's engagement through meaningful imagery.

My second example of creative action in this story is the ability to overcome constraints by being open to chance encounters and experiences. For example, in my story I depict Rudo finding it challenging working within a constantly changing environment and having many different things that she constantly has to do. She has to juggle her work life with her personal life and work almost every hour of the day, and finds this extremely stressful. However, she is able to overcome this by actively being open to any chance experiences that may arise. In this way she is engaging in plurality (the ability to be in-between) because of her constant alertness. Thus, when a new experience does arise she is able to take action. In this case, when she links this with her already established networks, they become spaces of action and motivation for her. For instance, I illustrate the way in which Rudo takes advantage of the chance communal encounters, and experiences, with other women at the conferences she goes to. These encounters are spaces in which she can share her experiences of what is

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[22] This may also be interpreted as a violence metaphor. However, the local vernacular in this context refers to the metaphor of winning a competition.

constraining her with others. She is thus able to subvert space where she is able to take action by using her constraints to her advantage and this inspires and motivates her into further action.

Furthermore, in this story I also illustrate that creative engagement in informal work is based on a deep need to gain things that are lacking, as well as on passion. On the one hand Rudo's constraints mean that she is lacking basic fundamental resources such as food and education for her child. On the other she is passionate about engaging with others as a source of inspiration. Overall, I highlight that this is a dynamic and shifting engagement that is not tied to specific places or times. Although Rudo's attitude makes her open to these engagements, it is her ability to dynamically turn her negative situation into a constructive opportunity at opportune moments in time that illustrates her creativity.

5.3 Shifting Attitudes Towards Informal Work and Creative Action

5.3.1 Story

Rudo's story is not an isolated tale of the way that the formal work sector has broken down, and given way to informal activities instead. In another part of town, Adam sits in the back-office of his grocery/whole selling business and tells his story of how this has happened. His story is about the way in which economic crisis has detrimentally affected work practices in Zimbabwe, and the ways in which individuals have (or have not) taken action. There are two perspectives that Adam relays in the story. On the one hand he talks about his own (failing) business. He expresses how and why it is not surviving in the current economic environment, and shares all the problems he has been facing over the previous year. On the other hand he reflects on the dynamics of informal work, how this has grown to be more active then formal work, and the subsequent effects that this has had on the way people work in the country.

"We are in the cash and carry business," he begins. *"Concentrating mainly on grocery lines. We don't do any imports. We haven't done any for the last 3 years, because we can't be seen to be dealing on the parallel market. I think it's a big mistake that we are into with the grocery business because it's really sensitive ... it's curtailed by price controls. It doesn't pay us. I don't know what we are still doing in this business. I think over the last 1 year we have lost over 95% of our capital. How do we cope? We don't cope [...] Now, in a hyperinflationary environment you have already lost money [because you have to pay upfront and] because you are controlled on the selling price ... Just to give you an example, on a particular day, on a Monday ..."* Adam then goes on to give a lengthy example of the dynamics involved in losing money. He refers to the goods he purchases, prices he buys and sells at, and how he has managed to lose money in the span of just one week, by the next Monday.

"You know, besides God's intervention I don't even know how we are paying our salaries anymore. That's how bad it's become. We're still surviving; we have still got fat in the system. We have got good investments. But we are eating into them, all of them ... Now, that's not the way to be doing things. You know, we are employing 69 people; and we would be better off paying them twice the retrenchment they are entitled to and they can go and sit at home because we are living off our own investments anyway. But we are creating employment. We

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are stressed out every day; we come to work with problems every day. I don't even know what we are doing here – at work I mean. There's no way I would leave this country, but work is no more fun. It's stressful, it's very, very, stressful. Had you come here June last year, you wouldn't have been able to walk through this place it was so full. But 13 months, 14 months later, it's empty, completely empty. And it's compounded throughout the trade. Go to OK's, go to TM, you will get the shock of your life. But I hope something happens soon so that we can get back to normal. In a nutshell, that's our problem."

"The Company has been in existence for 76 years. My son has joined the business. And I would like for him to carry on. My other son has gone to university and hopefully he will also come into the business. But this is a legacy. After 76 years you just can't shut shop. It would be worth our while to shut shop; we would actually lose less money and we wouldn't have any of this stress and strain that we have. But after 75 years we have been at it through thick and thin, through drought, through war, through good times. I think we should persevere."

"Those are our national problems. [...] That's basically how we exist."

"[But] we have got big investments in the stock markets. Buying and selling. That's actually how we have been surviving. That's what's kept us afloat; our investments in the stock market. We are subsidising our business for the first time in 75 years! [he exclaims emphatically]. All businesses should be stand alone. I mean, this is our core business and we are subsidising it. But I'm not speaking about myself. If you go to any business, go to all the chains, go to all the independents. Go to whoever you wish. They will tell you the same story. I don't know or how much longer we can carry on. You know, with these talks not having gone through, confidence is very low. But we are still here and we still want to be here ... I was born here, my parents were born here. We are 4 generations,[23] so there is no way I will stop." Adam then goes on to highlight all the reasons why he is still living and working in Zimbabwe, despite all the problems that he is facing ... he compares this to South Africa and concludes that it is worse off there, as a way of further justification: *"It's a lovely country, best people in the world. Most educated, most passive. Good weather, fishing! What more do you want. You know, after all the stress that we have gone through; there would have been a revolution 10 times over anywhere else in the world. But not here; everyone's still peace-loving ... Now you are not going to find qualities like that anywhere else. And I am here for that. I am safe here. I can go to*

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[23] Adam is of Indian origin.

South Africa tomorrow but the crime, attitude, arrogance; I couldn't live with that. I couldn't live with that … No, I am happy here."

"At the moment, nothing in the last couple of months motivates anybody. I guess we're just hoping for better days. I'm not sure it will come. But there is no motivation to come to work. There is no motivation to do anything, seriously. You are likely to lose money with whatever you do. But, like I said, it's been going for 75 years, and we have got a bit of a hiccup the last year, I think we can stick it out. I am hoping for better days, soon."

"Like I said at the onset; unless you are a dealer, you are not going to make money in this country. You have got to be dealing or be doing something underhanded to make ends meet. You have got to be doing that …" Adam pauses and then embarks on another lengthy and detailed explanation of the way in which people engage in arbitrage opportunities, which involve looking out for and snapping up the chance opportunities that arise for a quick 'buck' to be made. His example involves changing money and buying and selling goods in a single day. By the end of the day people are able to triple the money they had at the start of the day. He explains that all of these activities are informal, conducted in US dollars (not the official currency), and kept 'off the books'. It is a complicated explanation and he notices that I am finding it hard to keep up with all the numbers involved. He changes his tactic and begins drawing diagrams and making lists for me so that I can understand better. When he is done with the explanation he gives me this 'evidence' to take away.

"And guys were doing it 2 or 3 times a day and they were doing it with 3000, 5000, 10,000 US$. They were tripling their money and selling it at half price …. And that's why I told you I can't participate in that … and I don't. But unless you are doing that, you are not going to survive. You have got to be seen to be doing that. You have got to be doing that to survive … But, you know, you have got all these arbitrage opportunities. But you have got to be a small business to do this. About 500m circumference from us you have got guys who are selling cokes and cigarettes. We can't sell them because we are selling at the factory price, plus a small mark-up. But they are selling at half the price … but they are doing that [currency exchange/ arbitrage]. They are killing us because they are selling at half price. I don't know who the benefit goes to? But they are making money. There are no two ways about that. But they are selling a hell of a lot. We can't sell. We are trying to run an honest living but we can't sell. And I can give you lots of examples!" he exclaims animatedly, and begins to explain how.

"When you are going back home and you stop at the street corner; ask one of those guys 'how much is your recharge card?' He will tell you 100 bucks, and you say 'but you bought it for 50.' Tell him, 'I'm sure you bought it for 50,' [and] he will probably tell you he bought it for 40 … [They] were paying 1/3 of the face value because it was such a big spread. But you only get windows. And they are short, small windows; 1 or 2 weeks, a couple of times a year, for such opportunities. Guys are so active!"

"But unless you do it, you are not going to make money. But you see what this is doing is they are killing credit; they've killed it. They've killed distribution. I mean, the guys that are renowned for doing the distribution for cell phone cards are no more in existence. It's all informal. That's what they are doing. And to formalise it again – it's going to take a long time. We have got the infrastructure, we have got the premises, we have got the people, we have got the trucks; but we don't have the distribution. We have got the ability but we don't have the goods …"

"If you stand outside for 5 minutes, by your car, you will see how many women walk up and down with soap – a green bar. But the hub of the green bar is about 100 metres from here. Before 8 o'clock in the morning, they come from the bus station, from the railway station and they come and they set up, they park it here. And during the day they sell it. That soap, the price of that soap probably changes every hour, up or down, depending on the US$. It's dollarised. […] It holds value, it's valuable wherever you go. You cannot lose with it."

"Our employees got a 6000% increase last week. I got the shock of my life. I don't know how I'm going to pay it, but last week, the minimum payment was up to 2645[US]$ for 2 weeks." Adam explains, again in detail, the mental logistics. This time, of how his company and employees will all make a loss out of this recent drawback that has arisen. *"[But] we must be thankful we are here and we are surviving and we have the cream and the fat to sustain us … but how much longer, and why? We are losing money and not making money through no fault of ours. Despite our honesty and our efforts we are making no money … where does that happen? But if you want to survive in this country; if you want to make money in this country, you've got to deal…"*

"You know, I don't think there is a single guy [in their 20s] that is employed. […] They not employed. They refuse to be employed … get up at 10 o'clock in the morning, scratch their

head. Go to Italian Bakery, go crack a deal for 50[US] bucks, 100[US] bucks[24]. You are not going to get paid 100 US$ a day, but you can do it in your leisure time. So why work? We don't have a single guy working for us who is under – I'm talking Asian, he clarifies; we don't have a single guy under 40. And there are a lot of them out there, [...] all unemployed. Flashy cars, flashy clothing, flashy cell phones, and they don't work. Why should they. That's sad, very sad. Their parents didn't intend that, but they are making money, lots of money. Like I said at the onset, unless you are dealing, you are not going to make money."

"But I'm still here, I intend to be here. I don't intend to leave." He concludes with a firm and enduring attitude, and a smile.

5.3.2 Reflection

In this section I reflect on Adam's story to highlight several changes in attitudes towards work, and how this is linked with creative action. I present three main points. My first point is that, during ongoing crisis, the formal workplace has deteriorated and this poses constraints on (creative) action. Second, that informal work spaces have instead sprung up in the streets, and these are intricately connected with dynamic creative action. And my third point is that there have been shifts in societal attitudes towards what constitutes acceptable ways of working.

Similar to Rudo's story, this is all set within the dynamics of ongoing crisis, which is a constant source of constraint. In particular, I reflect the economic crisis and hyperinflation which I depict in several ways. I highlight, for example, the fluctuating economic environment where prices are changing daily, how money is lost and made in short spaces of time, the rise of the parallel market where money is exchanged, and that wages have increased in thousands of percentages. I highlight that these are ongoing constraints through Adam's statement that crisis has become an existence. Within all of this, I portray how Adam's formal business is struggling to survive, and the only way he is able to keep it afloat is by sustaining it with his other investments on the stock market. I express Adam's anguish at this economic turmoil, and the subsequent deterioration of his business. For example, I portray his frustration that this is

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[24] A deal such as this would involve arbitrage where people would make money by changing goods - or even 'cash' - on the parallel market.

out of his control, and that it is very stressful to be in this kind of environment and he is finding it difficult to cope with all of this.

My first point of reflection relates to the deterioration of the formal workplace and how this is related to constraints on (creative) action. For example, in my story I depict Adam engaging in formal work, but not in any kind of informal work or associated creative action. I do, however, portray him engaging in some actions which are associated with this process. I do this to illustrate a limited engagement that is unrealised. For example, I depict his awareness and acceptance of the crisis as a way of highlighting that he is extremely aware of what constrains him. However, in my story I direct Adam's focus to his formal work. I do not portray him using his constraints to his advantage, taking chance opportunities, or engaging with spaces such as informal work. He only refers to others doing so, and that he does not engage in them because he sees this as dishonest. What I illustrate through this is that he is shifting his way of thinking about what constrains him, to an extent, but is not focused on this. In other words, he is not actively seeking out opportunities and is thus unable to engage in creative action. I illustrate this lack of creative engagement by employing polytropy - mixing food and body metaphors - when I highlight that Adam is supporting his business with his investments, as opposed to looking for opportunities. For example Adam refers to his investments as the 'fat' and 'cream' 'in the system'. This conveys imagery of 'richness' that is sustaining his business when he 'eats' the 'fat' and 'cream'. As a result, his focus on attempting to keep control of his business and 'feeding' it draws his attention away from noticing opportunities that may arise.

The second point which I highlight in my story is that, as the formal workplace has deteriorated, informal work spaces have instead sprung up in the streets and other spaces such as cafés. For example, I depict Adam contrasting the deterioration of his business with the dynamic and thriving informal sector in the streets. He vividly portrays the action of small-scale vendors busily selling goods such as cokes (Coca Cola), cigarettes, soap and recharge cards for mobile phones, as well as people making deals in cafés. These spaces are intricately connected with dynamic creative action wherein people are constantly on the lookout for opportunities that they can take advantage of. In this story, I highlight an example of creative action closely linked with economic constraint. This is the notion of arbitrage. For example, Adam explains how vendors and dealers are able to make quick deals by buying and selling goods on the black markets. In this example I illustrate plurality by people constantly being on the lookout and waiting for opportunities. Thus, their ability to be in-between enables them to

take quick action when an opportunity arises unexpectedly. Here, the opportunity comes about through the hyperinflation causing a short-lived imbalance in the markets. In this way, people are taking advantage of what would normally constrain them and are able to take action. Vendors selling goods in the streets, and young 20-year-olds in cafés, are creatively taking action by capitalising on the inflation. As a result, in these examples informal work is a space of creative action, while the formal workplace hinders action.

The third and final point of reflection that I make through this story is that there have been shifts in societal attitudes towards what constitutes acceptable ways of working. I illustrate this in my story by depicting Adam questioning the changes in society around him. First, as I have highlighted, there has been a deterioration of work in formal businesses such as Adam's, which is no longer functioning and hinders action. As a result, what has happened instead is that the informal sector has grown because people are able to find opportunities and take action here. Thus, this area of work is now considered to be a more valuable way of working. I illustrate this by highlighting the shift in work patterns. For example, in my story there is now prolific activity of vendors in the streets. In addition, the younger generations do not consider paid employment to be a significant way of working and instead choose to make quick deals in cafés. The final change that I highlight is in the perceptions of what is considered to be morally acceptable kinds of work. For example, in the story Adam does not engage in deals because he views these as underhand. However, many other people are engaging in deals and arbitrage despite this sentiment. This illustrates the acceptance of ways of working that may usually be unacceptable, under certain conditions.

Overall, in this story I have highlighted that, on the one hand the formal workplace is no longer functioning and instead informal work in a space of creative action. In this story, Adam's focus on his business makes him unable and unwilling to use his constraints to his advantage. On the other hand, informal work is a space of creative action, but at the same time associated with a change in the forms of work considered to be acceptable. It may be that the constraints from the crisis make it momentarily justifiable to engage in behaviour that would normally be considered unacceptable.

5.4 Summary and Conclusions

Overall, in these two narratives I have illustrated that there has been a shift in ways of working from formal to informal practices. Where formal work is no longer functioning in the crisis, informal work becomes a space for creative action to occur. The examples I have given of creative action are Rudo taking advantage of a chance opportunity to start a new informal business with her cousin, as well as also taking advantage of the chance communal encounters, with other women at conferences and using these to share her experiences and find inspiration. In Adam's story I present the (not so edifying) example of arbitrage, which involved people making deals, buying and selling goods, by capitalising on short-lived imbalance in the markets caused by hyperinflation. Furthermore, in addition to this, my stories highlight some changes in societal perceptions towards work. First, that formal work in these settings hinders action while informal work enables creative action. In this way, informal work is thus considered to be a more valuable way of working. Second, following on from this certain generations no longer perceive paid employment to be a significant way of working and choose to make deals instead. Finally, there appears to be a shift in what are considered as acceptable ways of working.

6   Narratives of Artistic Engagement in Informal Work

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I narrate the way in which people in Zimbabwe artistically engage in informal activities in order to literally 'create' (in this sense to make) informal employment, and in doing so engage in creative action.

In the first story, *"A One-Man* Kukiya-kiya *Economy"*, I shift the perspective to the streets and highlight the different activities that are taking place here. Similar to Adam's story (in Chapter 5), the streets are teeming with activity in comparison to the empty stores nearby. Within all of this action I present Dexter and his 'spectacular machine'. This machine is a work of art that Dexter has created, and which he engages with to make an informal living. This is a space of creative engagement which enables Dexter to take action and create goodwill for others. In addition, I purposefully include myself in this story to illustrate how my engagement with Dexter may be implicated in his creative actions.

In the second story, *"It's 'Outer-action': Putting Words into Action"*, I highlight the way in which Tendai engages with the 'spoken word', through modes such as poetry and song, in order to create work for himself and take action during the time of crisis. Through the 'spoken word' he constructs, with others, an informal organisation called *Heroes.* This is a space in which Tendai creatively uses his constraints to his advantage and this enables himself and others to take action.

I have presented each of these stories to reflect the type of work that each individual is engaged in. I have represented *"A One-Man* Kukiya-kiya *Economy"* through a combination of text and images which I collected via video footage in the field (see video clip of Dexter in Appendix 3). By including pictures in my story, I am able to emphasise and illustrate Dexter's engagement with his art work in a more vivid manner. An entirely textual story would not have enabled me to capture the detail that the pictures convey, such as Dexter's engaging attitude or the intricate elements of his sculpture. I present the second story, *"It's 'Outer-action':* *Putting Words into Action"*, through the spoken word. I narrate Tendai's story from his perspective as if he is communicating directly with you.

6.2 A One Man Kukiya-kiya Economy

6.2.1 Story

The Village

The shopping centre is called The Village. It's a conventional shopping centre with shops, cafés and supermarkets. Here you would come to buy clothes, groceries, furniture, most things that you would want. The main shopping centre is in the style of a quaint English village, it resembles rows of little terraced houses all lined up next to each other. There are several islands of shops, and a TM Supermarket to one side that you have to walk across an open car park to get to. There is not a lot going on at the shopping centre today, whereas a few years ago it would have been teeming with people. The shops have slowly been emptied of their wares and many have not been able to replenish their stocks because the excessive hyperinflation and price controls have made it too expensive to do so. I walk past the supermarket, which is a stark example of this. Many of the shelves are bare. Those that are filled usually have only one kind of item on display, all lined up neatly to make the shelf appear to do its job. Today it's a sparse assortment of cornflakes that adorns one of the shelves visible from the street. There are no eggs or packets of milk; these are luxuries in today's economy. Walking on, I glance back at the entrance where the cashiers' tills are positioned. It is clearly evident from the bored faces of the cashiers that the crisis has hit this store today because there is no electricity to run the tills.

On the far side of the car park is a cluster of shops which are more upmarket than the shops in the main Village. This is the Village Walk. These shops sell distinctive products and are set apart by a high wall that closes the grounds off from the street and the car park. Inside the wall is a different time and place that is more exclusive and sumptuous. Here, the shops are fully functioning. On the one side there is an antique shop with beautiful old furniture and crystal vases. And just next to it is a handmade chocolate shop with a café. The smell is delicious and leaves an atmosphere which is rich and exotic. Here, the customers casually sip Belgian hot chocolate and eat chocolate cake and look out over a garden nursery. Most nurseries I have seen around here have a shelter area under which all the plants are lined up in limp rows. This one is completely different because it has magnificent emerald foliage growing out of unusual containers such as tea pots, wheel barrows and watering cans. There is also a waterfall and a lily-filled pond. The exotic sound of freely available water drowns out the traffic on the other side of the wall. Water has been a scarcity in the crisis, and its fresh abundance is therefore captivating. I reflect that it is quite remarkable that all of these things exist just from looking at the outside wall. And quite extraordinary that they exist at all when you think of what a mess the country is in. I mean, really, Belgian chocolates and antiques in the middle of an enchanted

garden; no one would believe me if I told them that this existed in Zimbabwe, and certainly not in the middle of this crisis.

I step out of the nursery and back into the car park...

There is an abundance of activity on the street. It appears as if people are doing more business out here today, than the supermarket has in a week.

"Mangoes, mangoes... "

There are people waiting on the side of the road for the commuter omnibus[25] to take them away from here, maybe home, maybe to town. There is no bus shelter but people know where to wait.

"Can you spare some change shamwari[26]...? I have no bus fare to go home today... " I hear a man ask a passerby...

As well as this there are many street vendors walking, sitting, and standing along the pavements, in the car park, and on the side of the road. A car drives into the car park, and 3 or 4 vendors run up to it with their wares...

"What is sir looking for today? Would sir like some fresh flowers?"

"No I have the best mangoes; sure, you are looking for mangoes..."

"I have these avocados, they are very tasty ... from Chitungwiza[27]... will you help me out and buy these so that I can have some bus fare today?"

Mangoes are bought, flowers and avocados are refused, the car drives away – perhaps the driver did not have enough cash to buy all of the offerings today. The mango seller can count himself lucky that he is the one with bus fare today.

An old man sells curios and carvings of elephants and hippos. His wares are laid out on a piece of cloth on the pavement and he marks his shop floor with a row of small stones and an upturned bucket. He has fallen asleep and does not notice a customer nearby...

"Masikati Sekuru,[28]" the customer says to greet him, but he does not hear and carries on sleeping...

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[25] A taxi bus which is a common form of transportation.

[26] Shona word for friend.

[27] A satellite high-density town near to Harare.

[28] Shona phrase meaning: Good afternoon Grandfather. It is also often used as a term of respect for an elderly man.

Across the road a young boy finds his steady supply of customers at the traffic light. He is very young and looks like he should be in primary school. He is selling Buddy cards[29] and newspapers. A woman in a black Land Rover has stopped at the red robot[30]...

"What are you doing here in the street? Shouldn't you be in school?" She asks the boy, scolding him.

He smiles cheekily at her, whilst holding out a newspaper, and says nothing. Although the woman scolds, she still buys a paper from him, and gives him a tip, conscious that he is here because his parents probably couldn't afford to send him to school this year. It is a growing problem that many families are no longer able to educate their children because they cannot afford to pay for the school fees. And he is not the only one here; there are other children in the street who don't have anything to sell at all. They are simply begging for money...

"Madam ... can I have some mari[31]..."

There is so much going on and my attention shifts back and forth between the noises and the sights going on around me in the street. It appears that business also involves a lot of conversation, and people are having intense exchanges about how their day has gone so far. They talk about the hassles they are facing, and add in the ones their neighbour is facing too.

Ahh, the situation here...

Someone starts to say, and you know straight away that they are talking about some problem they have which is related to the crisis. At the moment it's usually a conversation about how to get cash, because no one seems to have enough of it. Then again, maybe its milk or sugar that they are looking for because no one seems to be able to find either of these on the sparsely stacked shelves in the supermarkets.

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[29] Prepay top-up cards for mobile phones.

[30] Traffic lights are colloquially referred to as 'robots'.

[31] Shona word for money.

The Business of a 'Global Village'

I turn and see a sign...

My attention is immediately transported away from the activities of The Village and the Village Walk to another space where a different sort of village exists, a 'Global Village'. A new space is unfolding near to the gate of the enchanted nursery, and all of a sudden the nursery seems to no longer exist. Time has shifted to this new space of action.

The Global Village is a 2-metre long, fully portable and mechanical miniature sculpture of the entire world. The sheer size of this unique creation is an attraction alone. But a closer look also confirms that it has been made by a skilled artist because of the attention to detail in every part of it. It depicts minituare people from all over the world and each figure moves mechanically when a series of levers is turned. I am not the only one to notice it; the attention of others is drawn too, and the sculpture and its maker have atracted a group of spectators. These people, who appear to have been shopping in The Village and the Village Walk, are gathering around it, magnetised out of curiosity. The other street vendors stand around on the pavement, busy minding their own wares.

Dexter stands with his sculpture. He is in control and dedicated to showing everyone his work of art. It is an important performance that he is about to begin...

Dexter begins by engaging with the audience.... He smiles sheepishly and leans forward...

"Right, tell me, what's your name?" He asks me inquisitively. *"I'm Alia."* ... *"Nice to meet you, Alia,"* he says, and I reply that I'm happy to meet him too.

"You are welcome, you are welcome ... I'm going to show you my sculpture ... Now tell me," (he eyes the recorder excitedly) ... *"the machine does the taking of the information? Coming in action? Is it?"*... I nod. *"Right, let's go for it!"* he says excitedly as he walks back to the sculpture to begin his show.

The sculpture is not stationary; it also has working sections which can be moved to illustrate the actions that people are undertaking. Dexter does not only talk, as he is talking and explaining every part of the sculpture he also demonstrates how the sculpture works mechanically and he turns each lever one by one.

He talks in an even tone, taking his time and gives a clear, detailed explanation of every activity on every part of the sculpture. He changes his tone when he has something to emphasise, or when there is a point of interest he alters his intonation...

"So now I am going to show you my sculpture."

...THE GOLDEN SCULPTURE...

...IT'S A CLEVER MACHINE.

"Right ... now here I will introduce to you Zimbabwean culture and the SADC countries ... and where my hand is pointing, that's where I will point for you. Over there, we are getting over there 3 women. They are stamping in the mortar, they are from Masvingo. Whilst the chicken eating over there is from Slovella..."

"A main theme in this sculpture is that you will get all the races. All the races will team up together."

And that ma'am grinding with her baby on her back, that is Penelonga, Manicaland, and this old man busy chopping wood, that is Lubane. "

Two signs confirm this:

AFRICA UNITE

UNIFICATION oF AFRICAN STATES WITH THE WORLD IN MIND!!!

The children put money in the donation box and Dexter says: *"you are welcome; you are welcome,"* (while indicating a thumbs-up gesture)... *"come over here please..."* he says while ushering them around to the side so that they can see what he is pointing to, and quickly fills them in on where we are up to with the demonstration...

"Thank you."

"Thank you."

"Sweet, you are welcome and God bless."

"And a dread man, he is fishing using a hook, he is from Malawi, and that's Lake Malawi. And drumming and doing the sculpture, that is Ndaba Zinduna. And the Beitnoff Bridge welcomes a tourist taking photos. He is a foreigner from France and his car is parked there. Whilst an eagle about to be taking off there, it's from the National Kruger Park. "

"And a dread man taking a big cigarette, that's a joint, this is Binga ... and a man ploughing under the bridge, that is Mondoro, and that's a bush man on training in Botswana Kalahari. And next to the Bushman, we are witnessing, check out the Zulu dancing with a spear and a shield in South Africa in Kwa-Zulu-Natal. And that ma'am sitting with a baby playing with a flower on her back, that is Mount Darwin. And a baboon eating a maize cob up a tree after stealing from the maize field, that is Mutoko. And that's a windmill pumping up water in Chiredzi. And down the windmill we check out an elderly man from Zvimba, in Toma Village, busy doing the final touches on that fence. Whilst this guy from Chishawashe is bringing up water from the well ... You watch over here, there is a silver bucket coming out here ... here you are, the bucket is out! That's Chishawashe..."

I ♥ KUMUSHA

"And now we are checking out Central Africa..."

"...a woman is pounding corn; there is a snake in the grass."

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"And that ma'am coming from selling her products, and watching over the garden while watering, that is Namibia. Whilst a cow is trying to jump over a kraal to follow the food, from Botswana Shashe, and the man outside the Kraal is digging for some diamonds, is also from Botswana Shashe. "

"Come over to the other side ... and underneath the kraal we welcome the mother operation welcoming a baby with another baby playing with a flower, that is Mozambique. And that ma'am filling cotton inside the sack... that is Gokwe. And that's a plough for the oxen from Kezi. And that man busy shaking a scud[32] to drink, that is Pepridge. "

"Right, in viewing this side here we're welcoming a sorting woman sieving. And in between, under there, is a Black Mumba from Chipinge trying to eat a chicken from where they lay their eggs. "

"There is war in this part of the sculpture."

"...but we don't want war there."

IN GOD WE TRUST

States another sign.

...

"Right, here we have been introducing SADC countries and being more about Zimbabwe – in our own country. And we are springing on to check over Central Africa..."

"...and North East..."

"...up to the Middle East."

"...here is the Nile, the longest river in Africa."

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[32] Colloquial name for a type of beer brewed by the Chibuku Brewery in Zimbabwe.

"And here we have got a witch Doctor who is cleansing the patient who is sick. That is Nigeria...

"And that is an African changer and we are getting that man trying to get the bucket for him in the changing area. "

"And Father Christmas decorating the Christmas Tree, that is the Middle East, by Bethlehem. "

"Jesus is there with Mother Mary and Joseph."

"And here we welcome the little baby Jesus lying on a manger and that is Mother Mary, and Father Joseph, thanking the wise men for bringing gifts. That's the 25th of December. Whist the Angel Gabriel is watching over. "

"Blessed this sculpture it is... "

One little girl looks confused, he pauses and repeats himself:

blessed this sculpture it is by trying to take all the people together."

"Isn't it blessed?" (he asks her). She nods her head in agreement.

And he carries on with the story,

"And that ma'am busy, knitting a jersey, whilst speaking to Daddy after coming from ploughing. That is Cameroon. "

He pauses the story and says *"Come over this way"* as he indicates for everyone to move to the next part of the sculpture...

Another two signs read:

CLEVER	Machine By Dexter

UNITED NATIONS

He continues... *"and that ma'am, she is busy clapping her hands whilst she is speaking to Daddy after coming from hunting ... that is Mali. And in between here we've got 2 drunken masters fast asleep after 7 days' beer ... that is Togo!"* He exclaims.

"Then up the sculpture we welcome Jesus Christ being nailed on to the cross, along with these..." he says pointing to the adjacent crosses. *"That is Middle East up to Calcutta. And on the other side we have got Mother Mary and Mother Magdalene, witnessing the tomb of him where he has arisen."* Mary and Magdalene look like two women of the apostolic faith dressed in white... *"And here we welcome him on his resurrection, ascending to heaven; this is still the Middle East."* He points to a model of Jesus who is elevated above the rest of the sculpture and looks as if he is hovering in the air.

...

A sign near the eagle reads:

DONATIONS are for improving the SCULPTURE

Another reads:

STOP	FIGHTING
STOP	KILLING (LET'S UNITE
IN OUR	MOTHERLAND

And another:

TOGETHER UNITE

He continues:

"...and here we have got the lovers romancing each other before the .... That is the United States of America..."

They sit next to a sign which reads:

For the love of your life

...

Dexter carries on with the performance, describing why he decided to make his sculpture. He continues to talk, but now with more passion in his voice ... you can sense that he is talking from his heart and sharing deep sentiments. He emphasises what he is saying with strong gestures and intonation. His whole body becomes involved in communicating his message ... he no longer relates to the sculpture but relates on his own. His message begins to hold more importance.

"Oh well, since I cannot even think about it ... but what I believe is that God is for us all," he says, and smiles.

"And..."

"...that they should command themselves..."

He smiles again.

"We have seen wars from back and whatever so we cannot continue making other wars," he shakes his head in dismay.

"We should make time to gather ourselves..." he smiles and clasps his hands together in a gesture of unity as he did earlier...

He continues to explain what his sculpture is...

Ah, it's my own invention...

He states, grinning proudly ... (but he does not engage with the idea that it is work).

"But I believe that God has got something to do with the main characters who he has brought in on this sculpture..."

"Before, I just tried tree cutting to remove trees from dangerous places. I went for that for 7 years, although I knew that I was just injected into art from my youth..."

He is animatedly demonstrating complex gestures to emphasise how complicated the tactics were.

"...so I don't know how God made it like this right now... that I can check my life has been changed to that motion that I can totally live out of that [points to sculpture]. That I can just live out of art that is trying to make all the people work together...
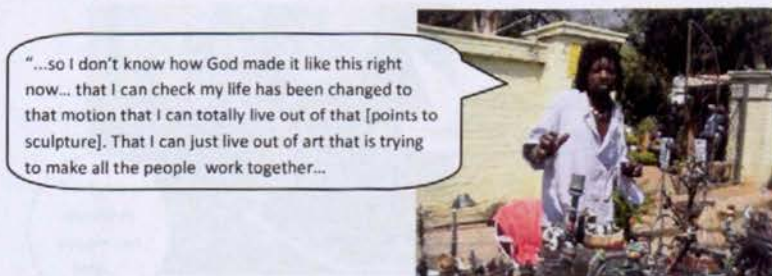
"And also the thing is, like, in the near future, when maybe God opens the doors of my heart, which he wants it to be done in this" (he says, looking at and gesturing towards the sculpture)...

"And also the thing is in the near future, I need this art to be bettered..."

"I need this art to be bettered. What I mean by bettered is being improvised by taking modern life ... taking from the gadgets and whatever" (he repeats his complicated gestures). *"Shall I say, where it can sense and the like ... whereby mankind can even end up buying a token and spinning it on, then the machine can then be in motion by itself, and I am checking what is happening and information is coming out from there... "*

"So I have got so much visions coming out and I am just lacking in cash ...to put my vision out into the world..."

"...so that they can check me what I have got in my heart."

"So if you can help me (he smiles cheekily), *and the other people over* (he points to the village walk) *with the cash..."*

"...with some cash..."

"So if you or the other people can help..."

"Then I think the visions will be all out into the world" (his expression is earnest, and serious again).

"...then the visions can come out and I can show the world what is good in my heart."

"...which I want people to do" (he smiles warmly again).

"Unity is all man, which is, international is vital ... we mustn't keep on battering one another. God is for us all, although we differ into races, but we should gather our own selves and be as one" (he again clasps his fists together to indicate people coming together).

"That's why we might think ... I mean, God made his own son who was crucified and went on away from the world, if they all unify themselves then I think the son of him can come, for the second time."

"Without unity there is no up and coming of goodness into the world..."

"... so I am just crying to the world that all the people team up and work together for their own fruition to come to love."

The show has ended and I thank Dexter...

"You are welcome", he replies (bumping fists with me), "together as one!"

6.2.2 Reflection

My aim in this story is to illustrate how Dexter is able to creatively generate informal work for himself through his artistic talent, when he did not have employment. In doing so, he creatively uses what is constraining him, and takes advantage of unforeseen opportunities to take action. I highlight two main themes this story. First I highlight how most of the stores in the vicinity are almost empty, and instead (as with Adam's story) there is more action taking place in the streets. The second theme I highlight is how Dexter engages in creative action. I give three examples of this, including an example that involves myself as the researcher.

In my story I begin by highlighting how many formal workplaces have almost ceased functioning and that conversely the street is a more productive place to be working. The shopping centre represents a structured way of working which no longer functions as it is supposed to, while the informal activity of the street is unstructured but enables dynamic action. For example, I depict that very few people are shopping in the shopping centre, and that the supermarket is almost empty of goods. In this way, even if people are shopping they will find almost nothing to buy. Usually this is a place in which large volumes of business take place. I then contrast this with the activity in the streets and car park outside of the shopping centre. People have subverted space around the shopping centre and are actively engaging in informal work activities. Here I illustrate how the streets are filled with people actively buying and selling goods or just passing by.

Within all of this activity in the street, I present Dexter with his 'Global Village', which is a giant sculpture - embodied metaphor - that he has individually hand-crafted using scrap materials. This brings me to my first example of creative action. By crafting this sculpture, Dexter displays creativity because he is taking action by bodily using his constraints to his advantage. For example, in my story I illustrate how he is constrained because times are hard and he lacks employment (and thus also lacks the accompanying income and resources that he may have needed). Due to this, he is driven to make his sculpture through which he is able to make a living. I illustrate creative action because Dexter dynamically uses what is constraining him to his advantage, combines this with his artistic abilities, and also re-uses scrap materials that he has at hand, to craft his sculpture. By constructing his sculpture he is thus able to take action as he can now use his sculpture to make a living for himself. The sculpture is an embodied metaphor which reflects how he bodily and creatively overcomes his constraints. In this way,

the sculpture conveys further meaning about his experiences because it vividly relays his creative engagement.

The second example of creativity that I illustrate in my story is Dexter's ability to take advantage of opportunities that arise where he intercepts passers-by to engage with him and his sculpture. For example, I illustrate how Dexter appropriates a space on the corner of the street near to the Village Walk - the small exclusive shopping area that is the only formal shopping area functioning. He is positioned on the corner, busy on the lookout and waiting at the ready to take advantage of any opportunity that arises. There is a certain level of calculation in this because he is more likely to find people to engage with on this specific corner, and his sculpture clearly stands out from all the other activities that people around him are doing. However, his is act of being busy but waiting indicates his ability to be in a state of 'in-between-ness', or plurality, where he is constantly on the lookout for and open to chance opportunities that may arise. These opportunities are presented by passersby who may potentially engage with him, and they are chance opportunities because he does not know when this will happen or who he will meet. When a passerby does pause to look at his sculpture he quickly takes the opportunity to turn this encounter into a valuable experience for himself. In the story I depict him combining this with his storytelling abilities as a way of constructing a space for action. For example he tells a story about the world in conjunction with his sculpture and this leads him to making some money. This is an example of creativity which is related to informal work because Dexter has the ability to be in-between and open to opportunities arising, subsequently snatching them up as soon as they do. Consequently, by combining this with his additional artistic abilities (both sculpture and storytelling), he bodily constructs a space of action which leads to him making a living. His engagements could potentially lead to any number of other opportunities as well because of the element of chance, as I will indicate in my next example.

My third example of Dexter's creative ability is linked to the previous example. In this case, I reflect on my own engagements in this process as a way of indicating how I was implicated in Dexter's creative action because he saw me as an opportunity that could be taken. I highlight this in my story by including my own narrative experience and the shared engagement between Dexter and I. For example, in the story I convey how Dexter takes advantage of the opportunity to engage with me. I include details of how he asks my name, and clearly wants me to engage with him and his sculpture. In addition, he is also inquisitive about my camera to

the extent that he wants me to record his sculpture and performance. This indicates that he clearly wants me to take his information away with me, and perhaps this will avail him of future opportunities. Dexter is being creative because, as in the last example, he takes the chance to engage with a passer-by - in this case me - and tell a story with the aid of his sculpture. As such, I have been a part of constructing Dexter's space of creative action in the moments of our encounter, but also (for him), this may also bring about future opportunities because I will also share this experience with others.

Overall, in this story I have illustrated several examples of creative action taking place in different ways in an informal work setting. The setting is (like in Adam's story) the busy streets where many people are vending a range of goods. Through all of my examples I illustrate how a single individual epitomises the ability to creatively engage in informal work, in conjunction with his artistic ability. He is constantly, actively, looking out for any opportunities that may arise at any moment, and jumps at them when they do. As a result, he artistically constructs multiple shifting spaces of action that arise at different points in time and enable him to consistently take action. This story also reflects that Dexter's engagement is based on a deep passion because he draws on his personally fulfilling artistic abilities. In addition I reflect on my own engagement in this process. I do so to acknowledge that I was implicated in Dexter's creative engagements, and reflexively account for my actions as a researcher.

6.3 'Outer-action': Putting Words into Action

6.3.1 Story

It's the middle of the day and Tendai and his friend, another self-styled Poet-Musician, are both at The Café. They talk about what they do for a living, and it appears that they work in a similar way, by engaging with the 'spoken word' and performing poetry and music. This is Tendai's story. It is as much a story about the kind of work he does as it is an equally reflective internal dialogue that is highly contemplative and imaginative. His story is awash with different reflections and ideas and at times it is hard to keep up with him, as he moves back and forth between topics. However, this simply reflects his nature as a poet and artist.

Tendai begins by talking about his 'work' engagements. He explains that this involves performing with poetry and music, in groups and with a band. He begins by reflecting on his past and where it all started in his childhood ... *"I mean, I remember always getting into trouble with my moms and my pops ... because I'd be, like, writing it in my books, my school books ... pieces or rhymes or stuff but then, yeah at The Café, I started [performing] in 2001. Somewhere around that time ... but yeah..."* He pauses and reflects as if he is reliving this time, and carries on talking about the present day ... *"Well, we've got an organisation called Heroes. But then that's also within, you know, the confines of the spoken word, or like music ... so yeah ... that's what I do. Yeah ... use words."*

He goes on to explain more about what he means by using words ... *"I think the passion ... I think, I don't know if there is such a thing as a double passion. Like, passion about words and at the same time a passion about causes. So it's like using words to support certain causes. So, I mean, with Heroes what we do is, we get together every month, we get people to perform ... you know, people looking at it like stress relief ... like putting your energy out there and then hopefully the people in the crowd get a chance to analyse and hopefully go away with something from it. They might come up with solutions that they never get to give but then it's always like analysing a certain problem and hopefully coming up with a solution ... or at least thinking about the problem. I think that's, like, the first step in actually initiating change, you know ... so yeah, we get together and try and present it in a more creative way, like it's more palatable. So, I mean, you can have, like, pictures there with war and scars and what have you, and it actually shuts you off more than it gets you interested. So if you kinda, like, portray it in a*

more creative way, it draws people in. And when you're left with them, hopefully they've drawn a message from it. So yeah, this is what we do ... This is what I do."

"Yeah, but I mean, one thing I like about the Zim situ[ation] is that it's gotten so bad that it's forced people to actually wake up ... to the situ[ation] ... like ... you know, when people say 'ok, you need to hustle because there's no work' and if there is work then you not going to get money ... literally. You know, so you find people in the street but it's more like ... people are more like ... you know, we've formalised the informal sector. And that's what's, like, more what's formal. Like, when, you know, you, like, wanna get something you'll find it on the street, like, and it's given more of a face to what you want. It's, like, when you go into the big major corporate supermarkets and all you see is, like, a brand ... there's no human aspect to it. But then, now, you know, if you want money, you go down the street and you see some 'dude,' it's now, like, some dude you know and he hooks you up with it and you now have a relationship built off of that ... But I think that's how business should be like ... Because, now, if you go into [one of the large shops], they really don't care about you. It's no longer customer service. [But in the street] it's customised service or it's like, how people have gone and they just hustle, they hustle in the street. I kinda think that's, that's what I believe in. It's a more formalised, how can I say it ... Um, what can I say ... ahh ... I think people being the owners of their work and stuff, not just, you know, being another cog in the works, you know. So I think that's kinda cool."

"It's like ... if I want to go to SA and they won't give me a visa, I'll jump the border, [to] make it there. I mean, I dunno it's like, one of those when people try to close the door you try to find another way around it ... So that's cool, I think it's cool. [...] I mean, they literally need to eat so they move beyond the streets tomorrow, and stuff. So I mean, it's like, the problem isn't just that they are selling stuff on the streets, the problem is why they have to sell stuff on the streets. So it's like that's just a symptom. [...] So I think a symptom is good. A disease is the problem. So yeah... yeah ..."

He starts talking about his own work again, rather than the work in the streets and reflecting on how he works and the challenges he faces, and explains how he deals with these ...

"Well [with my] gigs, I mean yeah ... I mean, you know, you always want to be autonomous, but if you want to go for autonomy you have to have all the stuff you need in order to carry it out. So we work with these guys, they provide stuff [music equipment], we come through. I mean yeah. I mean, I don't see them as problems, more like challenges cos it's always cool you

know ... you know, whenever there is a show ... By the way, we have a show on Saturday 27ᵗʰ - it's from 3. It's like, from, like, getting posters up, just printing posters and designing, it's stressful but it's also like a beautiful struggle, cos you know it's like you are giving birth to something, when you're seeing it happening, when you're like, 'ok ... wow!' This is why we do this. It kinda erases over the problems you're going through and you don't see the challenges, you don't see the problems. So, I mean, ya it's like you know [bad] things happen, good things happen so you just take them in stages. I think the reason things happen is because you can take them. I mean, the reason why Zim is in the situation it's in is because it can take it. If you take the scenario and you just put it out of the Limpopo you've got a totally different outcome. I mean, bloodshed ... I mean, people will be crying bloody murder. Cos I mean, the way we've reacted is different ... And, I mean that you don't conquer it or vanquish it or maybe you succumb to it but there is some learning from it and moving from it and it's a growth and you go through it. I don't see it as problems. I just see it as life ... like today I got rained on! ... Yeah, like you know, you can go back home and get dry and it's cool and you can say 'guess what? I'm dry now'. And you just keep going ... so yeah, and it's like, no problem. Apart from the obvious [problems], but since they are obvious I don't think they are problems as well. So yeah, I think things just end up cancelling out which is good..."

"Like, cos I mean, if you stop trying to counter problems around you, you are going to have a really stressed life. [...] It actually, I think it disillusions you, like, because sometimes you like focusing on weaknesses ... our weaknesses instead of our strengths. And I think the more you look at your weakness the more weak you get if you are only focusing there. But then you realise that weaknesses do exist, but if you focus on your strengths you can only get stronger. It's more like a circle of influence. So it's like, yeah, you can keep it moving that way - different powers that make a difference. Even when people take shots at you, you know, like they bad mouth you and talk behind your back and whatever, the more you pay attention to that, the more the words close in if you focus on that. But if you let it slide, you know, for kinda reasons like power and stuff and you kinda filter it into nothingness ... so it's always like ... yeah yeah ... yeah ... it's nothing, not too concerned with it. At least that's the way I do it."

Tendai pauses, nodding reflectively for a few seconds, and then changes the direction of his story by returning to the subject of *Heroes*. He explains that this involves meeting in groups with others, and putting on shows to raise awareness of what life is like in Zimbabwe, through poetry and live music.

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"It's like having concerts, awareness concerts. So it's a balance between entertaining and raising awareness. Like having key speakers coming through and, you know, speaking on whatever subject is being highlighted in that particular show. And then we have performance. Mixed batch ... like poetry, live music and stuff ... All having such a relevance to the issues that's of concern. So that's more like a regional campaign [...] Then we have the follow-up in December, a tour. So hopefully we're going to be pushing it in Bots[wana] Zambia, ya, all across. Like establishing ... and, like, kinda a lot of people just come to the shows for the entertainment side, so also actually enlighten them and raise their awareness and ideas and start people talking. So it's not just entertainment so it's like, 'Ya that was a tight jam set but like, yeah ... yeah, we feel it ... when you people coming next?'"

"But, you know, why I do it though? Because people sometimes get lost in the performance and the style and the energy and they lose the message. Or maybe we don't highlight it enough. But then we don't want to shove it down people's throats. So, you know, you just keep doing it and hope they catch on to the subtleties. And another reason why we do it is cos, like, outreach. Like the gwash sessions. So what we do is go out to these schools and hold workshops. And the thing with these workshops is, like, we believe that the spoken word has the means to educate and liberate. So we go into the workshop and we talking and then pieces are being created. So it's like you are giving them elements, like, ok, from your background. 'Give us something from where you're coming from ... what do you see? Just give us, like, stuff on the sights you've seen highlighting – ok, my community is like this ... this ... and this. What do you see as problems in community?' And they will actually say 'oh yeah, I was thinking about the trash in my area. Actually I don't like it. So what's to be done?' And we try to inspire something in the youth's minds so that they try and take control of it. You know, cos it's your community. You can't wait around for people to come and collect garbage or take things when they feel like it. They don't live there so they really don't care. They only get paid to do it. But when you do it you know you're doing it cos you love where you're coming from. And when you make it a beautiful place you love it more and people love it more and appreciate that beauty and you know the cycle continues. So it's sort of like trying to make it a grassroots approach. Not just rush in and think ... 'You know what?? You wanna clean up this area.' You can only do that after people want to do it, when they see why. So that's the sort of thing we do with the outreach. Try and take it to them and show them how they can effect change. For me, I think that's the most powerful side right now, cos it takes away that bitterness ... yeah ... cos, it's more of the education and interaction and less of the entertainment. So it's like, putting those

words into action which ... gosh ... I think is of value ... putting those words into action. So yeah ... gosh ..."

Tendai then moves on to a different subject entirely and starts explaining why he is inspired to work in the way he does. *"It's outer-action,"* he states, and sensing confusion about this foreign word, he begins to explain what this means. *"It's like you take in everything ... and you take things in that you digest things and eventually it's like, whatever energy is given to you, whether it's like, hate, love, anything – it's just energy and you can work on it, with it and yes, with urban flow you just go. So I mean, it's just existence. So I can't say 'wow, this music'. Because, I mean, looking at something visual or writing, I mean, people ... just seeing people ... appreciating stuff. That's about it. And meaning it and trying to see, and figure out how you play a part. Because there is nothing as amazing as realising the beauty around you and realising that you are part of it and realising the part that you play in it ... and you're like 'ok, wow ... wow ... wow!' and you're here. And it's like, wow! ... [I am] constantly amazed at creation, be it from a negative light or a positive light ... it just ... it just is ... so I would say that's it. Yeah..."*

"It's love ... because without that, there would not be a reason to actually live. Because, I mean, you can live with everything, but it's all material. But then, when there is that essence of love, it kinda all makes sense. [...] Whenever I go back to Avonlea it's like, there is that connection. It's like, really I feel ... wow... I actually love this place ... It's the place I grew up. Good memories, bad ... you know, you're a part of it – the history – that you remember. Yeah ... it's just love. And remembering why you do it, cos sometimes you wake up and you're tired and you think 'damn,' you look at the date, it's the December 27th, another show. Cos there are times that you think there's another show, but when you keep thinking about that ... you will actually remember why you actually do this ... and you realise you have to do it and, you know, and then yeah ... you keep doing it. Ya, ya, and I love Zim. I mean ... to be honest, I've been out of this country a month, and it's like, you know, this is home and it's messed up and everything. But you know, home is just home cos you go to SA and you go in a store and everything's there and you're like ... I miss Zim. You know, you jump out and just listening to the language ... everything like the outer-action how people do their thing there ... so ya, this is home ... Yeah, good or bad [...]" and he nods in agreement with himself and his reflection of how much he loves his country.

"So yeah ... yeah, I mean, like, everyone ... literally everyone has left. But if everyone leaves, what's left is nothing ... nothing more. It's like what's happening in Zim ... you know, it's

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messed up and there ain't anybody there anymore. So it's like, yeah, there's nothing happening ... So I look at it like when you are playing war and people are out there in the field ... and you're the guy who has to hold the fort. It's like ... 'ok, I'm going to hold fort until you guys come back and then maybe I'll jump out and see what you saw or maybe we can talk about it'. But yeah, I'm cool here. I would love to travel, but not to relocate ... it's like the trials and tribulations, the triumphs and everything, that's what makes you into ... that's what makes you history and stuff ... it makes you ... So, well, I'm going to be here. Tough luck! ... Also visas are a stress to get but otherwise yeah, I love it most definitely [...]"

"You make things work here, that's another thing. We regulate self. Laws only apply to you, it's not like they are universal laws like your traffic or whatever. You work around them. Literally, I mean, look at how things happen on the street. So yeah it's in, it's happening like that, you know. When someone from out there comes and they are shocked at how something is happening, that's when you get to hear about it. And it's, yeah, that's how we do it. Kombies can drive from the left side, right side; you can overtake from the left side, right side. Whatever! You get there, right? That's what you want to do. So yeah ... ah, you've got to love it. Ahh, you have got to love it. Inspiration ... I mean, well for me it's one of those places where it's not always the wisest thing to report a crime to a police officer and the 2 people you actually fear when you are walking at night are thieves and cops. So you know, I mean, it's beautiful, a warped, warped, existence but it's real, it's, real, real, it's nice. So that passion and that amazement. I mean, it amazes me. And that's the other thing that drives me, always being amazed at what's going on around you. Ah man, it's Zim; I don't think there is a definition for it ..."

"Poetry, live music, yeah, yeah. The thing is, whenever we have a show, we really don't know what is going to happen. We have a line-up and stuff; I am not sure what I am going to do so that I am kinda interested when I am doing it. And then you get together with live music, poetry with live bands or just poetry and stuff because, like, we were noticing that people were focusing more on the jamming and sound and ended up neglecting the word ... So you can actually check out that people's attention span goes shorter when it's just poetry and stuff. So it's like trying to find innovative ways of communicating the word, message, whatever. So it's kinda different. So it's words and sound, that's all I can say."

"... That's about it ... just words, sound ... that's about it."

6.3.2 Reflection

In this story, I continue the theme from Dexter's story and also narrate how Tendai creatively engages in informal work through his artistic abilities. However, here I highlight different examples of artistic engagement which are based on the 'spoken word', such as poetry and song. I depict how the 'spoken word' is used to open up spaces of creative action within which people engage individually, and communally to promote positive social action and change. This emphasises that "*words are powerful* [and] *they can help us to move forward*"[33].

In the following reflection, I present two main examples of how Tendai engages with the spoken word. The first reflects how he engages in individual creative action by turning negative experience into positive experiences for himself. The second example reflects his communal creative engagement with others through the space of the informal organisation *Heroes*. These communal engagements are powerful ways that people can 'de-stress' in crisis, but also promote learning and constructive social change. Following these examples, I also highlight several changes that are depicted in my story.

However, before this I will briefly reflect on the way that crisis and constraints are touched on in my story. I depict Tendai being extremely aware of the crisis going on around him, he refers to a general state of crisis in the country as a 'situation which is messed up' and that people are stressed. I also depict him relating the situation to a war. He expresses that there is no work and you don't get money even if you do manage to find work. He is thus aware that this is a stressful situation for many people, as well as how difficult it is to find work in the crisis. The examples of creative action that I highlight through Tendai's story are all related to the constraints imposed by stress and the lack of work.

In addition to this, I also emphasise several changes taking place in society that I also highlighted in my story about Adam in Chapter 5. For example, I illustrate that there is an increase in informal ways of working, and that this is seen as a constructive way of working. As well as this, I highlight that people now have an increased awareness of crisis and the various constraints that they are faced with, and that they are actively aware of the need to 'hustle' or make quick deals to survive the crisis. For example, I depict Tendai saying that people have woken up to the fact that they need to engage in informal work by 'hustling' on the streets.

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[33] This quote is from the introductory poem by a Zimbabwean Poet Comrade Fatso (2008)

Furthermore, I also highlight the change in what constitutes acceptable behaviour. I highlight this in my story via Tendai's reference to border jumping (which is an illegal activity) as 'cool'. In this way, for him the crisis conditions justify this as an acceptable activity to engage in.

In all of the following examples, I present Tendai using these constraints to his advantage to take creative action. I also portray that this is intricately linked with his artistic ability to engage with poetry and song, as well as a drive to promote constructive social change. In my story, I depict that he has always been passionate about these, but that during this time of crisis they powerfully shape the way that he creatively overcomes his constraints and are a form of informal employment for him. In my first example, I illustrate how Tendai individually and creatively uses his constraints to his advantage as a way of taking action. I do so by depicting Tendai reflecting on how he engages in a process called 'outer-action'. Outer-action involves him reframing his weaknesses into strengths. For example, I depict him metaphorically referring to outer-action as a way of 'digesting' negative energy and turning this into positive energy. He also actively focuses on analysing his problems so that he can come up with solutions. When he combines this with his artistic ability to work with poetry and song, he is able in these moments to bodily construct a powerful space of action and move forward past the problems that he faces.

The second example of creative action I illustrate is the way that Tendai draws on this individual ability to use what is constraining him to his advantage, and he transfers this onto a much larger scale where he engages in a communal way with others. For example, in my story I depict him engaging creatively through the informal organisation *Heroes*. This is not an organisation in the traditional sense, but one where people join together by engaging with the 'spoken word', to promote constructive social change. In this sense, *Heroes* is the space of action. I highlight two examples that illustrate creativity in my story. In my first example, I illustrate how Tendai communally engages with others through his (crisis awareness) concerts and poetry slams (communal poetry dialogue), where they creatively use their constraints to their advantage. For example, I depict Tendai expressing that these performances enable people to focus on their problems and find solutions to them and that this is a form of stress relief. In this way, people are able to creatively construct communal space for action by collectively focusing on the crisis and their problems in a setting which allows them to draw on artistic passion and engagement. My second example highlights Tendai again creatively engaging with others through the space of *Heroes*. However, in this example he runs informal

workshops to bodily educate and liberate youth through the 'spoken word' so that they are able to address problems they face in their communities. This is also an example of creative communal engagement in informal work that is linked to artistic ability. Here, he engages with youth, and employs the spoken word to raise their awareness of their problems in an embodied way, and help them to use their constraints to their advantage. In this way he is essentially educating them to be creative, and promoting social change.

A particular aspect of Tendai's story is that it is suffused with embodied metaphors. I depict him consistently using metaphors to refer to his constraints (e.g. crisis is like 'war' and scars', or a 'disease') as well as his creative engagements (e.g. 'hustling', 'a beautiful struggle' that is like 'giving birth', presenting crisis in a 'palatable' and 'creative' way). Through this, I emphasise the poetic nature of his informal work, which is fundamentally used to convey meaningful imagery about complex forms of engagement.

6.4 Summary and Conclusions

Overall, in this chapter I have highlighted how people in Zimbabwe engage in creative action in relation to informal work by using their constraints to their advantage. In particular, I emphasise that this is linked to their embodied artistic abilities. I have highlighted examples which include modes such as art-work, storytelling, poetry and song. In all of these examples, Dexter and Tendai draw on a deeply embodied passion which enables them to use their constraints to their advantage. Moreover, I have reflected that this takes place individually as a way for each individual to solve immediate problems they face during the crisis, but that this also extends to communal engagement with others that can lead to the resolution of social problems and constructive social change.

Furthermore, as in the previous chapter (Chapter 5), I highlight several shifts in ways of working in the country during the crisis. This includes the growth of informal ways of working in the streets, which has become a more valuable and active space to work in than the formal workplace. Finally, I have also highlighted that crisis may lead people to justify unedifying ways of working.

7 Narratives of Communal Engagement in Informal Work

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I narrate how groups of people work together to help each other in times of hardship. I illustrate how extremely poor communities creatively engage together to create communal spaces of action. They do so by using their constraints to their advantage, combining this with any individual abilities that they have to offer, and taking advantage of unforeseen opportunities that may be availed through networks connecting them with the wider society. It is the intricate combination of all of these actions that illustrates the creativity of the group, whereby they are able to achieve far more together than they are able to alone. In addition, their creativity is closely linked with a spirit of humanness and collective solidarity because they are working together to support each other and vulnerable people in their communities.

In my first story, *"Ubuntu of the Poor: Working Together for Survival"*, I highlight how three different communities in two opposite sides of Harare are creatively engaging in informal work to support themselves. The first community I present is an all-female group made up of mothers and women who are sewing bags, mattresses and other products out of recycled scrap-cloth. The people living in the two further communities are extremely poor. In one of these groups the people have formed a co-operative and build houses together, while in the other they have set up a pre-school for vulnerable and orphaned children. I set my second story, *"Making Friends with the Situation: Transforming Community through 'Hidden Voices' of Youth"*, in the same area as the two latter communities in my first story. In the story I depict Jiri telling his own story of the way that the youth in the area have joined together to try and transform their lives. I reflect the collective creative action of the group, as well as Jiri's individual creativity. Through both of the stories in this chapter I narrate the extraordinary lengths that communities facing extreme poverty go to in attempting to change their circumstances.

I construct the first story (*"Ubuntu of the Poor: Working Together for Survival"*) from the individual stories of people working together in the three communities. In the story, I incorporate the personal narratives of several people and I weave these together with my own

reflection and commentary of my experiences when visiting these communities. I further illustrate it with images of people, and scenes of engagement to enable you to gain a more in-depth understanding of the way people engage in informal work, and the hardships they face whilst doing so. I present my second story ("*Transforming Community through 'Hidden Voices' of the Youth*") from the single perspective of Jiri, as if he is sharing his story for anyone who may be listening.

7.2 Ubuntu of the Poor: Working Together for Survival

7.2.1 Story

The 'Patchwork Ladies'

Driving down the street, I notice how the area is becoming more rundown. Dilapidation is apparent in most of the properties I pass, which by the looks of things have not been repaired for a long time. This is one of the high-density areas which have been in existence since colonial times. Although the people in this area may have 'proper' housing, constructed of brick as opposed to shacks, it is clearly not a wealthy area. I pass a house where a man is digging in the front garden. *"What are you digging for, Shamwari?"* I enquire. *"Ah, just making a well here in the garden. There's no mvura[34] here for a long time,"* he informs me, and carries on digging. The country-wide water shortage has clearly become a big problem in this area and there has been no water for many months. I glance down at the earth and see that it is parched and there is no evidence of rain having visited for a long time. The area is so dry and dusty that the red soil covers everything in a thin layer – the plants, the animals and the houses.

Digging for Water in the Front Garden.

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[34] Shona word for water.

I continue driving along the dusty road, passing two small children who are eating mangoes. I note to myself that they are not in nursery school. I finally come to a stop in front of a small, single-storey house. The house is very small from the outside and appears to have no more than 2 or 3 rooms in total.

Eating Mangoes by the Roadside.

I step into the house out of the dusty street and am surprised to find myself in a different space altogether. This is an entirely different atmosphere, reflecting vibrancy and contrasting sharply with the dilapidated exterior. The house is very small inside, but decorated so beautifully that it is an inspiring environment to be in. It shows that the owner takes extreme care and pride in her home. It is evident that she takes her work of sewing to heart because she has decorated the house with beautiful crocheted decorations.

A group of 15 ladies had gradually formed a cooperative in which they made items, out of recycled scrap cloth, to use for themselves and also sell to others in the community to make some money. They had initially received some training from an organisation which gave them skills and some initial resources. The group of ladies pursued this idea, for various reasons, and it subsequently grew. Today, most of the ladies in the group are present in the tiny living space, some with their small children, but somehow everyone fits comfortably. They are all proud to be there and show a united front; being present and accountable as one of the group appears to have a lot of meaning for them. They display a sense of togetherness in the way they are present and contribute to the story. They have proudly brought with them a

collection of some of the items that they have made and great care has been taken to arrange them on a small table at the side of the room.

Chenai welcomes me into her home and introduces all of the ladies in the group to me. They convey a spirit of togetherness, solidarity and companionship. These are people who care for each other and their community. It is a poignant contrast with the exterior deterioration of the street and surrounding area that these people exist in. Chenai narrates the group's story. Although she does most of the talking, she does so from a collective point of view, with the others adding comments along the way...

"As you can see, we are making patchwork. We are collecting scrap, cotton cloth or whatever there is in our household[s]. So it's from our own house[s] and from everywhere else and we are making some cushions and bags and these are mattresses as well. So it's just a collection of cloth for sustenance of ourselves or to even use for our children or wherever we are living. So that's pretty much the idea behind what we are doing. So we make bags and other products. We also help disadvantaged children in the area; some of them are orphans and [we] make things for them."

A Collection of Bags and a Quilt Made by the Ladies from Recycled Fabrics.

"[We began doing this] because most people actually think this is scrap and they don't actually know what to do with it. So we actually decided to come up with something that we could use the materials for. And it also gives most of us, because we are stay-at-home mothers, something to do throughout the day and be creative and make something that we can earn

some money from [...] We make these funky t-shirts as well; you can see some of them around. But we don't have any today."

"[We got the idea because] we got some training from a community project. So we were given training and some initial start-up materials. And then we just got together and started making things with all the scrap material that we found."

Some of the 'Patchwork Ladies'.

"We have been doing this for about 2 years. We were doing gardening and growing vegetables to sell [before]. We don't do that now because there is no water. So this is all we are doing, it's the only work. We sell the pieces in the community [...] There are about 15 of us. Some people are just interested so they come and they work as well. When they see some of the things that are made they become interested and they come and join in."

"But we haven't been selling much lately. We also don't have that many things because there is not much cloth. We are waiting to get some, maybe next week things will pick up ... you see, the materials are also donations much of the time [...] Currently, we also use sewing machines, of which we have 2, one of which has broken down. The one is manual and the other is electric, which is the one that has broken down. Not because of the electricity, but it just needs a service. [When we have electricity cuts, we] just use the manual sewing machine."

"[What keeps us going in all the problems] ... just being able to make things and work together and have something to earn some money."

House Building in Hatcliffe Extension

Across the other side of town, I pay a visit to another high-density area. The general area is called Hatcliffe. It is a township, not unlike the area that the 'Patchwork Ladies' were situated in. Similarly, in Hatcliffe most people have small brick houses, and there are tarred roads. These are also dilapidated and displaying signs of disrepair. Adjacent to Hatcliffe is another area, Hatcliffe Extension. This is an even poorer area which is even more rundown. I recall that people were displaced here during Operation Murambatsvina.

At the edge of Hatcliffe Main Township, as I enter Hatcliffe Extension, I pass what appears to be a local school of sorts. It does not resemble a school in shape or form, and I am only aware of what this space is intended to be from the small chalk-board propped up to one side. The children are also busy writing in exercise books.

A Local 'School' in Hatcliffe.

As I pass into Hatcliffe Extension, my surroundings change. There are only a handful of brick houses here and the road has turned to dirt. As I work my way down the dirt road I pass many children walking and playing together along the side of the road. Some of the children are looking after their younger siblings who are babies. Many are covered in red muddy smears. It has rained in this part of town. I reflect that these children are not as lucky as those I passed a few minutes before in the open-air school. They are probably here because their parents could not afford to pay for their school fees. A few of the children notice me and start to follow me. I

say hello to them and they giggle and call out to me *"smile ... smile ... smiiiiile!"*, and then fall about laughing. I wave to them and carry on down the dirt road.
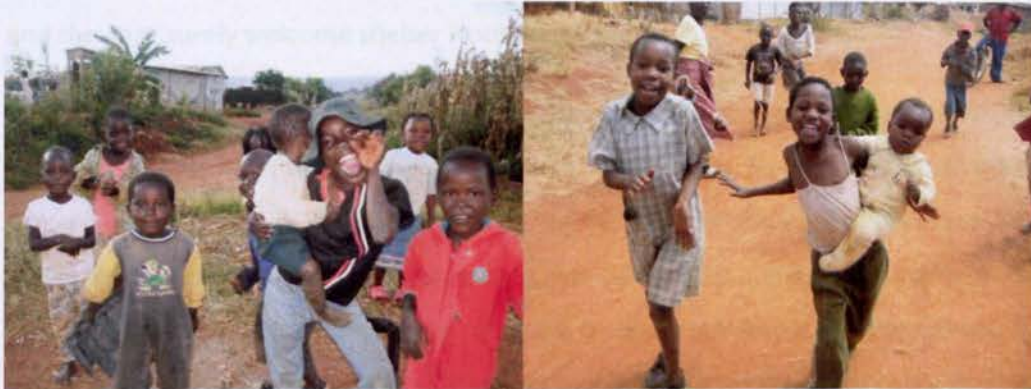
Children Playing in Hatcliffe Extension.   **"Smile....Smile...Smile".**

The poverty and deterioration that these people live in is starkly visible. Most people are living in shacks built of plastic, corrugated iron and reclaimed wood. There is no running water or electricity here. I recall that when people were moved to this area they were promised new housing. However, these have not materialised, as illustrated by the numerous makeshift homes which are dotted around in no particular order. This is unmistakably the lower end of the social spectrum, and people appear to have few opportunities. However, as I look around the area I notice that some people are trying to make ends meet. There are some makeshift "shops" such as the all-in-one Barber/Phone-Charging/Airtime Shop that stands to one side of the dirt road. A prominently displayed sign indicates the various services that it provides.

Barber/Phone-Charging/Airtime Shop.   **Old Shack.**

In addition, it is evident that some people are attempting to improve their housing situation and are visibly constructing some small breeze-block houses. These houses are small and have been built with utility in mind; they basically have a roof, a floor and walls. But for these people this will certainly be a world apart from the flimsy shacks they are currently living in, and they are surely welcome shelter from the elements.

I approached the people[35] who are making bricks to find out more. *"We are building,"* I am told by Kudzayi. *"We are putting up some structures, like 2 rooms. So if we finish that we will have a better future"* (Kudzayi). Yunus explains further. He was a security guard once but the company he worked for closed down. He tells me that they have had some building materials donated to them, and with these they have been moulding bricks to build houses. *"We are moulding some bricks ... Yes, we have been given this project by Mrs Fortune, she is the one who is helping us, the Muslims. We are moulding some bricks and building our houses ... We are doing it just because we don't have enough money so she is helping us – Mrs Fortune. We are doing it with everybody, everybody in Islam ... Before [this] I was a security guard ... but [I stopped] just because the company closed. [You know] I worked for 10 years there. After that, there's many problems, yes, I didn't even work from there since 2000 when the company closed. [Then] we found the house here, we had been given the house here, the stand here by that government ... [But] we didn't even have enough money so that we can build our own houses. I'd like to thank Mrs Fortune for the project which she is doing. Also, I thank Allah [God], just because [Mrs. Fortune] is the one who is giving some power and knowledge to help us to do that"* (Yunus).

Hanaah describes how they have formed a group and are working together because they lack resources and cannot achieve very much alone. She emphasises that there are many problems in this area but things are now much better because of the work they have been doing together. *"We are moulding bricks; it's just a project for our houses, for the Muslims. We are doing it because we do not have the resources to do it one-by-one. Because we don't have money, that's the first problem. A very serious problem. There are many problems ... [But] if we work in groups, we can help each other. We have [also] got some widows. They don't have children, so we can manage to work together ... Things are bad ... too hard, yes ... the problem is for [one's] house ... If you don't work for your house, you will get a problem ... money problems are the main reason [for this] ... money problems and food. I just want to say ... about*

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[35] This story is based on a predominantly Muslim community who had joined together to help each other build houses.

our living here ... in this community, we have got problems of houses ... that's the first problem ... but of our Islamic society it's now better ... yes..." (Hanaah).

It is clear that everyone is struggling here. Amina emphasises this to me. She explains that her husband does not earn enough to support their family and they are struggling. They can clearly not afford to build a house of their own at this rate, so she has joined in and is also contributing to the house building. *"My husband does not get enough money to support his family so we are struggling ... We are struggling ... So, for our struggling we are trying to work very hard. The problem is we don't have enough money. So we joined that project for [building houses] so we work very hard. We are very encouraged by Mrs. Fortune who supports it ... We make our bricks all together, in our group. So for this time we make our bricks then we share together; another one and another one and another one, a little and a little, so everyone must have some. When we make them we will build our houses together"* (Amina).

"At the moment I'm not doing anything..." explains Tawanda ... *"I used to make donuts and samoosas which I was selling. But at the moment I'm just seated. I'm broke ... Actually, myself, I'm a plumber by profession ... [but] at the moment I'm just sitting, ya. Yeah, [but] I'm in the [housing] project as well. I'm working for my mother. Actually, what I can just say about that [the housing project], I am just very happy about that because most of us, we are poor. We can't manage to build our own houses. So I appreciate what they are doing ... Actually, we [will] build ... I don't know the exact number of houses which we are going to build, but I think there are more than 50 we are going to make. So we are divided ... we divide each and every group of 10; 10. So we are moulding bricks. After moulding bricks, then we are going to start building ... Ya, [but] if there is anything that crops up then I will do that, but at the moment I'm just sitting ... Sometimes I am selling hardware things ... ya [and] anything else which I can buy and sell ... sometimes that's what I do, buying and selling. Well, actually, it is the situation in the country at the moment that is affecting everybody. Actually, nowadays its survival of the fittest ... Ya, the more you work, the more you earn, the more you live. [The idea to buy and sell things] just comes out when I was just seated, when I didn't have anything to do ... So I just thought, 'if I just start buying and selling, I will earn a better living'. Ya, I was also doing a [working in a] take away, baking, I used to do baking but it's just part-time. I once used to play soccer but I just left it because of the situation in the country, it was little money I was earning. So I just left it again...*

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The Community in Hatcliffe Extension at Work Building Houses Together

Moulding Bricks.

Counting New Bricks.

Preparing Lunch for the Group.

Eating Lunch Together.

Nearly There.

A Completed House.

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"I think if there is somebody that can come and help us with these projects. That is what I am very worried about because, even right now, nowadays it's very difficult to make a living. So if there is somebody that can come and help us so that we can have projects I think we can make a better living..." (Tawanda).

Simukai describes that he wants some building materials and a house because he has 8 children who he is not able to provide for adequately. *"So what I want at the moment is I need building materials ... I am still in a shack like this one and I have got eight children ... eight!"* he repeats emphatically, *"and two grandchildren, which is eight plus two ... that's ten in one place like this..."* He goes on to explain that this is why he is now working for the building project. *"Now I am also working with this thing ... So I was doing some of the houses, I built some of them..."* He is not happy, however, because he does not yet have a house of his own. *"But I don't have anything at the moment. I don't have anything - I was not given this. I don't have a stand even. The project is [still] going on; the first preference is given to those who have started with the church. And me, I am at the end, I am at the last. I don't know why, but I am staying present for the people. I'm helping also. Sometimes I am not here, but when I am here I am working here. The group is working very hard, but they need everyone to be heard. Everyone need to get something, not [only to] work for someone else. Like what we did last year, we worked the whole year and we did not get anything. But this time we don't want to repeat that also. So this time we are working and we would also like a little for us. We are building the bricks and the foundations to make houses"* (Simukai). Simukai carries on relating his suffering. He rhetorically asks why he has to suffer so much and emphasises that it is poverty that makes him think of ways to support his eight children. *"When I take a break [from working] here, I go do the vegetables so that my children can get sugar, salt ... if I can't do that, my children will suffer ... That's why I do this ... It's poverty, that's it. Poverty, that tells me to do that. That's why I am doing this ... Sometimes when I am at home, I think 'Why am I here in Zimbabwe? Why? Why am I suffering like this? Why are other people not suffering?' Then I say to myself, 'I must work hard so that I can survive. That is why I am alive. That is it,"* (Simukai).

Tichakunda Children's Centre

On another visit to Hatcliffe Extension, at a later date, I was pleasantly surprised to come across a pre-school. My initial presumption that there were no schools in this area, because of the many children on the streets, was not correct. The pre-school had been set up in 2005 after Operation Murambatsvina, entirely by volunteers who wanted to address the substantial problem of the many children on the streets.

"Tichakunda Preschool was set up for vulnerable and orphaned children ... we established it in 2005 after Operation Murambatsvina to get young children off the streets. It is run by Mr Hove and Irene Masaraure ... It was really because there was a need in the community because so many children are not in school ... their parents are really struggling and they can't afford to pay the fees ..." (Beauty).

Old Classrooms.   **Children at Tichakunda.**

I was informed that this was the only pre-school or centre for children in Hatcliffe Extension. There were over 300 children who were the children of extremely underprivileged people. The harsh economic conditions had meant that many people no longer had incomes with which they could sufficiently support themselves. The hyperinflation had simply wiped out what they had to unsustainable levels. There was also a severe problem of HIV-AIDS in the area, which meant that there were many orphans. Other children had simply been abandoned by their parents. People had simply come together to address this problem in the community.

The Children Happy with New Jerseys. **New Cabins Donated by Well-wishers.**

"Well-wishers donated some wooden cabins to us which we use as classrooms ... other makeshift rooms we made from asbestos, these are used for the office storerooms and kitchen ... The ages of the children are 2-6 years old and there are approximately 200 children. All our workers are volunteers. They grow maize and vegetables to feed the children midmorning and lunchtime. Seeds for the maize are donated by well-wishers. The teachers are mothers in the community who are untrained volunteers" (Beauty).

These vulnerable children can at least enjoy a meal at school and have somewhere to go where they will be cared for.

7.2.2 Reflection

In the preceding story I narrate the way in which groups of poor people work together to help each other in times of hardship. Through my story I illustrate how these groups creatively engage together to deal with local problems in their communities. These collective engagements result in the group members creating informal employment for themselves, as a way of sustaining their steadily eroding livelihoods. Furthermore, by working together they achieve more than they are able to individually as their collective actions are multiplied far beyond their individual efforts of survival. The actions of these groups of poor people are creative because they are using their constraints to their advantage, whilst combining this with the extremely minimal resources and abilities that they already have, and using this to take

action. The examples of creative action I illustrate here are all based on deep fundamental need, but also on a spirit of humanness and collective solidarity because these people are working for the greater good of their communities. In the following, I will reflect three examples of communal creative action, one for each group. In addition, I also highlight how these groups are not isolated from the rest of society because each community has received help through informal networks from an outside source. This links with Tendai's story in the Chapter 6 where I have already highlighted that part of his creativity involves helping others to use their constraints to their advantage as a way of taking action.

First I will point out how each of the groups in my story is constrained by ongoing crisis. All of the people in this area are extremely poor. The environment around them is harsh and avails few opportunities, and they do not have sufficient income or resources to sustain themselves or their families on their own. On one level they are faced with difficulties that are relatively similar, such as a lack of food and income, and their actions are thus rooted in a deep need for survival. However, each group faces particular difficulties, and on this level their need for survival translates into a community problem. For example, in my story I illustrate that the 'Patchwork Ladies' are lacking income, those associated with the housing cooperative do not have adequate housing to live in, and Tichakunda Children's centre has been established because many vulnerable children were not receiving an education. Thus, by forming associations and engaging in informal work initiatives together they are ultimately able to address their constraints more powerfully together, and improve the social conditions of their communities.

My first example of creativity refers to the group I call the 'Patchwork Ladies', who have created an informal business to generate income for themselves, to support each other and to help orphans in their community. These ladies are facing severe constraints because they do not have work and so are lacking income and many basic resources that they need. In engaging together, their actions are creative because they are using their constraints to their advantage, and combining this with the very little they have at hand, as a way of taking action. For example, in my story I emphasise that they are initially constrained by a lack of resources and employment. However, they use this to their advantage by focusing on their problems and working to address them. In addition, they combine this with the opportunity that arose for them to receive training through a community project and with the abilities that they already had to do sewing and crocheting. Furthermore, they also use materials they previously

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considered scrap and work with these to make new household products which they can sell and use for their own sustenance. Through all of these dynamic actions, these ladies are constructing a communal space for action. Ultimately, it is the intricate combination of all of these actions that illustrates the creativity of the group. Moreover, their creativity is intricately combined with a spirit of humanness and collective solidarity because they are working together to support each other and other vulnerable people in their communities. The help that they receive from the community project resonates with my story of Tendai in Chapter 6, where a part of his creativity involves helping others to use their constraints to their advantage as a way of taking action.

The second example of creativity that I highlight in my story is the engagement of the housing co-operative. This group illustrates a similar creative action to my first example. Every individual in the group is suffering because they do not have adequate housing, and this is a severe constraint to them all. However, they use this to their advantage by positioning it as a driving force to address this communal problem. In addition, they have taken advantage of help presented by a sponsor, and combined this with their hard work of making the bricks and employing themselves to build houses for each other. Thus, through their combined engagements they construct a communal space which has enabled them to take action and address their problems. Again, as with the previous example, the creativity of the group is inherent in all of these actions combined, and it is also combined with a spirit of humanness and collective solidarity because they are helping each other to build the houses and also aiding vulnerable individuals such as widows. My story of the housing co-operative also illustrates the creativity of individuals, such as Simukai, who states that he is driven to take action by poverty and took the opportunity of joining the housing project in case it might avail him of opportunities.

My third example of creativity is of the group that has initiated the preschool in the same area as the housing co-operative. In this example, there was a severe constraint because parents were not able to afford to send their children to school. However, the community uses this to their advantage (similarly to the co-operative) by positioning this lack of education as a driving force to address their collective problem. They have combined this with whatever individual abilities they are able to volunteer, whether it is growing vegetables, making lunch or teaching the children. In addition to this, they took advantage of unforeseen contributions offered by well-wishers. As with my other two examples, it is all of these actions combined that illustrates

creativity, and this is also combined with a spirit of humanness and collective solidarity because they are collectively working together to educate the young children in their community.

In all of these examples, I have illustrated how communities engage in communal creative action by using their constraints to their advantage, whereby they use the thing(s) they lack as a driving force to construct spaces of communal action. They combine this with whichever individual abilities they have - whether it is cooking lunch, making bricks or growing vegetables - and also take advantage of unforeseen opportunities that are presented to them from sources outside of their communities. In this way, they are able to collectively achieve far more together than they can alone. In addition, I highlight that these communities are not alone but are able to draw on informal networks, which link them to other individuals farther afield in society and thus avail them of opportunities. Furthermore, in my first example I illustrate how these networks linked the patchwork ladies with a community project. This resonates with my story of Tendai in Chapter 6 where part of his creativity involves helping others to use their constraints to their advantage as a way of taking action.

7.3 Transforming Community through 'Hidden Voices' of Youth

7.3.1 Story

As I am walking away from the housing co-operative in Hatcliffe Extension, I am intercepted by Jiri. I had noticed him earlier, hovering around in the vicinity and talking to the people who are building the houses. He has noticed me spending time here, engaging in conversation with the individuals from the co-operative, and appears very eager to get his chance to talk to me too.

He walks over to me ...*"Hi,"* he says by way of introduction. *"My name is Jiri,"* and I greet him in return and introduce myself to him. He has my attention now, and launches into his story without needing any prompting. He talks without stopping, as if he is afraid that he will lose an opportunity if he pauses for a second and I am given any chance to leave.

"I am the leader of a group called 'Hidden Voices'. I and other youths in this area decided to sit around and see the areas that we can concentrate on in order to expose our area to success. As you can see in this area, most of our youngsters have got nothing to do and they end up resorting to drugs ... teenage sex, because they have got nothing to do ... So to fill that emptiness we have decided to form a group which is called Hidden Voices... Currently, we are concentrating on poetry but we have got a vision to grow bigger. So we are looking forward to having a youth forum, whereby we can construct a shack using these simple materials and we can have access to the daily press so they know what is happening in other areas. And we can have access to other renowned artists so that they can know how to mushroom their heart. They don't know how to improve the way they are performing. And we are looking forward to networking with people who can assist us with poetry collections and for instance even, you know, some poetry slams."

"Also, we can invite seasoned poets who we are talking about, like Chirekure Chirekure and the Ignatious Tirivangamabasa from the British Council, so that they can come here and share a stage with these youngsters. You know, there is magic in rubbing shoulders with giants. When they rub shoulders with these giants, then they can see that this may be a lowly rated area but at least I have got something that I can do; at least I can transform my life. And we are looking forward to preparing a document for life skills training. You know, you might be a footballer but without life skills training, your career can go to the drain. I might be an artist, but without

proper life skills your talent can go to the drain. So with these life skills, we are talking in terms of modules like critical thinking, planning, goal setting, time management, resource management, and so if we equip our young people with these skills we can transform our community."

"This community can make headlines in Harare. You know, they usually call it 'Madud', meaning a lowly rated area, but as it is I have once read the Bible and I know that Jesus used to come out of Nazereth, a lowly rated area, so we want this place to produce stars, footballers, poets, tradesmen, medical doctors, you name it. So we are trying to network with various organisations so that those that need scholarships can access them. Those that need to become footballers, we can network them to join the clubs. Those that need to be poets, we can network them with the organisers of HIFA[36], 'This is Africa Poetry Night' and other organisations. I am sure that is what we are looking for. And again, we are really looking forward to having some collections of literature, because to groom art you need to see art; so that when I say 'look, Shakespeare, he was alternating his paragraphs, he was using this rhyming style. So if you want your poetry to be marketable internationally, you must alternate your rhyming; do this and that'. Then we can have collections of Shona poetry and I can say 'Ignatious Tirivangamabasa[37] was using these big words, these big words mean this and that and that and you can also employ some big words so that promoters can be attracted to your work'. So this is why we are looking for these volumes of poetry."

"And again, we are also looking for a sort of compact disc player so that we can record our voices and it becomes easier, because for you to be accounted for highly, you need to send your audio material, audio or visual material. So for part of audio material, we are looking for blank CDs and a CD cartridge, a CD player so that we can record each other because we want to catch HIFA. We have got a vision; we want to catch HIFA 2009. We have missed the HIFA 2008 because the environment was not conducive in this area. So we are really looking forward to capture HIFA next year and we are really looking forward to capture the Book Fair next year and we are really looking forward to capture Bulawayo ZITF, Zimbabwe International Trade Fair because there is a live literature section coming at each and every one of these events; a live literature section. So we are really looking forward to sending 3 or 4 of our youngsters to

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[36] Harare International Festival of the Arts.

[37] Renown Zimbabwean Poet.

the budding writers association of Zimbabwe. We are really looking forward to sending our youngsters for auditions so that, you never know, one day they might raise the Zimbabwean flag. One day their dreams of making it in life may mature. So in other words, that's all I can say about 'Hidden Voices'," he pauses, before then carrying on with his story …

"At the moment, we have got our document which is called the Hidden Voices document. And we conduct sessions in fact almost every weekend; Saturday. We meet each and every Saturday. There, we discuss the way forward, there, we discuss the way we can improve our group … Last time we were donated … there is this Father Landsberg who is a Roman [Catholic] Priest who donated us 500 exercise books, because for these life skills training to be conducted successfully there is a need a for journal writing, for them to write the journals or notes so that they can read about them. For example, the word conflict resolution might sound big, but if one is taking notes it can become easier for one to appreciate the purposes of conflict resolution. It simply means the ability to interact from your challenges. You don't need to run away from your challenges in life. For example, we have got cases where, for example, I myself have lost my parents. My mother is alive but she is not working and she used to work at neighbouring farms and things are really tight. But I don't need to be afraid of that situation, in fact I need to make friends with that situation so that I can easily create a solution to overcome my problem. I cannot fail to be an international poet because my mother is suffering. I cannot fail to be an international poet because of this vicinity that I am living in. In fact, we need to impart such courage into our youngsters. For example, most of them you are seeing here – they didn't have anything you see because of this inferiority complex that is harboured into them."

7.3.2 Reflection

As with the previous story, I set a scene which depicts the lower end of the social spectrum, and I portray individuals who are also suffering deeply. I illustrate two main examples of creativity in this story. The first is the collective creativity of the youth group called 'Hidden Voices', which uses their constraints to their advantage by engaging with poetry. The second example of creativity which I highlight involves Jiri using his constraints to his advantage and taking advantage of unforeseen opportunities.

Crisis has affected this area severely. It is the same area in which the latter two communities in the previous story reside, and the same problems are faced here too, such as a lack of housing,

food, and education. In my story, Jiri expresses the plight of everyone is this area by referring to it as *'Madud'*, which he describes in the story as a 'lowly rated area'. In particular, I illustrate through this story the problems the youth are facing. For instance, Jiri expresses how the youngsters face emptiness in their lives and, because they have nothing to occupy their time, resort to sex and drugs. Reflecting on the previous story, perhaps their families cannot afford to educate them or, like many others in this area, they do not have jobs to support themselves. The implication of this is that they are constrained by the lack of opportunities in their area.

The first example of creativity that I highlight is a reflection of these constraints. In my story, I depict Jiri explaining how the youth in the area have joined together to try and transform their lives. This is an example of collective creativity whereby the youth are working together to use their constraints to their advantage. For example, I illustrate how they are driven to face their problems (similar to the groups in the last story) and transform their situation of hardship into something constructive for them. I depict them doing so by constructing their own informal employment in the form of the 'Hidden Voices' youth group. This is a space within which they engage with artistic expression (similar to Tendai's story) in the form of poetry as a way of facing their constraints. In this way, they are able to take action and promote their own social transformation. This example of creativity is intrinsically linked to both a deep need as well passionate artistic abilities. In addition, (similar to the last story), it also reflects a spirit of humanness and collective solidarity because these youth are working together to support each other and attempting to transform their situation.

In my second example, I illustrate individual creative action reflected in Jiri's engagement with me. Jiri uses his constraints to his advantage, and takes advantage of unforeseen opportunities as a way of subverting space(s) of action. For example, in my story I highlight how Jiri is going about the area ready on the lookout (in-between) for any opportunities that may arise. In my story, I am one such opportunity for Jiri. I emphasise this by depicting how he unexpectedly takes the opportunity to engage with me and tell me his own story of all the challenges that he and the other youth are facing in the areas. This is an example of creativity because he is highly aware of what is happening around him and is ready to take action. He subsequently does so by taking the opportunity to share his challenges and constraints with me and, in doing so, he is using these to his advantage. Our interaction is a space of action because it *may* (in the sense that in the story we are in the moment) avail him of opportunities. I illustrate how he may have engaged in this kind of creative action before in the reference I make to Father

Landsberg the priest. Reflecting on this, perhaps Jiri took the opportunity to engage with Father Landsberg, and told a similar story of his constraints. Through this he was able to construct a space of action through which he ultimately obtained exercise books for the youth group. Similar to my story about Dexter, I illustrate that Jiri's engagement reflects the subversion of shifting spaces of action that arise at different points in time and enable him to consistently take action; and that this may also avail immediate and future opportunities for him.

Overall, through both of the stories in this chapter I narrate the extraordinary lengths that all of these individuals, who face extreme poverty, go to in attempting to change their constraining circumstances. I have depicted an example of communal creativity of the youth group, and individual creativity of Jiri. In both examples, these individuals use the thing(s) they lack as a driving force to construct spaces of action. In addition, similar to my story about Dexter (in Chapter 6), I highlight how my own engagement is also implicated in Jiri's creative process.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I primarily narrate how people who are facing poverty creatively work together to help each other in times of hardship. I have depicted in my stories how they use their constraints to their advantage by actively facing what they are constrained by and using this as a driving force to construct spaces of (communal) action. I have illustrated several examples of collective creativity whereby groups of individuals are able to achieve far more together than they are able to alone. In these examples, their creativity is intricately linked with a spirit of humanness and collective solidarity because they are working together to support each other and help vulnerable people in their communities. In these examples I have also highlighted that they are able to draw on informal networks, which link them to other individuals farther afield in society and thus avail them of opportunities. As well as this, I have highlighted individual creativity, which involves individuals at the ready, looking out for opportunities that may arise. Simukai takes the opportunity to join the housing co-operative, and Jiri the opportunity to engage with me. In addition, these individuals use their constraints to their advantage by focusing on their constraints and using these as a way to avail present and future opportunities.

8 Findings and Discussion: Creativity and Informal Work

In my research, I have explored the concept of creativity in relation to informal work, in the informal sector of Zimbabwe. In doing so I have contributed to the literature by developing a conceptual perspective of creative engagement in the context of informal work, developing a methodology to explore my conceptual perspective, and writing stories to illustrate different ways in which this engagement takes place.

8.1 Introduction

As I highlighted in Chapter 2, I have used three questions to guide the theoretical aspects of my research:

1) *How and why do people engage in informal work?*

2) *How do people tactically subvert (or construct) space by using what is constraining them to their advantage, and thus take action?*

3) *How do people take action by using what they have at hand and/or take advantage of chance opportunities that may arise at any given moment?*

In this chapter I now look at the findings from these questions. I have already begun to highlight these in my six stories and their accompanying reflections in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. In this chapter I draw these examples together to explain how people creatively engage in informal work.

I cover three main sections in this chapter. First, I discuss my conceptual perspective of creativity (drawing on my stories) to explain the dynamics of this phenomenon, and the main findings of my research. I reflect on creativity as moments of creative engagement that take place in relation to informal work, and explain how and why this takes place. In the second section, I discuss the implications of my research for existing literature. I compare my research with the work-related creativity literature as well as with the literature relating creativity to informal work and the survival of ongoing crisis, to highlight the consistencies and inconsistencies. In the final section I summarise the main points from this chapter.

8.2 Shifting Moments of Creative Engagement in Informal Work

In this section, I explain what it means for people to creatively engage in informal work. I do so by drawing on the examples of creativity which I highlighted in the six stories that I presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Through these examples, I illustrate that creativity occurs as shifting moments of creative action which take place in conjunction with informal work activities in contexts where people face continuing constraint - such as ongoing crisis. These are highly complex engagements which involve a person tactically engaging with their constraints and using them to their advantage. As a result, they are able to subvert 'space' from within the constraining order (i.e. ongoing crisis), which allows them to take action. This involves the ability to engage in plurality, take advantage of chance opportunities, and use what one already has at hand. In Appendices 5 and 6 I have mapped out a detailed breakdown of a range of different dynamics that are implicated in the examples of creativity that I highlighted in my stories. I have done so to make it easier to reflect on how these dynamics are implicated in the moment when creativity takes place. However, I will emphasise that, although I separate this phenomenon into constituent parts in these tables and, at times, during my discussion, this is simply to aid my explanation of this concept. As I have already pointed out, these are highly interrelated actions which reflect a highly complex and embodied form of engagement. In order to explain how people creatively engage in informal work, I reflect on three perspectives. First, I reflect on how and why creativity is related to informal work. Next, I explain the fundamental dynamics that are implicated in the moment of creative engagement. Third, I reflect on how these creative moments play out in a wider context of ongoing crisis and constraint. In the last section, I summarise the main findings of my research.

8.2.1 Creative Engagement in Informal Work

Before I discuss my concept of creativity in detail, it is important to reflect on how it is implicated in the engagement in informal work. In this section, I begin by reflecting on how and why people engage in informal work in Zimbabwe, and then I go on to discuss how informal work is a space for creative action.

In Chapter 4, I discussed how people work during ongoing crisis in Zimbabwe; I highlighted that the crisis in Zimbabwe led to an unprecedented increase in informal ways of working. This happened because the ongoing crisis caused a severe deterioration of formal work structures

(Mawowa and Matongo, 2010; Parsons, 2007), which led to many people turning to informal ways of working because this was the only way to meaningfully make a living (Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). Ultimately, this led to fundamental shifts in the way people worked in the country, to the point that nearly everyone was working in this way out of necessity (Jones, 2010b; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). Informal ways of working enabled people to take action when formal work structures were a constraint to action. In all of my stories, I illustrated that the breakdown in formal work structures has led to informal ways of working. For example, the main characters in my stories are all constrained in some way by the ongoing crisis around them. They are either stressed and/or severely lacking fundamental resources (such as food, education and even housing) because they are unable to find formal employment or adequate sources of income. As a result, the main reason for turning to informal employment is because it allows them access to these things that they cannot obtain through formal work channels. The kinds of informal work that they engage in are quite varied: from selling sugar, to engaging in arbitrage, making art work, engaging in poetry, selling recycled products, building houses, and starting up a preschool. How each person (or group) does this is by identifying other people or materials they can engage with and utilise or 'organise' into their own informal employment. I highlight one exception to this in my story of Adam. Adam does not engage in informal work because he is still highly focused on maintaining his failing business. He is adamant about maintaining it in the prescribed way that he has always worked. What I illustrate through this is that he is still constrained by the crisis and is unable to take any effective action. Thus, through my stories I illustrate that, during a situation of ongoing crisis and constraint, informal work is a space which enables people to take action while formal work is a constraint to action.

Furthermore, in addition to the increase in informal ways of working, I emphasise that the engagement in informal work involves a high amount of creativity. In my stories I illustrate that this takes place when a person uses their constraints to their advantage. As I have already highlighted, all of the characters in my stories are constrained in some way by the ongoing crisis around them. I give examples of creative engagement in informal work by explaining how people tactically use these constraints to their advantage. As such, informal work is a space of creative action. I illustrate that this takes place at specific moments or spaces in time, characterised by the convergence of several dynamic forms of action, which enable a person to momentarily subvert or undermine their constraints. As a result, they are able to take action because for this space (moment) in time, they are not constrained by the ongoing crisis around

them. In the next section, I will explain in more detail the dynamics of this moment of creative engagement.

8.2.2 The Moment of Creative Engagement

As I have illustrated in my stories, creative engagement in informal work is a highly complex and embodied process which can take place in a range of different ways for many different reasons. Here, I explain the fundamental dynamics that are implicated in the moment of creative engagement, wherein a person actively orients themselves towards tactically using their constraints to their advantage. As I have already proposed - in my conceptual perspective in chapter 2 - this involves further actions such as the ability to engage in plurality, take advantage of chance opportunities, and use what one already has at hand. In the following discussion I will outline how this occurs.

Within a situation of ongoing constraint such as crisis, it is not a straightforward matter of a person undermining what constrains them, or even limiting it all together. As I have illustrated in my stories, the post-2000 crisis in Zimbabwe was simply too vast, overwhelming, and persistent for any one of my characters to control or stop it. As I emphasised in Chapter 4, people in Zimbabwe were persistently impacted by many fluctuating constraints from economic, social and political spheres of life. I depict the crisis as an incessant part of life which is either a constant source of stress for my characters or a cause of fundamental disintegration of their livelihoods. Therefore, it was not possible for them to stop the 'situation' going on around them, but instead they were able to subvert it for short spaces in time - via 'windows of opportunity' - and take action despite their ongoing constraints. This involves the subtle and delicate juggling of dynamic actions so that, when an opportune moment, arose they were ready and able to use their constraints to their advantage. In my stories, I depicted four main interrelated actions which enable the subversion of space. A person first *changes their perception* of what is constraining them, or of what may be useful to them in their environment. They *engage in plurality,* at the ready waiting to *take advantage of unforeseen opportunities* as soon as they arise. In addition, they also *re-use what they have at hand* because (due to their shift of perception) they are able to see how these can be used for alternative purposes.

A person who is able to engage in tactical creativity has the ability to change their perception of what is constraining them so that they no longer see it as a constraint, but instead begin to notice the ways that it might be useful to them. For example, this may involve accepting that constraints are continuously ongoing around them and so consciously not focusing on them. In my story of Rudo, I depict that, although she is continually stressed by the crisis, she does not seem to be surprised by it anymore and instead actively focuses on countering it by looking for the resources and interaction that she lacks. I depict Tendai similarly choosing to focus on his strengths rather than his weaknesses. Alternatively, this may also involve a person seeing utility in the thing that constrains them. For example, in Adam's story, I depicted that, although everyone in the story was constrained by the hyperinflationary environment, they viewed the hyperinflation as presenting windows of opportunity within which arbitrage could be conducted. Along with the shift in perception of constraints, a person also shifts their perception of what they have around them and how these may also be useful to them in some way. As a result, if an opportunity arises at a later point in time, they are able to gainfully re-use the things they already have at hand. In this way, they begin to notice the utility of things around them in society, which they may previously have viewed as unimportant. This could include physical materials, other people, or even personal drive. My story of Dexter is a good example of this. Dexter changes his perception of scrap material (as do the 'Patchwork Ladies') and sees it as useful to re-use. Along with this, Dexter also begins to see his artistic abilities as useful and decides to become an artist and make a sculpture out of scrap. Furthermore, he identifies the street corner of the car park as space that may give him access to people who will be more likely to buy his art. As such, by changing their perception of what constrains them, as well as what is useful in their environments, the characters in my stories are able to see opportunities where others may only see the limitations of crisis.

Along with the shift in perception of what are seen as constraints, those who engage in tactical creativity also have the ability to engage in plurality. Plurality involves a person being in a constant state of awareness of what is happening around them, whilst at the same time being at the ready to take action at an opportune moment. For example, in my stories I highlight the way that Jiri the youth group leader is actively on the go, scouting out the area for an opportunity. Similarly, I depict how Adam refers to the people who are also constantly on the go, actively looking out for deals that they can do. I also illustrate that Rudo does not just sit around but is constantly on the move, doing 'something' (or anything). As a result, by being constantly in a state of both awareness of what is going on around them, and of readiness to

take action, they are able to take advantage of any unforeseen opportunities that arise - as soon as they do. I illustrate this by highlighting how Jiri takes the opportunity to engage with me as soon as he spots me (a different kind of person) in the area. While the people doing deals are able to take advantage of the short windows of opportunity, during hyperinflation, in which arbitrage opportunities are presented. In the same way, Rudo does not let up the opportunity of starting a new line of informal business with her cousin, and snaps it up as soon as it arises. As a result, by being in a state where they are constantly alert to what is happening around them during crisis, as well as at the ready, waiting for the right moment, the characters in my stories are able to seize suitable opportunities as soon as they arise.

The moment of creative engagement takes place when a relevant opportunity arises at a particular point in time and all of these actions converge dynamically to enable a person to use what is constraining them to their advantage at that point in time. This is possible because they have changed their way of thinking, to view the inherent opportunities in what is constraining them; they are at the ready and waiting for a moment such as this. It is this last unforeseen opportunity (or element of chance) that provides them with an extra advantage over the particular constraint they are facing at that point in time. As a result, they are able to subvert space within the overall constraining order and take action at that moment in time. A clear example of this in my stories is the engagement in arbitrage. The constraining order is the hyperinflationary environment that people are not able to control or prevent. However, it is possible for a person to creatively, temporarily, take advantage of hyperinflation if they view the disparity of the markets, during inflation, as a window of opportunity (rather than a constraint) and if they are prepared for when a window appears. As a result, when a window does arise they are able to subvert a space within the hyperinflation where they can do a deal (i.e. make some money) and, for that moment, have some control over the order that they are ordinarily constrained by. They are thus engaging in creativity by tactically using their constraints to their advantage, and in doing so transforming their situation of constraint into a moment of constructive action, in which they can move forward. In the following section I will reflect on the way that moments of creative engagement (such as this) play out in a wider context of ongoing crisis and constraint.

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8.2.3 How Creative Engagement Takes Place

I will now reflect on how the moments of creative engagement, which I have highlighted throughout my stories, play out in a wider context of ongoing crisis and constraint. Here I reflect on the way that creativity takes place in an ongoing and shifting manner; that it changes depending on the type of engagement it is implicated in; and that it may become a socially and culturally accepted form of engagement.

Although I depict creativity as momentary instances, I do not infer by this that it only happens once. In fact, within a situation of ongoing crisis, creativity is continuously taking place because people are constantly focused on overcoming their constraints. Thus, every time they are able to tactically subvert the crisis to their own advantage, they are momentarily engaging in creativity. In addition, because there is no way of knowing when these creative moments will occur, they do not take place in a regular manner. Instead, this kind of creativity can be seen as shifting and emerging from one point in time to another. In this way (as pointed out by de Certeau, 1988/1984), it is not defined by specific places in time but by shifting spaces which arise at opportune moments. For example, in my stories I depict creativity emerging in spaces as varied as the streets, at poetry slams, music concerts, and in the *Madud* (the very poor area).

In addition to this varying manner in which it takes place, this kind of creativity also changes according to the type of engagement that it is implicated in. As I highlighted in Chapter 4, the ongoing crisis in Zimbabwe has many different facets to it and has thus affected individual people in very different ways. I reflect this in my stories by depicting how each person is constrained by the crisis in very different ways. Thus because creativity is intricately tied to these constraints, it is therefore shaped by each individual's engagement and by the particular constraints they face at different points in time. For example, in my stories I link creativity to arbitrage (in Chapter 5); to artistic ability (in Chapter 6); and humane engagement (in Chapter 7). However, I highlight that each moment of creative engagement is further shaped by the particular abilities, resources, and constraints that each person (or group of people) faces. For example, in Chapter 6 Dexter's creativity is tied to his artistic ability and storytelling, and enables him to makes a living, while Tendai's creativity is tied to his 'double passion for words and causes', enabling him to help people solve their problems and de-stress during the ongoing conditions of crisis. In addition to this, creativity reflects both individual and communal engagement. In particular (as I illustrate in Chapters 6 and 7), the communal

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engagement in creativity enables people to achieve far more together than they can alone. This is particularly reflected in my stories in Chapter 7 in which I depict the engagement of the poorer communities that live in Mabvuku and Hatcliffe Extension. A further point that is relevant to discuss is that, since creativity changes depending on the form of engagement that it is implicated in, it does not always reflect edifying forms of engagement. For example, in my stories I illustrate that deals and arbitrage are not considered morally acceptable.

The final point that I emphasise about how this kind of creativity plays out in a wider context of ongoing crisis and constraint is that it may become a socially and culturally accepted form of engagement. I highlighted in Chapter 2, where I develop my theory, that there are cultural ways of reflecting the notion of 'tactics' (de Certeau, 1988/1984) in different parts of the world, including the notion of *kukiya-kiya* in Zimbabwe (Jones, 2010b). In my stories, I reflect this by emphasising the changes in societal perceptions of work. In particular, in Chapter 5 I reflect how a formal work setting hinders action while informal work enables creative action and is considered to be a more valuable way of working. I also depict that certain generations no longer perceive paid employment as a significant way of working and choose to make (creative) deals instead. Through these examples, I highlighted a shift in societal perceptions towards the creative engagement in informal work being considered a culturally acceptable way to work (although certain forms - such as arbitrage and deals - may not be entirely accepted by everyone).

8.2.4 Summary of My Findings

Overall, my findings reflect three main perspectives. First, that informal work is a space of creative action, when the deterioration of formal work structures prevents action. Second, that creative engagement in informal work is a highly complex embodied process in which a person tactically uses their constraints to their advantage. This involves a person having the ability to change their perceptions about what is constraining them and see opportunity in what they have at hand, as well as being in a state of plurality where they are ready and waiting to take advantage of opportunities that may arise at any moment. The moment of convergence of these dynamics is the moment of creative engagement. Third, these moments of creative engagement play out in a varied manner within a wider-context of ongoing crisis and constraint. Creative engagement takes place in an ongoing and shifting manner, reflecting

the changing and ongoing nature of crisis; it does not take place in the same form each time and changes depending on the situation. In this way, it is shaped by the person, their embodied engagements and the constraints they face; it may reflect individual or communal engagement; and it may not always reflect edifying engagement. In addition, it may become a socially and culturally accepted form of engagement, where many people accept it as a way of working. I will now discuss the implications of my findings for the existing literature which I discussed in Chapter 2.

8.3 Implications of My Research for Literature

In this section I compare the findings from my research with existing literature on creativity, which I discussed throughout the development of my theory in Chapter 2. The point of this section is to highlight the consistencies and inconsistencies between areas of literature, and my research, as a way of situating how my thesis is related to these bodies of knowledge.

I first reflect on the work-related creativity literature to point out the links with my research. I also compare my research with the literature that relates creativity to informal work, and the survival of ongoing crisis. In the case of this latter area, I expand the scope and refer to a wider range of literature focused on survival in difficult situations - such as ongoing crisis - in contexts where work is highly informal. The reason I do so is because I have found that there are more parallels between this literature and my research than there are between my research and the work-related creativity literature. This finding thus contributes to the overall findings of my research.

8.3.1 Work-Related Creativity Literature

The bulk of the work-related creativity literature is not directly comparable (theoretically and methodologically) with my research, because it is focuses on creativity as reified outputs that are disconnected from individuals, and does not account for the dynamics of engagement in informal work contexts in the non-western world. However, there is a selection of work which is comparable to an extent, fitting into area A and C of Figure 2.3, as well as the work by Mambula and Sawyer (2004) which falls into area D (and refers to creativity in an informal work context). I have tabulated this literature in Figure 8.1, and grouped it into four topic areas

which are broadly comparable with my research: formal and informal interaction and creativity; creative recombination of ideas; creativity and space; creativity and crisis/ constraint.

There are four articles in the work-related creativity literature which explore both formal and informal interaction and creativity (Perry-Smith and Shalley, 2003; Kratzer, Gemünden and Lettl, 2008; Madjar, Oldham and Pratt, 2002; Perry-Smith, 2006). The similarities between this research and my own are that creativity takes place through both formal and non-formal relationships, and that non-formal interactions are viewed as relevant and valuable parts of the creativity process. I also highlight that people engage in both formal work and informal relationships at the same time, and have found that informal relationships are a more valuable way to work. However, this research is inconsistent because it depicts informal interaction as supportive of organisational creativity. I conversely focus on an informal work setting and argue that informal work is a space which enables creative action, while formal work is a constraint to action.

Another comparable topic is the creative recombination of ideas (Hargadon and Bechky, 2006; Hargadon and Sutton, 1997; Sutton and Hargadon, 1996). In this respect, creative solutions arise from old ideas. This is similar to my research in that I view creativity arising through the re-use of what is at hand. A further similarity is that Hargadon and Bechky (2006) point to creativity taking place via momentary collective interaction (which takes place at the intersection of help-seeking; help-giving; reflective reframing (respectful attention to others); and reinforcing (of organisational values). Despite these similarities, my research is different because I have found that creativity takes place in relation to constraints and involves the ability to change one's perception of constraint, engage in plurality, re-use what is at hand, and take chance opportunities.

Moreover, there is one article which relates creativity to the notion of space. Hjorth (2005) (also drawing on de Certeau, 1988/1984) explains how space can be tactically appropriated within a prescribed space and is mobilised by chance offerings. This is similar to my research, because I also focus on the way that space is tactically appropriated within an order through the mobilisation of chance offerings. However, I argue that space is subverted within a constraining order such as crisis, whereas Hjorth (2005) proposes that it is used for play (or the intentional invention of the new) within an organisation.

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Figure 8.1: Summary of Comparable Elements in the Work-Related Creativity Literature

Topic	Authors	Details
Formal & informal interaction & creativity	Madjar *et al.* (2002)	• Work (supervisors/co-workers) & non-work (family/friends) support on creative performance. • Both have an impact but non-work support has greater impact
	Kratzer *et al.* (2008)	• Alignment of formal/informal network structure impact on creativity; informal networks valuable for creativity
	Perry-Smith (2003); Perry-Smith & Shalley (2006)	• Patterns of social relationships (networks) outside of organisation impact on the creativity of individuals • Weak ties beneficial for creativity
Creative recombination of ideas	Hargadon & Bechky (2006); Hargadon & Sutton (1997); Sutton & Hargadon (1996)	• Creative solutions arise from recombination of old ideas • Momentary collective interaction: help-seeking; help-giving; reflective reframing; & reinforcing (Hargadon & Bechky, 2006)
Creativity & Space	Hjorth (2005)	• Appropriation of space for play within an organisation. • Heterotopias are temporary spaces tactically created within a prescribed place • Tactics are mobilised chance offerings
Creativity & Crisis/ constraint	Armstrong (2002)	• Collective creativity can be a basis for new organisational forms • Takes place in contexts which are characterised by: multiple cultural modes (combined through *bricolage*); dense interaction patterns; and environmental uncertainty (e.g. cultural crisis that stimulates optimism)
	Fisher & Amabile (2009)	• Improvisational creativity takes place during (acute) crisis situations (cite Weick); happens at single point in time & requires store of information
	Drazin *et al.* (1999)	• Creativity as a sensemaking process • Crisis prompts sensemaking in organisations (cite Weick) • Creativity is choice made by individual to produce new ideas (but does not need to lead to new and useful outcomes)
	Mambula and Sawyer (2004)	• Entrepreneurial creativity in constrained environment • Informal business • Re-using materials
	Sørensen (2006)	• The creation of new knowledge (innovation/ creativity) happens through a crisis in which the body (human, organisational or social) undergoes transformation • New & unforeseen connections become possible • 'New' emerges in the dualism between order and chaos
	Weick (1993)	• Organisational resilience results from four sources: the attitude of wisdom; improvisation & *bricolage*; virtual role systems; & respectful interaction. In particular, improvisation & *bricolage* (a recombination of materials at hand) lead to creativity • Takes place in disaster • Minimal organisation (band of fire-fighters)
Methodology	Hargadon & Bechky (2006); Hargadon & Sutton (1997); Sutton & Hargadon (1996)	• Ethnography in organisations
	Amabile *et al.* (2004) Amabile *et al.* (2005)	• Narrative entries in online questionnaire

In addition, there are six pieces of literature which similarly refer to creativity taking place within situations of crisis or constraint. Sørensen (2006) views innovation/creativity emerging through bodily (human, organisational or social) crisis where unforeseen connections become possible. This is similar to my research in that I have found that creativity emerges through crisis when unforeseen connections become possible. Armstrong (2002) argues that collective creativity can be the basis for new organisational forms constructed through *bricolage* (which combines cultural material) when crisis is viewed optimistically. There are parallels between Armstrong's work and my findings because I have found that collective (communal) creativity can occur when people change their perception of crisis and perceive inherent opportunity. When this happens, they are able to combine whatever they have at hand and engage in new (informal) organisational forms.

There is further work by Weick (1993), who argues that organisational resilience results from four sources: improvisation and *bricolage*; virtual role systems; the attitude of wisdom; and respectful interaction. In particular, improvisation and *bricolage* (which is a recombination of materials at hand) lead to creativity. He depicts this taking place in an (acute) disaster situation involving the minimal organisational form of fire-fighters. Weick's work has perhaps the most parallels with my research. In terms of similarities, I too depict creativity taking place during critical conditions, on the spur of the moment (which is similar to improvisation), through the re-use of materials (which is similar to *bricolage*), through humane interaction (which is similar to respectful interaction).

In conjunction with Weick, Fisher & Amabile's (2009) work also has parallels with my research. These authors theorise that organisational improvisational creativity may take place during acute crises. This is similar to my findings in that I depict creativity taking place during critical conditions, on the spur of the moment (which is similar to improvisation), and that this requires an awareness of what materials or resources a person has around them (similar to the store of information that these authors highlight as necessary to draw from). Drazin *et al.* (1999) also draw on Weick to theorise that creativity is a sensemaking process, prompted by organisational crisis. They view creativity as a choice made by individuals to engage in producing new ideas, which emerges from a process involving the negotiation of various interests of different groups within an organisation. I similarly view creativity as emerging within situations of crisis; however, my perspective is different because I view creativity as a

momentary convergence of dynamic actions which may arise at any given time and which allow a person (or group of people) to overcome the constraints they are facing.

In addition, while these five latter pieces of literature all have some similarities with various aspects of my research, they do not reflect the full extent of my findings, my research setting - i.e. the informal sector - or the way I have articulated my perspective. Furthermore, they all reflect creativity occurring in acute crisis conditions and do not acknowledge that crisis may pose ongoing, changing constraints which may be reflected in the way creativity takes place.

The last piece of literature which has links with my own is work by Mambula and Sawyer (2004). These authors argue that entrepreneurial creativity is linked to business growth and survival within a severely constrained economy. They depict this taking place in an informal business during ongoing constraint, through the re-use (recycling) of materials. The most similar aspect of this research and my own is the research setting - i.e. the informal sector within a constrained economy. Similarly, I have also found that people initiate their own employment, and re-use scrap materials which they have at hand. However, my research is different because I have not focused on the related field of entrepreneurship, but on explaining how creativity takes place - which Mambula and Sawyer (2004) do not do. In this way, my research goes beyond the work of these authors because I have developed a conceptual perspective which may be able to explain the creativity that they refer to.

In addition, in table 8.2 I highlight that there are a small number of studies that have some similarities in terms of methodologies, since they have employed ethnographic approaches (Hargadon and Bechky, 2006; Hargadon and Sutton, 1997; Sutton and Hargadon, 1996) and narratives - as a minor part of a survey (Amabile *et al.*, 2004; Amabile *et al.*, 2005) - to study organisational creativity. However, although these approaches may appear similar, my methodological approach is quite different because I use a combination of narrative and ethnographic approaches to collect narrative and visual data.

Overall parallels can be drawn with parts or elements of the work-related creativity literature and my own research, but it does not reflect the entirety of my research. In particular, it does not (except for the work of Mambula and Sawyer) account for the conditions of the work setting I have explored and there is no research in this area that has employed a directly comparable methodology. As such, I have contributed both theoretically and methodologically to the area of work-related creativity through my explanation of the creative engagement in

informal work, as well by constructing my focused narrative ethnography to explore this phenomenon and writing stories to illustrate my conceptual perspective of creativity. Furthermore, I also present an additional finding because there is an alternative body of literature which has far more direct parallels with my research, and may thus be a useful contribution to the 'vocabulary' of the work-related creativity literature. I discuss the parallels with this literature and my research in the next section.

8.3.2 Survival During Ongoing Crisis Literature

As I have already noted, in this section I will highlight the connections between my research and the literature which reflects survival during difficult situations - such as ongoing crisis. I refer to this area of literature following Vigh (2008), who articulates the notion of *survival during ongoing crisis*. Vigh (2008) builds his argument on the literature which refers to the coping and survival strategies that people employ in difficult situations. I view this as a relevant area of literature to compare with my research because I highlight different ways that people creatively deal with the many difficulties they face during ongoing crisis. However, more importantly, I refer to this area because there are far more parallels which can be drawn between this literature and my own findings. In this way, as I have already stated, it may prove to be a useful contribution - along with my conceptual perspective - to the 'vocabulary' of work-related creativity literature.

To highlight the parallels between my research and literature reflecting survival during ongoing crisis, I have compiled a table in Figure 8.2. In this table I compare various findings from my research with the research of authors whose work fits into this area. As my table highlights, there are many more consistencies between elements of my research and the work of these authors. In particular, the ways in which I have articulated the elements of my conceptual perspective have more direct relevance to this literature, and there are more overlapping concepts. For example, the change in attitude or perception that I have found is reflected in the work of Scheper-Hughes (2008; 1992) as 'reframing', wherein a person changes their way of thinking about crisis into a more pleasing format. This author also refers to 'normalisation', where a person begins to think of crisis as a normal condition. This latter concept is also expressed by other authors who propose that crisis can become accepted as constant and unavoidable (Vigh, 2008; Jackson, 2008) or commonplace (Mbembe and Roitman, 1995).

Figure 8.2: Summary of Comparable Elements in Survival During Ongoing Crisis Literature

My Research	Examples of Comparable Research
Informal work settings are a space of creativity during crisis	• Informal sector in Africa leads to survival of economic crisis & to creativity/imaginative innovation (Konings and Foeken, 2006) • Survival of hardship leads to creativity in unorganised sector (Anderson, 1988) • Underdevelopment leads to informal economy which is a creative society (de Soto, 1989) • *Kukiya-kiya* tactics lead to creative acts in informal sector during crisis (Jones, 2010b) • Poverty can be destructive & creative: creative means (e.g. survival strategies - *jeito*) allow one to thrive in hardship (Scheper-Hughes, 1992)
There is a change in attitude or perception about constraints	• Ongoing crisis is reframed into more pleasing format - change in way of thinking about negative things (1992; Scheper-Hughes, 2008) • Crisis accepted as constantly ongoing and unavoidable (Vigh, 2008; Jackson, 2008); is 'normalised' (1992; Scheper-Hughes, 2008); becomes commonplace (Mbembe and Roitman, 1995) • Reflexivity - conscious reflection on crisis and possibilities that may be available (Vigh, 2008) • Changing actions in relation to environment - focus on provisional (Vigh, 2008; Jackson, 2008; Vigh, 2006a; Cristiansen, Utas and Vigh, 2006)
Subversion of space within a constraining order enables action	• Spaces of operation (Simone, 2004)
Plurality: being in-between, ready & waiting to take action	• Perpetual progress-less motion (Vigh, 2008); Moratorium (Vigh, 2006a) • Biding time & looking out for opportunities - busy doing nothing (Simone, 2004) • Busy thinking of ways to survive (Jones, 2010b)
Taking advantage of unforeseen opportunities	• Taking advantage of opportunities that arise (Konings and Foeken, 2006; Simone, 2004)
Not always edifying	• Resilience tactics may involve trickery (1992; Scheper-Hughes, 2008); deviant behaviour (Mbembe and Roitman, 1995); morally questionable deals (Jones, 2010b)
Actions gain validity in relation to their pertinence	• Almost anything acceptable if it is directed at survival (Jones, 2010b) • Breakdown of socially agreed rules (Jones, 2010b; Vigh, 2008)
Societal acceptance	• Societal acceptance of engaging in *kukiya-kiya* tactics (Jones, 2010b); established 'ways of doing' (Mbembe and Roitman, 1995) • Local tactics: *kukiya-kiya*- Zimbabwe(Jones, 2010b); *jeito* - Brazil (Scheper-Hughes, 2008; 1992); *valemadrismo* - Mexico (Dezeuze, 2006); *debrouiller* - Cameroon (Waage, 2006), while *dubriagem* - Guinea Bissau (Vigh, 2006b)
Ways of engaging in creativity: artistic engagement; storytelling; poetry; humane engagement; communal engagement	• Ways of overcoming limitations: narrativity (1992; Scheper-Hughes, 2008); *Mbongi*: education, emancipation & solution of problems through social dialogue (Depelchin, 2005); *Mbongi* through community arts (Archer-Cunningham, 2007); social imaginary (Vigh, 2008); religion (Devisch, 1995); *Ubuntu*: collective solidarity for survival (Pietersen, 2005; Mbigi and Maree, 1995); collective activity (Simone, 2004)
Shifting, emerging & unplanned	• Ephemeral practices for seeking opportunity (Simone, 2004) • Provisional & unplanned survival practices (Mbembe and Roitman, 1995)

Methodology: Focused narrative ethnography	• Ethnography (1992; Scheper-Hughes, 2008)
Presentation: personal narratives & visual imagery	• Personal narratives & visual imagery included in final presentation (1992; Scheper-Hughes, 2008) • Multiple engagements as methodology focused on the provisional (Simone, 2004) • Images included in final presentation (Dezeuze, 2006)

Another point in common is my finding that people engage in plurality where they are in a state that is in-between ready and waiting to take action. This is mirrored by Vigh (2008; 2006a), who refers to people being in a state of perpetual progress-less motion. Similarly, Jones (2010b) depicts that people who exist in ongoing crisis are busy thinking of ways to survive, while Simone (2004) refers to this as people biding their time, looking out for opportunities, busy doing nothing. As well as this, I have found that creativity occurs in a shifting, emerging and unplanned manner. Simone (2004) suggests that people in Africa employ capacities and practices to seek opportunity in Africa, and that these are provisional and ephemeral. In a similar way, Mbembe and Roitman (1995) argue that the survival practices people engage in during ongoing crisis are provisional and unplanned.

A further example of the parallels between this literature and my own is that I depict creative engagement in informal work taking place in various different ways, which are similar to the different ways of overcoming limitation (or taking opportunity) that authors have highlighted. For instance, I highlight artistic engagement in the form of sculpture, storytelling and poetry, which is similar to the way Scheper-Hughes (2008; 1992) depicts the survival strategy of narrativity wherein people tell tales of their hardships in order to overcome them. In addition, I illustrate communal engagement based on humane interaction - or *Ubuntu* - which culminates in the formation of associations. This is the same as the notion of *Ubuntu* as depicted by Pietersen (2005) and Mbigi and Maree (1995), which reflects a form of collective solidarity for survival. Finally, my example of groups engaging together at poetry slams and crisis awareness concerts is parallel to the concept of *Mbongi*, which depicts the emancipation and solution of problems through social dialogue (Depelchin, 2005) and community arts (Archer-Cunningham, 2007).

These examples indicate that there is more of an overlap and similarity in the way these authors explain the survival of difficult situations, and the way that I have articulated my concept of creativity. In addition, there are authors whose research methodology and style of research presentation also have more direct similarities with my own. For example, Scheper-

Hughes (2008; 1992) uses ethnography to conduct her research, and also includes personal narratives and imagery in the final presentation of her work, which is very similar to the way I have conducted and presented my own research. Another example is Simone (2004), who used 'multiple engagements' as a type of methodology which is specifically focused on exploring the highly provisional dynamics of the informal sector in urban Africa. This is comparable to my focused ethnographic approach which I employed for similar reasons.

Overall, what I highlight through this is that literature referring to survival during ongoing crisis may be more useful for exploring and explaining the creativity that I refer to in my research than the work-related creativity literature. It particularly expresses ways of surviving ongoing crisis that are very similar to my explanation of creative engagement in informal work, and is thus able to account for the dynamics of engagement in the work setting that I have explored. As a result, I view this literature, in conjunction with my research findings, as a useful contribution to the work-related creativity literature.

Furthermore, my research makes an additional contribution to the literature referring to survival during ongoing crisis because - despite the parallels - there is one major inconsistency with this literature and my own research. Up to this point, I have found no literature within this area that articulates how creativity takes place in relation to survival. The conceptualisation of creativity which I present in my research may consequently be able to explain this kind of creativity because it is inherently linked with the ability to overcome ongoing constraint. In line with this, my perspective may also be able to explain the creativity of the authors I referred to in Chapter 2 (Mambula and Sawyer, 2004; Konings and Foeken, 2006; Anderson, 1988; Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010; Pieterse, 2005; de Soto, 1989; Dezeuze, 2006) who have linked creativity with informal work. As a result, my research contributes to this literature because I have explained how people do more than simply cope or survive difficult situations: they survive in extremely creative ways through engaging in informal work practices.

8.4 *Summary and Conclusions*

In this chapter, I have discussed the findings of my three research questions and compared these with related literature. First, drawing on the examples in my story chapters, I discussed the findings of my research and articulated the dynamics of my conceptual perspective of

creativity. In particular, I reflected on creativity as moments of creative engagement that take place in relation to informal work, and I explained how this plays out in a wider context. In the second section I discussed the implications of my research for existing literature. I compared my research with two areas of literature to highlight the consistencies and inconsistencies. These areas were the work-related creativity literature, and literature which reflects survival during difficult situations such as ongoing crisis. I ascertained that the parallels between the work-related creativity literature and my own research were limited in comparison to the literature which reflects survival during difficult situations. The latter may be more useful for exploring and explaining creativity in relation to informal work because it is able to account for the dynamics of engagement in the work setting that I have explored. In this way, this literature would be a relevant addition to the area of work-related creativity.

9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter I bring together the main points I have made in all of my previous chapters in order to draw the main conclusions from my research. I include five main sections. First, I reiterate the purpose of my research to emphasise what I first set out to explore. Next, I give a recap of my main findings, and I follow this with the re-emphasis of the contribution I have made to knowledge with my research. In the two final sections I address the limitations of my research and possible areas of further research.

9.2 Purpose and Summary of My Research

The main focus of research in the area of work-related creativity has, to date, encompassed a very narrow perspective that primarily accounts for creativity in organisational settings in the western world. Work-related creativity is primarily perceived as organisational creativity, which is a form of organisational behaviour with roots in the field of psychology (Shalley and Zhou, 2008). This follows the work of authors who extended psychological perspectives into the study of creativity in organisations in the early 1980s (Drazin, Glynn and Kazanjian, 1999). The area has developed exponentially in the last twenty-four years (between 1987 and 2011), following Amabile's (1996; 1988) seminal work on creativity in organisations. The majority of the research (as pointed out by Shalley and Zhou, 2008) in this area interprets creativity as a form of behaviour carried out by employees or creative workers. These perspectives are mostly outcome-oriented and creativity is predominantly defined as new (novel) and useful (valuable) ideas (concerning products, services, processes, procedures, strategies and decisions) that are a precursor to innovation.

Within the literature, it has been recognised that the work-related creativity literature is subject to cultural bias as most of it has been conducted from western (first world) perspectives (Westwood and Low, 2003), and there is a lack of research in non-western contexts (Zhou and Shalley, 2008). In my literature review, I confirmed that most of the research in this area has been undertaken within western contexts (e.g. Anglo-American-

European), and from a western theoretical perspective. There is very little work conducted in non-western contexts such as Africa, Asia and Latin America. Furthermore, I also highlighted that most research to date has also taken place in formal work settings, i.e. 'the organisation', and focuses on formal relationships. Overall, I concluded that there is indeed a substantial gap in the area of work-related creativity. There is almost no research conducted explicitly about creativity in informal work contexts, and no theories to explain the creativity of informal work.

Following this, I constructed a conceptual perspective of creativity by drawing on de Certeau's (1988/1984) notion of creative tactics and relating it to the work of authors who have referred to a notion of creativity in informal work settings (e.g. Mambula and Sawyer, 2004; Konings and Foeken, 2006; Anderson, 1988; Jones, 2010b; Scheper-Hughes, 1992). My perspective of creativity is contrary to the literature in that I proposed that creativity is the tactical subversion (or construction) of space within an order, wherein a person uses what is constraining them to their advantage in order to take action. It involves the ability to be 'in-between' (plurality), take advantage of chance opportunities that may arise at any given moment, and use what one already has at hand (re-use). As a result, the purpose of my research was to carry out exploratory research about the concept of creativity to ascertain how and why people engage creatively in informal work. My aims have been to explore my conceptual perspective, develop a methodology to explore this concept in practice, and use stories to illuminate how people creatively engage in informal work. In order to achieve this I employed five research questions 1) How and why do people engage in informal work? 2) How do people tactically subvert (or construct) space by using what is constraining them to their advantage, and thus take action? 3) How do people take action by using what they have at hand and/or take advantage of chance opportunities that may arise at any given moment? 4) How can I account for local engagement and informal work practices using my methodology? 5) How can creative work practices best be presented so as to allow the perspective of participants to be heard? I used the first three questions to help me explore my conceptual perspective, and questions four and five to construct my methodological approach.

I constructed my methodology after reflecting on various methodological issues including my research questions, the dynamics of work in my research context (the informal sector), my philosophical perspective, and after reviewing a range of methodological perspectives. All of these issues pointed to ethnography and narrative inquiry as the most appropriate methodologies to explore what it means for people to engage in informal work practices. As a

result, drawing on these two approaches I constructed my methodological approach which I refer to as a focused narrative ethnography. I chose to carry out my research in Zimbabwe because there was a high amount of informal work at the time of my study (Schneider, Buehn and Montenegro, 2010), and because several authors had inferred to creativity taking place in this setting (Jones, 2010b; Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). My focused narrative ethnographic approach involved me becoming immersed in the informal sector in Zimbabwe where I intensively collected data in the form of narratives, observations, and audio-visual material such as pictures and video footage. My main form of data were narratives which I collected by engaging in spontaneous conversations with people. This approach enabled me to capture the perspectives of these individuals as well as the dynamics of their ongoing engagement in informal work practices.

I subsequently wrote a series of stories to illustrate my conceptual perspective of creativity in the informal sector of Zimbabwe. I constructed them from the material I collected during my data collection to illustrate the different ways in which a number of individuals creatively engage in informal work during conductions of crisis. In Chapter 5: *Narratives of Changing Attitudes and Practices of Work,* I highlighted the shift from formal to informal ways of working, and how informal work is a space of creative action during crisis where informal work structures have deteriorated. I also highlighted several changes in societal perceptions towards work. In Chapter 6: *Narratives of Artistic Engagement in Informal Work,* I highlighted the way in which people creatively engage in informal work by drawing on artistic abilities such as sculpture, storytelling and poetry. While in Chapter 7: *Narratives of Communal Engagement in Informal Work,* I highlighted how groups of people work together to creatively construct spaces of communal action. In particular, I illustrated how marginal communities help each other in a time of hardship and are able to achieve more together than they can alone. In the following section, I highlight the main findings of my research that I draw from these stories.

9.3   Findings from My Research

Overall, my research findings reflect three main perspectives that relate to the relationship between creativity and informal work, the way that creative engagement takes place, and how it plays out in a wider context. First, my findings highlight that informal work is a space that enables creative action, when the deterioration of formal work structures prevents action.

Second, my findings illustrate that creative engagement in informal work is a highly complex and embodied process in which a person tactically uses their constraints to their advantage in order to take action. This involves a person being able to change their perceptions about what is constraining them and see inherent opportunity in everything that they have at hand around them. It also necessitates them being in a state of plurality or in-between-ness. In this state, they are at the same time ready and aware of what is happening around them, but waiting to take advantage of opportunities that may arise at any moment. Thus, when an unforeseen opportunity arises this is the moment of convergence of all of these dynamics and the moment of creative engagement.

Third, my findings highlight that these moments of creative engagement play out in a varied manner within a wider context reflecting ongoing crisis and constraint, which are inherent in many situations of informal work. Creative engagement takes place in an ongoing and shifting manner, reflecting the changing and ongoing nature of constraint. In addition, it does not take place in the same way each time, but changes depending on the situation. In this way, it is shaped by the person, their engagements and the constraints they face; it may reflect either individual or communal engagement; and it may not always reflect edifying forms of engagement. Furthermore, this kind of creative engagement may become a socially and culturally accepted form of engagement and way of working.

In the implications of my research, I highlighted a further finding. I found that literature which refers to the survival of difficult situations - such as ongoing crisis - may be more useful for exploring and explaining the creativity that I refer to in my research. This is because it is able to account for the dynamics of engagement in the work setting that I have explored. As such, it may be a useful addition to the 'vocabulary' of work-related creativity literature. I will now discuss the contributions of my findings in the next section.

9.4 *My Contribution to the Work-Related Creativity Literature*

Since the early 1980s, the work-related creativity literature has been primarily perceived as organisational creativity, which is a form of organisational behaviour with roots in the field of psychology (Shalley and Zhou, 2008). It is considered crucial for organisational survival and competitive advantage, and a precursor to innovation (Fisher and Amabile, 2009; Zhou and George, 2003; Hirst, Van Knippenberg and Zhou, 2009). As I have highlighted, the main

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drawbacks of this literature are that it is subject to cultural bias as most of it has been conducted from western (first world) perspectives (Westwood and Low, 2003), there is a lack of research in non-western contexts (Zhou and Shalley, 2008), and most research to date has also taken place in formal work settings, i.e. 'the organisation', and focuses on formal relationships. As a result, there is a considerable gap in the work-related creativity literature because there is almost no research conducted explicitly on creativity in informal work contexts, and no theories to explain the creativity of informal work.

The focus of my research has therefore been to explore the creative engagement in informal work and contribute to literature by developing a conceptual perspective explaining the process of creative engagement in informal work settings; developing a methodology to explore this concept in practice; and using stories to illustrate creative engagement in the context of informal work. In terms of the first point, I have proposed a conceptual perspective of creativity by drawing on de Certeau's (1988/1984) notion of creative tactics. I have explored my concept by highlighting examples of this creativity in my stories and explaining how this is implicated in the bodily engagement in informal work. In exploring this concept, I developed a methodology which I refer to as a 'focused narrative ethnography'. This reflects the unique dynamics of the informal sector, and enabled me to explore the creative engagement in informal work. Finally, in terms of the third point I have also written a range of stories to illustrate how people creatively engage in informal work and emphasise the vibrancy and complexity of their engagements. As a result, I have made three contributions to the work-related creativity literature and, as such, my research has begun to fill the gap that exists in the work-related creativity literature.

My research is important because, if creativity really is the ability to solve problems, to create new forms of work out of limited resources, and to overcome acute and chronic crisis, then it is an area of research that needs to be extended - which I have already begun to do. Furthermore, this may provide insights into other areas linked to creativity such as innovation, or entrepreneurship, because I highlight at the most basic level what people go through to identify opportunity.

9.5 My Research Limitations and Reflections

In the previous section, I emphasised the contribution I have made to the work-related creativity literature by conducting my research. However, it is always necessary to be critical of the inherent limitations of any research. In this section I thus highlight the limitations of my research concerning the literature I have critiqued, and the methodology I have employed.

My first limitation concerns the literature I have critiqued in my research. I set the boundaries of my review to literature which accounts for work-related creativity, but did not look at wider areas of creativity literature. This would have presented more literature which may have been comparable with my research (e.g. improvisational creativity and networks, which I highlighted in my discussion chapter). However, the purpose of my research has been to contribute to literature relating creativity to the way people work, so this is to an extent beyond the boundaries of my research. For all that, my concept of creativity may overlap with other areas of creativity, so there is certainly room for further development in this respect.

The second limitation in my research concerns my focus on only one country. In this way, my concept of creativity may be considered as only reflecting Zimbabwean cultural practices in informal work. On the one hand, I was limited by time and budget constraints so it was not possible for me to explore an informal work setting in another country. However, throughout my research, and particularly in my theory development chapter, I have referred to a similar notion of creativity that is highlighted in a number of countries also in relation to informal work. This indicates that my notion of creativity may be able to account for the creative engagement in informal work in these places. In addition, my aim has been to explain how and why people engage creatively in informal work (rather than to test theory), so the informal economy in Zimbabwe was an appropriate setting for me to conduct an in-depth exploration of this concept. This highlights that there is room for exploring my concept of creativity in other countries.

The third limitation of my research is that I have not included a reflexive commentary - throughout the text of my research - about my own engagement as a researcher whilst constructing my thesis. I have engaged in reflexivity throughout my research (as I indicated in Chapter 3), but I did not think it was appropriate to emphasise a reflection of my own engagement throughout the text of my thesis. The purpose of my research has been to explain the creative engagement in informal work, and to highlight how this takes place from the

perspective of those who engage in this type of work. I felt that a reflexive commentary would detract from this. Nevertheless, in future research this may be more appropriate to include. Overall, my limitations indicate that there is definitely room for further development of this research, both theoretically and methodologically. I will explore some ideas for future research in the next section.

9.6 My Future Research

In my research I have explored a hitherto unexplored form of creativity that is related to informal work. Since there is such a substantial gap in the work-related creativity literature, there is certainly room for further research. The following is my 'wish list' of future research. At present there are five main ways that I would like to build on this research. First, it would be exciting to explore creativity further in Zimbabwe since there are still many more people who engage in informal work and many more stories to collect and share. It would be particularly interesting to explore the concepts which I highlighted in Chapters 6 and 7 in more detail. In particular, creativity that is linked to artistic engagement in informal work, which I reflected in Chapter 6, and creativity that is inherent in the humane interactions of collective engagement that I highlighted in Chapter 7. In addition, a further topic of interest (which I briefly referred to in Chapter 6) would be the link between creativity and socio-political activism.

The second way I would expand my research (which links back to the previous section) is by exploring the conceptual perspective I have developed in other countries. There are a number of countries that I could focus on, in which creativity has already been linked to informal work settings (as I have indicated in Chapter 2), such as other African countries including Nigeria and South Africa (Mambula and Sawyer, 2004; Konings and Foeken, 2006; Pieterse, 2005), Mexico (Anderson, 1988; Dezeuze, 2006), Brazil (Scheper-Hughes, 1992) and Colombia (de Soto, 1989). My first choice out of these would be Brazil, because I have contacts and have previously conducted collaborative research there (Imas and Weston, 2012), but also because the work of Scheper-Hughes (1992), which she conducted in north-eastern Brazil, has several parallels and overlaps with my own research (as I have shown in Figure 8.2). It would therefore be interesting to explore these further.

This leads me to my next topic of future research. Both the previous research which I was involved in (Imas and Weston, 2012) and Scheper-Hughes' (1992) work have been conducted

in the slums. It would therefore be interesting to not simply explore creativity in an informal work context in Brazil, but extend this to exploring creativity in the slums (*favelas*) of Brazil or other parts of the world. As already highlighted by academics (Scheper-Hughes, 2008; 1992; Pieterse, 2005) and a number of artists (Anderson, 2010; Bendiksen, 2008; Dezeuze, 2006), slums in different parts of the world are seen to be areas of substantial creativity intrinsically linked to hardship and constraint - which I reflect in my conceptual perspective. It would thus be interesting to explore how my conceptual perspective is able to account for creativity in slums.

The further area of research that I will discuss is the expansion of the visual aspects of my methodology. For example, I only used visual narrative representation in a limited way in my research and there is definitely room for expanding this part of my research. For instance, it would be interesting to incorporate artistic approaches such as photography (Bendiksen, 2008), film (Anderson, 2010) and art exhibitions (Dezeuze, 2006) as way of exemplifying how creativity takes place. This would not only enhance the vibrancy and complexity of the engagement in creativity, but also make the outputs of research more accessible to non-academics.

Finally, in line with the final point I made in section 9.4, another area of further research which I would like to explore is how my notion of creativity may provide insights into other areas of research which are already linked with creativity, such as innovation and entrepreneurship. It would be particularly interesting to explore the dynamics of engagement and stories that are shared about how these concepts are perceived within the context of informal work.

9.7 My Final Words

Finally, after these narratives I have shared of creativity, it seems to me something of an anti-climax to leave when there are so many more that could be told. I would have been happy to relay many more for you, but there are not enough words to include every narrative and story that I have been privileged to hear. So I will simply end as I began (with the words of Böhm, 2004/1996) and say:

> *...Now that I have indicated to you my reader what creativity means to me, I hope you have enjoyed reading in this spirit.*

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Definitions used in Work-Related Creativity Literature

Type of Definition	Example(s) of Definition	References
New and useful: e.g. Production of novel and useful ideas (concerning products, services, processes, procedures, strategies, decisions) e.g. Subjective judgement of novelty and value (of responses, works, solutions)	"creativity is the production of novel and useful ideas" (Amabile, 1988:126) "define creativity as a domain-specific, subjective judgement of the novelty and value of an outcome of a particular action." (Ford, 1996:1115)	Amabile, (1996); Amabile & Conti (1999); Amabile & Gryskiewicz (1989); Amabile *et al.* (1996); Amabile *et al.* (2004); Amabile *et al.* (2005); Andriopoulos & Lowe (2000); Baer *et al.* (2003); Brennan & Dooley (2005); Cohen-Meitar *et al.* (2009); Egan (2005); Elsbach & Hargadon (2006); Erez and Nouri (2010); Farmer *et al.* (2003); Fisher & Amabile (2009); Ford (1996); Ford & Sullivan (2004); George & Zhou (2001); George & Zhou (2002); Gong *et al.* (2009); Hampel & Sue-Chan (2010); Hirst *et al.* (2009); Kaylén & Shani (2002); Kratzer *et al.* (2008); Kurtzberg & Mueller (2005); Madjar *et al.* (2002); Martins and Terblanche (2003); McLean (2005); Mumford (2000); Nemiro (2002); Ohly *et al.* (2006); Oldham & Cummings (1996); Pearson & Sommer (2011); Perry-Smith (2006); Perry-Smith & Shalley (2003); Pirola-Merlo & Mann (2004); Rasulzada & Dackert (2009); Shalley (1991); Shalley (1995);Shalley and Gilson (2004); Shalley *et al.* (2000); & and Zhou (2003); Sommer & Pearson (2007); Sonnenburg (2004); Tierney & Farmer (2002); Taggar (2002);Tierney & Farmer (2004); Woodman *et al.* (1993); Xu and Rickards (2007); Zhou (1988); Zhou (2003); Zhou & George (2001); Zhou & George (2003); Zhou & Su (2010);
Process of engagement in creative acts (regardless of whether outcomes are novel, useful or creative)	"we define creativity as the process of engagement in creative acts, regardless of whether the resultant acts are novel, useful or creative" (Drazin *et al.* 1999:287)	Drazin *et al.* (1999); Gilson *et al.* (2005)
Generation of new (solutions, methods, ideas)	"creativity in organizations is a continuous search for and solving of problems and a creating and implementing of new solutions..." (Basadur, 1992:29)	Basadur (1992); Basadur (2004); Basadur *et al.* (2002); Mumford *et al.* (2002)

(Re)combination of ideas or materials	"we adopt the perspective that creative solutions are built from the recombination of existing ideas" (Hargadon and Bechky, 2006:485)	Armstrong (2002); Fong (2006); Gilson and Shalley (2004); Hargadon & Bechky (2006); Hargadon & Sutton (1997); Koh (2002); Weick (1993)
Making connections and constituting hybrids	"Creativity is an act making connections and constituting hybrids..." (Styhre, 2006:148)	Styhre (2006); Styhre & Sundgren (2003)
Tactical art of creating space within an order to actualise new practices	"Entrepreneurship is then described as a form of social creativity, as a tactical art of creating space for play and/or invention with an established order, to actualize new practices." (Hjorth, 2005:387)	Hjorth (2005)

Appendix 2: Example Storytelling Transcript

Interview Transcript 26: Poet

A: Thank you for speaking to me ... I'm going to ask you some questions and if you could tell me your story and relate what these mean to you. Please can you explain to me what kind of work you do? If there are any problems you face in your work? And how you manage or deal with these problems?

R26-M-HR: Ok...

A: So what are you up to?

R26-M-HR: Now? Hmm....

R26-M-HR: Writing actually, cos I'm thinking of recording in January, but I still don't know if I should record some of my poems, or like hip hop side of things, so ... um ... like, I've recorded a mix. So I'm just writing so that when January comes I can just start stuck to it. So yeah, I've been working on the sound so, I've been kicking around with a live band, so it's like trying to create a sound but not fall into a particular category.

A: How long have you been doing it for?

R26-M-HR: I mean, I remember always getting into trouble with my moms and my pops ... because I'd be, like, writing it in my books, my school books ... pieces or rhymes or stuff but then, yeah, at the book cafe I started in 2001. Somewhere around that time ... but yeah...

R26-M-HR: But I think any writing ... yeah ... it's one of those things that when you start doing something, you never think to remember when you actually started doing it ... you just start doing it ... but I'm sure in, like, high school around '94, '93 ... What! ... yeah ... I mean, I dunno, around then ... shucks, I'm bad with dates and stuff ... around then I was writing ... yeah, '95 ... '96, let's just call it '95, '96 ... It's like, yeah...

A: Is it something that you do professionally? Or do you do other things as well?

R26-M-HR: Well we've got an organisation called [*name removed*]. But then that's also within, you know, the confines of the spoken word, or like music ... so yeah ... that's what I do. Yeah ... use words.

A: Use words. So can you tell me something about that? That's really interesting ... If you could tell me more about it ... or why you do it? When did it start?

R26-M-HR: Um ... I think the passion ... I think, I don't know if there is such a thing as a double passion. Like passion about words and at the same time a passion about causes. So it's like using words to support certain causes. So, I mean, with [*name removed*], what we do is, we get

together every month, we get people to perform ... you know, people ... looking at it like stress relief ... like putting your energy out there and then hopefully the people in the crowd get a chance to analyse and hopefully go away with something from it. They might come up with your solutions that they never get to give but then it's always like analysing a certain problem and hopefully coming up with a solution ... or at least thinking about the problem.

R26-M-HR: I think that's, like, the first step in actually initiating change, you know? So yeah, we get together and try and present it in a more creative way, like it's more palatable. So I mean, you can have, like, pictures there with war and scars, and what have you, and it actually shuts you off more than it gets you interested. So if you kinda, like, portray it in a more creative way, it draws people in. And when you're left with them, hopefully they've drawn a message from it. So yeah, this is what we do. This is what I do.

R26-M-HR: Yeah, but I mean, one thing I like about the Zim situ[ation] is that it's gotten so bad that it's forced people to actually wake up ... to the situ[ation] ... like ... you know, when people say 'ok you need to hustle because there's no work' and if there is work then you not going to get money ... literally. You know, so you find people in the street but it's more like ... people are more like ... you know, we've formalised the informal sector. And that's what's, like, more what's formal. Like, when, you know, you, like, wanna get something you'll find it on the street, like, and it's given more of a face to what you want. It's like, when you go into the big major corporate supermarkets and all you see is, like, a brand ... there's no human aspect to it. But then, now you know if you want money you go down the street and you see some 'dude', it's now, like, some dude you know and *he* hooks you up with it and you now have a relationship built off of that. But I think that's how business should be like. Because now if you go into [*name removed*], they really don't care about you. It's no longer customer service. Its 'custu-mised' service or it's like how people have gone and they just hustle, they hustle in the street. I kinda think that's, that's what I believe in. It's a more formalised ... how can I say it ... Um, what can I say ... ahh ... I think people being the owners of their work and stuff not just, you know, being another cog in the works, you know. So I think that's kinda cool.

R26-M-HR: It's like ... if I want to go to SA and they won't give me a visa, I'll jump the border, make it there. I mean, I dunno, it's like, one of those when people try to close the door you try to find another way around it. So that's cool, I think it's cool. It's more like, you know, you're making your presence felt ... like it's not just that they try and get people off the street and stuff ... I mean, they literally need to eat so they move beyond the streets tomorrow, and stuff. So I mean, it's like, the problem isn't just that they are selling stuff on the streets, the problem is why they have to sell stuff on the streets. So it's, like, that's just a symptom. So when you just clear up the symptom, it's not like affecting the problem, so that's just what they focus their energies on – it's just trying to clear symptoms and stuff. So when people walk the streets and *they* get them off the streets ... but that's not the problem, it's just a symptom of it. So we all have people disrupting the flow of things. So I think a symptom is good. A disease is the problem. So yeah ... yeah.

A: And with the work that you do, do you face any major problems or issues with your work?

POET: Mmm ... no ... I don't, actually. Because I mean, um, for me, that's really like an attack or defend situation. It sort of highlights it. It's like 'ok, this is what we have here...' what? Because I think a lot of people are stuck in the blame game. Like, you know when you start pointing fingers, and it's like, 'who's responsible?' 'He's responsible... he's responsible.' But you know, when looking at the word 'responsible', like the ability to respond ... it's like, whenever you are pointing a finger you don't want it to be your problem, so you're casting it away and stuff. So that's how the ball keeps on moving from one side of the court to the other. So that's more, like, 'ok ... this is the problem ... What can we do? I'm not saying I can offer a solution or that you might be able to offer a solution, but let's just first realise that there is this problem and let's try and work together to see what's your thought on it.' So it's not really attacking the problem and going ... 'This *is* the problem ... and this *should be* the solution. Let's go *this* way ... You know, *how* would you want to go?' Or it's more like there are more questions to myself and questions. I don't think anyone would have a problem with people asking questions ... *those* kinds of questions. There is a form of antagonism that I'm aware of. I mean, I heard my friends and colleagues talking about 'so, know those guys were so.... [They are] looking at your work should be careful ... you're looking for bla bla bla trouble'. But it's never something that is towards me directly. I'm cool for now.

A: And when you're actually carrying out your work, do you find any difficulties with anything? Whatever work that you do, whether it's any kind of gig you organise or work that you do.

POET: Well, gig, I mean, yeah ... I mean, you know, you always want to be autonomous, but if you want to go for autonomy you have to have all the stuff you need in order to carry it out. So we work with these guys, they provide stuff [e.g. music equipment], we come through. I mean, yeah. I mean, I don't see them as problems, more like challenges cos it's always cool you know ... you know, whenever there is a show ... By the way, we have a show on Saturday 27th, it's from 3 ... It's like, from, like, getting posters up, just printing posters and designing, it's stressful but it's also like a beautiful struggle, cos you know it's like you are giving birth to something, when you're seeing it happening, when you're like, 'ok ... wow!' This is why we do this. It kinda erases over the problems you're going through and you don't see the challenges, you don't see the problems. So, I mean, ya it's like you know [bad] things happen, good things happen, so you just take them in stages. I think the reason things happen is because you can take them. I mean, the reason why Zim is in the situation it's in is because it can take it. If you take the scenario and you just put it out of the Limpopo you've got a totally different outcome. I mean bloodshed, I mean, people will be crying bloody murder. Cos I mean, the way we've reacted is different.

POET: And I mean that you don't conquer it or vanquish it or maybe you succumb to it but there is some learning from it and moving from it and it's a growth and you go through it. I don't see it as problems. I just see it as life ... *like today I got rained on!* ... yeah, like, you know, you can go back home and get dry and its cool and you can say 'guess what? I'm dry now'. And you just keep going. So yeah, and it's like, no problem. Apart from the obvious [problems], but since they are obvious, I don't think they are problems as well. So yeah, I think things just end up cancelling out which is good.

A: I was going to ask you how you manage your problems, but since you don't see them as problems then...

POET: Yeah ... yeah ... I think, I think ... what it is, is like, challenge different powers above you. Like, cos I mean, if you stop trying to counter problems around you, you are going to have a really stressed life.

POET: So you know, I walked into town today, what? Yeah, it's nothing, it actually, I think it disillusions you, like, because sometimes you like focusing on weaknesses ... our weaknesses instead of our strengths. And I think the more you look at your weakness, the more weak you get if you are only focusing there. But then you realise that weaknesses do exist, but if you focus on your strengths you can only get stronger. It's more like a circle of influence. So it's like, yeah, you can keep it moving that way - different powers that make a difference. Even when people take shots at you, you know, like they bad mouth you and talk behind your back and whatever, the more you pay attention to that. The more the words close in if you focus on that. But if you let it slide, you know, for kinda reasons like power and stuff and you kinda filters it into nothingness... so it's always like ... yeah ... it's nothing, not too concerned with it. At least, that's the way I do it.

A: With your [*name removed*] work, can you explain the different parts of it a bit more?

POET: Ok, so you have the monthly show, that's [*name removed*], which takes place at the [*name removed*]. Which is just over here. And then there is, like, 'Make Some Noise'. That's more of a regional campaign and awareness of the situation and stuff. Whatever is going on in Zim and, you know, it's more like hollering and reaching for support. And then we have ... It's like having concerts, awareness concerts. So it's a balance between entertaining and raising awareness. Like, having key speakers coming through and, you know, speaking on whatever subject is being highlighted in that particular show. And then we have performance. Mixed batch like poetry, live music and stuff... all having such a relevance to the issues that's of concern. So that's more like a regional campaign. That's not at the [*name removed*]. Then we have the follow-up in December, a tour. So hopefully we're going to be pushing it in Bots[wana] Zambia, ya, all across. Like establishing ... and like, kinda a lot of people just come to the shows for the entertainment side, so also actually enlighten them and raise their awareness and ideas and start people talking. So it's not just entertainment, so it's like, 'Ya that was a tight jam set, but, like, yeah, yeah, we feel it ... when you people coming next?' ...

POET: So it's like, ok, yeah, next month but you know why I do it though? Because people sometimes get lost in the performance and the style and the energy and they lose the message. Or maybe we don't highlight it enough. But then, we don't want to shove it down people's throats. So, you know, you just keep doing it and hope they catch on to the subtleties. And another reason why we do it is cos, like, outreach. Like the gwash sessions. So what we do is go out to these schools and hold workshops. And the thing with these workshops is, like, we believe that the spoken word has the means to educate and liberate. So we go into the workshop and we talking and then pieces are being created. So it's like, you are giving them elements like, ok, from your background. 'Give us something from where you're coming from...

what do you see? Just give us like stuff on the sights you've seen highlighting, ok my community is like this ... this, and this'.

POET: 'What do you see as problems in the community?' And they will actually say 'oh yeah, I was thinking about the trash in my area. Actually, I don't like it. So what's to be done?' And we try to inspire something in the youths' minds so that *they* try and take control of it. You know, cos it's your community. You can't wait around for people to come and collect garbage or take things when they feel like it. They don't live there so they really don't care. They only get paid to do it. But when you do it, you know you're doing it cos you love where you're coming from. And when you make it a beautiful place, you love it more and people love it more and appreciate that beauty and, you know, the cycle continues. So it's sort of like trying to make it a grass roots approach. Not just rush in and think ... 'You know what?? You wanna clean up this area'. You can only do that after people want to do it, when they see why. So that's the sort of thing we do with the outreach. Try and take it to them and show them how they can effect change. For me, I think that's the most powerful side right now, cos it takes away that bitterness ... yeah ... cos it's more of the education and interaction and less of the entertainment. So it's, like, putting those words into action which ... gosh ... I think is of value ... putting those words into action. So yeah ... gosh ...

A: Where do you get your inspiration from?

POET: It's like outer action ... it's like you take in everything ... and you take things in that you digest things and eventually it's like whatever energy is given to you, whether it's like hate, love, anything it's just energy and you can work on it, with it and yes with urban flow you just go. So I mean, it's just existence. So I can't say ... *'wow, this music'*. Because, I mean, looking at something visual or writing, I mean people ... just seeing people ... appreciating stuff. That's about it. And meaning it and trying to see, and figure out how you play a part. Because there is nothing as amazing as realising the beauty around you and realising that you are part of it and realising the part that you play in it ... and you're like ... 'Ok, wow ... wow ... wow!' and you're here. And it's like, wow ... [I am] constantly amazed at creation, be it from a negative light or a positive light, It just ... it just is ... so, I would say that's it. Yeah.

A: So that's what keeps you going with your work? What keeps you going here in Zimbabwe in everything?

POET: That's love; because without that there would not be a reason to actually live. Because I mean, you can live with everything but it's all material. But then when there is that essence of love, it kinda all makes sense. Like, now I'm chilling in the Avenues, but that's not where I was brought up. Whenever I go back to Avonlea, it's like there is that connection. It's like, really I feel ... wow ... I actually love this place. It's the place I grew up. Good memories, bad ... you know, you're a part of it, the history that you remember. Yeah, it's just love. And remembering why you do it, cos sometimes you wake up and you're tired and you think 'damn,' you look at the date, it's the December 27th, another show. Cos there are times that you think there's another show, but when you keep thinking about that you will actually remember why you actually do this ... and you realise you have to do it and, you know, and then yeah ... you keep

doing it. Ya, ya, and I love Zim. I mean … to be honest I've been out of this country a month, and it's like, you know, this is home and it's messed up and everything. But you know, home is just home cos you go to SA and you go in a store and everythings there and you're like … I miss Zim. You know, you jump out and just listening to the language … everything like the outer action how people do their thing there … so ya, this is home.

POET: Yeah, good or bad it's like … I don't mind going out there but I'm not motivated enough, I mean, kind of the balance between what I'd leave behind and what I'd get out there; What I'd leave behind is very obvious and what I'd find out there is one of those like hmm?? [Questioning] So yeah … yeah, I mean, like everyone … literally everyone has left. But if everyone leaves, what's left is nothing … nothing more. It's like, what's happening in Zim … you know, it's messed up and there ain't anybody there anymore? So it's like, yeah, there's nothing happening … So I look at it like when you are playing war and people are out there in the field … and you're the guy who has to hold the fort. It's like … 'ok, I'm going to hold fort until you guys come back and then maybe I'll jump out and see what you saw or maybe we can talk about it'. But yeah I'm cool here. I would love to travel, but not to relocate. When you hear people from SA going to Oz because of the crime, it's one of those things, that's what makes you South African. The issues that you have there, that make you South African. Or you're not just Zimbabwean geographically; it's like the trials and tribulations the triumphs and everything, that's what makes you into … that's what makes you history and stuff … it makes you. So, well, I'm going to be here. Tough luck! … Also, visas are a stress to get but otherwise yeah, I love it most definitely.

POET: Do you love Zimbabwe?

A: Oh yeah, I'm so happy to be home.

POET: It's funny actually … It's like, you know, yeah, there are some things that are just Zimbabwean that you'll miss when you are out there. Like, when I was in SA I was getting stressed trying to find mealie meal. And someone comes yo … I mean, we've got other farming here and we always get the stuff but you can have rice if you want or whatever… But when you're out there you think 'you know what? I'm going to have some Sadza,' you go into the stores and you actually stop to think, 'do they actually have the stuff here?' They do, but it's not the same. Even the Mazoe they make down there is not Mazoe crush, it's Mazoe squash and you drink it and you're like, it tastes chemically. It's not, like, saying stuff from here is better, but you're just used to it that way. It's different. So yeah, you know, there are some things that are not out there … like Kombies, you know, 3 a piece in SA … here is 5 or 6 or 7!

POET: You make things work here, that's another thing. We regulate self. Laws only apply to you, it's not like they are universal laws, your traffic or whatever. You work around them. Literally, I mean, look at how things happen on the street. So yeah, it's in, it's happening like that, you know. When someone from out there comes and they are shocked at how something is happening, that's when you get to hear about it. And it's, yeah, that's how we do it. Kombies can drive from the left side, right side; you can overtake from the left side, right side. Whatever! You get there, right? That's what you want to do. So yeah … ah, you've got to love

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it. Ahh, you have got to love it. Inspiration. I mean, well for me it's one of those places where it's not always the wisest thing to report a crime to a police officer and the 2 people you actually fear when you are walking at night are thieves and cops. So you know, I mean, it's beautiful, a warped, warped, existence but it's real, its, real, real, it's nice. So that passion and that amazement. I mean, it amazes me. And that's the other thing that drives me, always being amazed at what's going on around you. Ah man, it's Zim; *I don't think there is a definition for it.*

POET: But I love the weather –

A: Except for the rain?

POET: No, well I don't mind being rained on when I am going home, but not when you are actually going somewhere, because it's one of those, man. Cos I start thinking, like, 'what's the weather like there?' Like, I am surprised it's kind of dry this side, so you come through and your story is 'I got rained on' and you're wet, you're dripping. And people are like, 'What? You live down the street, it's dry over here'. I know it happened. But yeah, it's cool. Actually, I love the rain. I work better in the rain. The heat is messed up. You find that out when you chill on a farm for a couple of years. No, I don't want that. It takes you back to Kuntacata and all you need is a whip and a horse, cos yeah, that's beautiful, that's my existence, that's me.

A: What about the work you mentioned that you were going to start in January?

POET: Yeah, cos I mean, it's always an issue when people come up to you and say, 'where's the album?' Cos I been hip-hop … poetry. And you have got hip-hop and it's yo, album, next date, something, something, and I mean we have got a shitload of material, but when we made that we weren't in a positive environment. We slaved; we did close to 50 tracks in 2 weeks, if you combine the days that we were there. And it's near [*name removed*]. And it was slavery, no water, sometimes the electricity is gone and stuff. And people are churning out beats, they're churning beats and you have to come up with words. But then you are not just going to say nothing, you actually have to say something about what you think. And sometimes what you end up saying, you don't have a connection with it because of the environment you were in when you said it. So it's like, I listen to the stuff and I cringe, I mean it's good stuff, but then not liking the place you were when you did it, you end up not liking the product of the place. It's, like, trying to come up with new stuff and people are always thinking like, 'you guys are so lazy, these guys are churning out hits every other week'. But then it's also why you do it. There is no rush because I actually want to say something; I want to leave something behind like … you know. Because they are kind of caught up in the Western culture of hip-hip where to prove yourself you churn out next mix tapes for albums and stuff. But the reason why you make a mix tape is to prove what you can do. So if you actually skip from proving what you can do, and just do it … you might as well. And that's less energy. And its, how many tracks did you make in your life time? Well, 7, but it's 7 classics, as opposed to 700 and you still come up with 7 classics.

POET: So I am caught up in trying to make some hip-hop stuff or my poetry. And it doesn't help that I lost my book of poems. You know, material that I didn't know and I bought this

book for my serious stuff. When I come up with a poetry album, this is the material. And I lost it. And that's, the thing is you can't really make something new without releasing the old … because you will always have that energy on your back. So it's trying to blank out everything I have done before and start from 1 all over again. So that's my catch 22, hip-hop, poetry, and it has to be new. So on the hip-hop side it's cos of that past and the poetry side I lost that book. And there is a difference between poems and when you just write stuff. Because there are times when you just write 5 lines and it's a concept and you will come back to that. It's not the same as having a complete piece and you're like, 'that's that concept right there, this will gel with that other piece and it will complement that other piece'. So yeah, I lost that book.

[pause]

POET: But I am working on new stuff, actually. But now, the thing is with the band, Outspoken and The Essence, I am looking at the way I used to write my poetry. I want to write with sound. Not with music but with sound. Like, actually have a sound to influence the words. The actual words and the sounds having an impact that relates. Not just putting words over beats. So that's another project. And I have only one track, one piece with The Essence on that project. Then the other stuff with poetry/hip-hop over live music. I mean, it's cool too, but it's not as experimental as I would like to go. So it's always like being pulled in different directions. So it's like, 'OK I have to start recording, but what should I get out the way first? The hip-hop or the poetry I have now', and then the book pops up!

POET: And another thing is work. Cos organising stuff and then performing becomes work. You know, it actually becomes work, to be honest right now I am not inspired, I am to capacity with emotions and things I want to express but I don't have time to actually express them. That's why right now I am going back to the pen. And I know it's bad when your passion becomes work, when it feels like work. That's when you know that somewhere along the line you are losing the passion. So I am feeling that. That's why I am retracing my steps and going back to Mazoe to find that book; because it's vital to rekindle all that stuff. I mean, even if I find it and not use that material, it's like, that is the starting point. I went from here.

[pause]

POET: So yeah, in January I am starting to work. I am going to be writing. Right now I am actually writing my hip-hop album. I wrote 1 poem and an essay, cos it's been a long time since I have written.

[pause]

POET: With me, it's more like external influences forcing me to stop. It's one of those things that you're like, 'I'm going, but I'm not going anywhere cos of this stuff, so… argh!' So when something else forces you to stop, you are not as free to continue or to start over cos … it's like these are impositions that are different now. But it will all make sense when I find that book. Because I have stuff in there that don't know. I don't actually know what's in that book any more. And one of the things that we go through when we write stuff is you write something

and you leave it. And you come back to it after a week and you see it and you are like, 'ok, wait,' and then after 3 months you are going through your stuff and you are like, 'what's this? This is actually good'. So, you know, you rediscover yourself and you rediscover your words. I am going to find that book. I'm going to meditate and find it. But the only thing is you can't really meditate when you have these external things happening, you know.

[pause]

POET: But yeah, January, starting January 2009, I'll be recording stuff. Whatever it is I'm going to record, whatever it is I'm going to write, then not get out the way but release those energies that are released. It's, you know, making the way clearer for what I really want to do. So yeah, January is the continuation of the stuff that never began. I think that about sums it up. So I will just continue, start to continue.
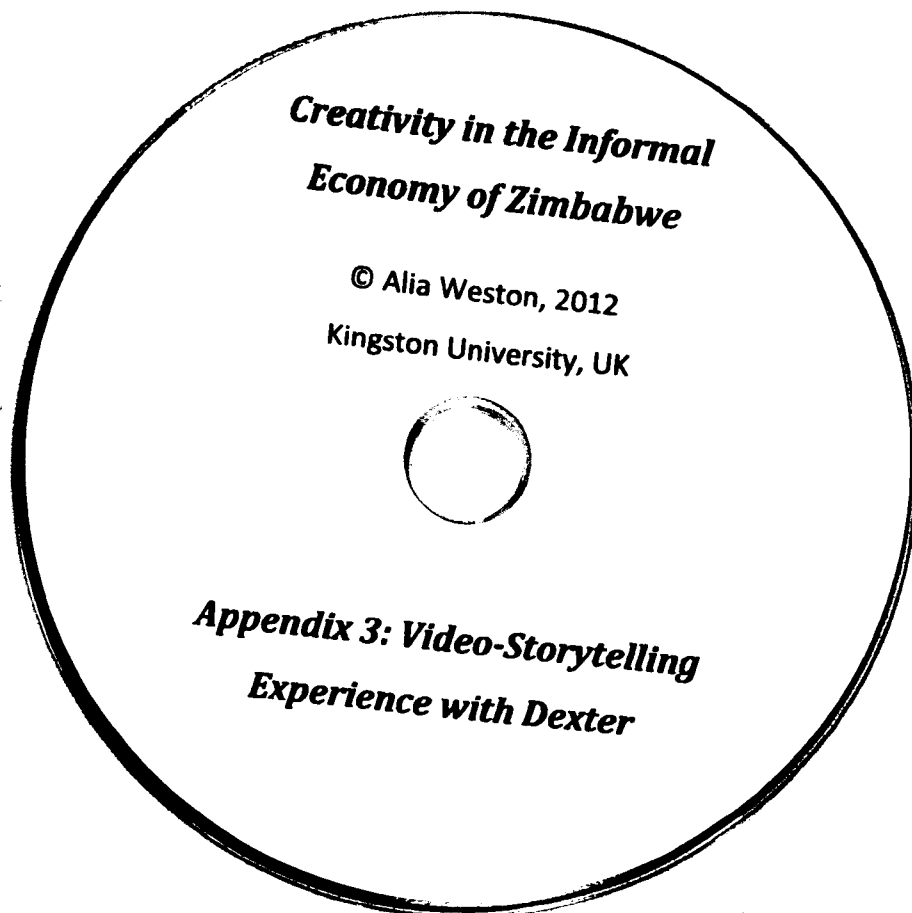
[pause]

POET: Poetry, live music, yeah, yeah. The thing is, whenever we have a show, we really don't know what is going to happen. We have a line up and stuff; I am not sure what I am going to do so that I am kinda interested when I am doing it. And then you get together with live music, poetry with live bands or just poetry and stuff because, like, we were noticing that people were focusing more on the jamming ad sound and ended up neglecting the word. So you can actually check out that people's attention spam goes shorter when it's just poetry and stuff. So it's, like, trying to find innovative ways of communicating the word, message, whatever. So it's kinda different. So it's words and sound, that's all I can say.

POET: That's about it. Just words, sound, that's about it.

POET: You should come. We need energy, because it's like creating a siphon, sometimes people will just be sitting and they are feeling what you are doing, but then that energy gets warped, and then you think, 'maybe I should just chill,' and then you chill and they are like … 'ok, so we need a siphon of energy'. It's actually called the 'Bring a Bunch Bash'.

Appendix 3: Video-Storytelling Experience with Dexter

Creativity in the Informal Economy of Zimbabwe

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Appendix 3: Video-Storytelling Experience with Dexter

Appendix 4: Example Story Analysis Notes

Personal Narrative Analysis Notes Sheet: Storyteller 26, Poet

1) **How does storyteller situate themselves? Role? Telling of story?**
   - He seemed to let out all of his inner feelings and thoughts, views and desires. He was highly engaged in communicating all the different ways that he inspires himself and others
   - He became very philosophical and talked a lot about abstract ideas and inspiration.

2) **What Scenes are depicted in the story?**
   Events in the story:
   How he became a poet – His work – the problems in society related to the crisis – How his work (poetry slams, gigs, *Heroes* Organisation) combats problems – Where he gets his inspiration from – Zimbabwe, what life is and why he loves it– His problems (using his book analogy).

   People depicted in the story:
   Himself – His audience in his gigs – His family – The people he connects with at poetry slams and gigs – The youth that he engages with.

3) **Description/Summary of story:**
   Summary of story:
   Poet talking about his work and how he inspires people to think about what's happening around them and how to solve their problems through the 'spoken word'. He talked about his work, why he does it and where he gets his inspiration from. Then he goes on to talk about the problems in society and how his work helps to combat these – e.g. initiating change by presenting crisis in a palatable way. Problems are symptoms that need to be overcome, 'it is a beautiful struggle that will give way to something [new].' He then talked about his family and the community and expressed his love for them. The last thing he spoke about was his book that he had lost. He used it as a metaphor/symbol of his frustration because all of his stress and the things that he was worried about came out at this point.

   Main themes in the story:
   Love, inspiration, inspiring positive change through others, helping others

   Dominant theme in story:
   Positive inspiration

4) Who/what is connected in the story and How?

Storyteller is connected with:

- *Work:* The people he inspires and 'connects' with; the people he works with (e.g. at gigs); the youth in less privileged areas
- *Home life:* His family

5) How does storyteller communicate The Crisis?

- He talks about the problems in society, and gives examples of changes in society, and how his work helps to combat these
- He explains that he does not have problems but see these instead as challenges
- He explains that it's not a crisis, simply to him laws just no longer apply: he explains as well that 'it's a beautiful warped existence but it's real, it's real'.
- He uses his poetry book as a symbol for his problems at one point in his story

6) How does storyteller communicate Creativity?

- Creating inspiration for others through the spoken word
- Helping/inspiring others to find solutions to their problems
- Explicit mention of creativity
- Initiating change by presenting crisis in a more palatable way
- 'Outer action' – Taking all the energy outside and bringing it in you to use it in a positive way and promoting positive change.
- He is amazed at creation. Creating an energy siphon

7) How does storyteller depict their type of informal work? How they work?

- Balance between entertainment and raising awareness of the 'situation in Zim'. Getting people to think and reflect on it.
- Encouraging and inspiring people to take charge of themselves and make changes in society around them
- Innovative ways of communicating the word/transferring a message to people. He spreads messages through poetry or spoken word because it's a passion.
- Using his work to support a cause.

8) Why does interviewee develop their story in this way?

- He is a thinker and philosopher and dreamer. He did not follow the interview but communicated various concepts to me in his own format. He wants to spread love and inspiration and help others. It did not seem like he was putting on a show for me but communicating his thoughts and ideas to me. He wanted to share and communicate with me and engage on a theoretical level.
- He chooses to be free and express his philosophical side, possibly because this was the closest to where his inspiration for his work comes from. He did not seem to show any pretence.

9) Important actions:
- *Crisis:* He is surrounded by and depicts the effects of the Zimbabwe Crisis.
- *Problems:* Life does not work in the same way as before.
- *Reasons why he can't solve his problems:* There are too many problems and people don't have the inspiration to deal with these.
- *How he solves his problems:* Outer action. Inspiring people to create opportunity and transform themselves and society. Creating informal organisation *Heroes.* Engaging with others to solve problems together though poetry slams and music. Engaging with youth to help them deal with the problems in their areas.
- *Creativity:* Presenting crisis in a more palatable way. Use of creative forms of expression to deal with problems and transform difficulties in life. Creating work out of creating expression.

10) Type of Story?
- Storyteller did not follow a particular format led by the main questions. He spoke in a wandering manner from concept to concept. He was almost on another wave-length. He talked a lot about love, beauty and inspiration. This may be his way of helping others to manage the crisis but also his way of convincing himself that not everything is negative. Very philosophical ideas-based story. Interesting that he did express his stress and frustration but only did so when talking about the book that he had lost. The book was like a symbol of his frustration. This was his way of making sense of his problems by contextualising them in a certain way.

11) What is the storyteller doing in the story? What type of creativity might this be interpreted as?
- The Poet presents Crisis in a palatable way
- He explains his concept of 'Outer-action' which can be interpreted as a way to inspire people to create opportunity and change.
- He is also narrating for himself that life is not bad at all.
- The creativity in this story may refer to the Poet's concept of 'Outer-action' which relates to inspiration, creating opportunity and positive change.

Appendix 5: Detailed Breakdown of 'Moments of Creative Engagement' (Chapters 5 and 6)

Moment of creativity		Rudo		Adam	Dexter			Tendai		
		Starting new informal business	Motivational encounters with business owners	Arbitrage	Making sculpture	Telling stories to make money	Telling me a story	Outer-action	Poetry slams/ gigs	Youth work
Engaging in informal work activities	How does s/he engage in informal work	Selling commodities (Beauty products, Tupperware, sugar)	Conferences & networking linked to her informal business	Engaging in arbitrage	Makes sculptures	Tells stories with aid of sculpture	Tells stories with aid of sculpture	Poet & performs in a band	Is a poet & performs in a band	Is a poet & performs in a band
	Why does s/he engage in informal work	To supplement income	To gain advice & inspiration from others	Able to make a lot of money in a short space of time	He did not have work or money	To make money	To make money	To make crisis more palatable & promote social change	To make crisis more palatable & promote social change	To make crisis more palatable & promote social change
What does s/he have at hand	Recognition of materials as supplies	Certain commodities that are short (sugar)	-	Goods that others want (cokes, soap, cigarettes, mobile phone charge cards)	Scrap waste material	Sculpture (made of scrap)	Sculpture (made of scrap) My camera	-	-	-
	Recognition of people available (networks, flows, help)	Already established networks of customers	Already established network	Networks of people to make deals with Flow of customers/ chance encounter in street	Flow of people next to expensive shopping area (potential market)	Flow of people next to expensive shopping area (potential market)	Flow of people next to expensive shopping area (potential market) I am different	(Other people who bring beauty to his world, e.g. his family)	People who come to poetry slams & gigs Heroes (informal organisation)	Youth in disenfranchised areas Heroes (informal organisation)
	External inputs	-	Help & advice	-	-	-	-	Beauty in the world around him	He gains energy from others	(He is giving his energy)
	What do they have at hand	Already established networks	Already established networks	Networks & goods	Scrap material & a flow of people	Sculpture, story & a flow of people	Sculpture, story & a flow of people Me	Poetry & song Inspiration from the world around him	Poetry & song People at slams & gigs - Heroes (informal org.)	Poetry & song Heroes (informal org.)

Aspect	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5	Case 6	Case 7	Case 8	Case 9
Attitude	No longer seems surprised by the crisis going on around her; Always prepared to take opportunities; Awareness of constraints	Putting self in position where you may access what you need; Being open to chance opportunities; Actively seeking out opportunities	Being attuned to the fluctuations in the hyperinflationary economy (devaluation); Viewing the inflation as a space of opportunity; Being open to opportunities that arise	Putting self in position where you may access what you need; Scrap is seen as useful	Putting self in position where you may access what you need; Being attuned to what is going on around him; Always prepared to take opportunities; Viewing the street as filled with customers	Putting self in position where you may access what you need; Being attuned to what is going on around him; Being open to chance opportunities; Viewing encounters as future opportunities	Viewing the world as full of opportunity; Focusing on strengths and not weakness; Filter your weaknesses into 'nothingness', don't focus on them; Think of struggle as beautiful: Outer-action	Focusing on overcoming problems; He puts his energy out there; Making crisis palatable; Making others aware of the crisis	Focusing on overcoming problems; He puts his energy out there; Making crisis palatable; Helping others to help themselves
How is s/he in-between	Cannot just sit around, you have to do something	Cannot just sit around, you have to do something	Guys are so active	Ready & waiting on the street corner	Ready & waiting on the street corner for customers	Ready & waiting on the street corner for customers	Always focus on countering problems	Always focus on countering problems	Always focus on countering problems
Identifying opportunities	Identifies that people need basic commodities (sugar)	Identifying where people will be	Identifying what products are needed	Flow of people next to expensive shopping area (potential market)	Flow of people next to expensive shopping area (potential market)	People who look different	-	Identifies people who have similar attitude through slams/concerts	Identifying people who need help to solve their problems
Goals of activities (Main & subsidiary)	Supplementing her income (m)	Engaging with others (m)	To make a deal (m); Making an underhand deal (Dishonest)	Have a job (m); Bringing people together - Sculpture signifies people as united (s)	Have a job (m); Bringing people together & setting a good example - Sculpture signifies people as united (s)	Have a job & future opportunities (m); Bring people together & set good example - Sculpture signifies people as united (s)	Solving problems & Creating positive energy (m); Figuring out how you play a part in the world (s)	Focus on problems & find solutions (m); Crisis awareness/ Make crisis palatable, helping others solve problem (s)	Focus on problems & find solutions (m); Educating & empowering youth - Helping others to help themselves (s)
What is creativity based on (humane action/artistic ability/ need)	Need for resources; Engagement & inspiration from others	Need for resources	Need for job; Artistic ability	Need for job; Artistic ability	Need for job; Artistic ability	Need for job; Artistic ability	Creating positive energy; Artistic ability	Humane action; Artistic ability	Humane action; Education and liberation; Artistic ability

Category	Question									
Constraints	How is s/he constrained	Cannot maintain life style prior to crisis Crisis for everyone Salary not enough, Lack of food, commodities, education	Stress from the crisis makes her de-motivated	Hyperinflation means the markets are not stable. There is a lack of goods & money in this kind of environment	Does not have a job or money Lacks resources	Does not have a job or money	Does not have a job or money	Crisis makes people stressed Related it to a war (No work & no money for many people)	Crisis makes people stressed Related it to a war (No work & no money for many people)	Youth living in poor areas Crisis makes people stressed Relates it to a war (No work & no money for many people)
	How do they overcome/ utilise/solve constraints	Continually focusing on constraints & being aware of them	Seeking out situations which allow access to what she needs	Making deals that give you access to goods & money	Creating a job for himself Making scrap into art	Creating a job for himself & accessing source of income	Creating a job for himself & accessing source of income & future opportunities	By focusing on strengths and not weaknesses & always countering problems	Making people aware of crisis and focus on solving their problems	Making people aware of crisis and focus on solving their problems
	How do they use constraints to their advantage	Continually focusing on constraints & being aware of them	Continually focusing on constraints & being aware of them	By using the fluctuations in the economic markets to overcome its limitations	Uses scrap, which would normally not be perceived as a resources	Identifying where people with money might be, telling story about the troubles in the world, & asking for donations to upkeep sculpture	Identifying individuals who are different, telling story about the troubles in the world, asking for donations to upkeep sculpture & asking to be filmed	By focusing on strengths & not weaknesses & always countering problems	Active awareness of crisis & focusing on solving problems together Taking control of crisis	Active awareness of crisis & focusing on solving problems together Taking control of crisis
Space	What is space	Informal networks	Engaging with others	Windows of opportunity	The art which is made of reconstituted scrap (The street corner on the shopping centre)	The story performance	The story performance/our engagement	Analysing his problems through poetry and song Outer-action	Engaging together at Poetry slam sessions and concerts	Engaging together at workshops
	How is space subverted	Networks allow her access to things that she wouldn't normally have through formal channels	Networks allow her access to things that she wouldn't normally have through formal channels	Take advantage of windows of opportunity when they arise during hyperinflation	Dexter sees scrap as a resource that he can use	Story performance leads to income/job which Dexter does not have The street in the place for a formal performance	Story performance leads to income/job which Dexter does not have The street in the place for a formal performance	Focusing on beauty & strength subverts space from weakness and stress	Working with others enables greater awareness of crisis & more of an impact in focusing on & addressing problems	Working with others enables more of an impact in focusing on & addressing problems

Action	How does s/he take action	She gains extra income	She finds motivation & inspiration	Making money	Creates work for himself	Creates work for himself	Creates work for himself / Creating future action	Moving past weaknesses	Solving problems together	Solving problems together
Format of presenting creativity	What is format of presenting creativity?	-	-	-	Sculpture	Sculpture & story	Sculpture & story	Poetry	Poetry	Poetry
Position in crisis	Why in country	Cannot leave	Cannot leave	Won't leave	Cannot leave	Cannot leave	Cannot leave	Won't leave	Won't leave	Won't leave
Who	Individual/ group	Individual	Group	Individual	Individual	Group	Group	Individual	Group	Group

Appendices

Appendix 6: Detailed Breakdown of 'Moments of Creative Engagement' (Chapters 7)

Moment of creativity		Mabvuku & Hatcliffe			Jiri	
		'Patchwork Ladies' sewing group	Housing co-operative	Tichakunda pre-school	'Hidden Voices' youth group	Using me as an opportunity
Engaging in informal work activities	How does s/he engage in informal work	Informal business selling handmade sewing pieces made from scrap	Project building houses	Children's pre-school	Youth performance group	Youth group leader
	Why does s/he engage in informal work	They have no income	The community has no housing	Children are not in school	Youth are facing an emptiness in their lives	Youth are facing an emptiness in their lives
What does s/he have at hand	Recognition of materials as supplies	Scrap cloth	Food for lunch (building materials)	Materials for rooms / Food for lunch	-	(My camera)
	Recognition of people available (networks, flows, help)	Community members / Outside networks	Community members / Outside networks	Community members / Outside networks	Community members / Outside networks	Community members / Outside networks / I am different
	External inputs	Training & start-up materials	Donations from well-wisher (Mrs. Fortune)	Donations from well-wishers	Donations from well-wisher (priest)	Me
	What do they have at hand	Scrap cloth, people who need products, training	Community members who have different strengths; & materials	Community members who have different strengths; & materials	Community members who have different strengths	Story / Me

How does s/he take advantage of opportunities that arise.	Attitude	Most other people would see cloth as unusable. Active awareness of crisis & focusing on solving problems together	Active awareness of crisis & focusing on solving problems together	Active awareness of crisis & focusing on solving problems together	Active awareness of crisis & focusing on solving problems together	Putting self in position where you may access what you need Being open to chance opportunities Actively seeking out opportunities
	How is s/he in-between	On the look-out for more (scrap) materials	Actively aware of hardship & engaging but waiting for something to happen	Actively aware of hardship & engaging but waiting for something to happen	Actively aware of hardship & engaging but waiting for something to happen	Ready & waiting in the area for opportunities to arise
	Identifying opportunities/	Own & community sustenance	Own community need	Own community need	Own community need	People who look different / not from area
Goals of activities	Goals of activities (Main & subsidiary)	Earning money (m) Helping each other & community (s)	Fulfilling a need (m) Helping each other & community (s)	Fulfilling a need (m) Helping each other & community (s)	Fulfilling a need (m) Helping each other & community (s)	Fulfilling a need (m) Helping each other & community (s)
	What is creativity based on (humane action/ artistic ability/ need)	Need for income Humane action - Helping each other & community	Need for housing Humane action - Helping each other & community	Need for a school Humane action - Helping each other & community	Need for gainful employment Humane action - Helping each other & community	Need for resources Humane action - Helping youth group
Constraints	How is s/he constrained	Do not have jobs or income. Living in a poor area	Do not have jobs, income or housing. Living in a very poor area Very serious problems individually	Do not have jobs, income or school. Living in a very poor area	Do not have jobs, income or education. Living in a very poor area *Madud* (lowly rated area)	*Madud* (lowly rated area) Do not have jobs or income. Living in a very poor area

		Creating a job for themselves	Creating a housing for themselves	Creating schooling for their children	Creating employment for themselves	Creating employment for youth group & considering future opportunities
	How do they overcome/ utilise/ solve constraints	Making scrap into useful products				
	How do they use constraints to their advantage	Uses scrap, which would normally not be perceived as a resources	Focusing on creating what they do not have	Focusing on creating what they do not have	Focusing on creating what they do not have	Identifying individuals who are different, telling a story about his troubles and lack of resources may lead to resources
Space	What is space	Communal engagement	Communal engagement	Communal engagement	Communal engagement & poetry	The story performance/ our meeting
	How is space subverted	By working together they can have access to income	By working together they can have access to housing	By working together they can have access to schooling	By working together they can alleviate the youths' problems in their area	Story performance may lead to resources/ employment which Dexter does not have
Action	How does s/he take action	Create work for themselves	Create housing for themselves	Create school for themselves	Create employment for themselves	Creating an opportunity/ creating future action (through camera)
Format of presenting creativity	What is format of presenting creativity?	-	-	-	Poetry	Storytelling
Position in crisis	Why in country	Cannot leave	Cannot leave	Cannot leave	Cannot leave	Cannot leave
Who	Individual/ group	Group	Group	Group	Group	Individual