

Conference proceedings

Transcending the depiction of market and non-market labour practices and harnessing community engagement: some implications for de-growth

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Abstract

In response to the global economic, environmental and social equity crises, there is an urgent need for 'new' economic visions to accommodate and recognise the very real and significant diversity that exists in labour practices. The 'economic' is far richer, heterogeneous and pluralistic than crude mainstream binary frameworks have allowed for. In keeping with the radical thoughts that have emerged within the 'whole economies' school and the visions and ambition of the de-growth movement, the paper argues that there is an urgent need to reconceptualise the hierarchical binary reading of labour in terms of oppositional market or non-market realms, which, in dominant economic thought and practice, serves to promote and privilege the former at the expense of the latter. To recognise this diversity of labour practices in society the paper proposes a variant of a 'total social organisation of labour' (TSOL) approach to be adopted. The paper concludes by outlining some implications that this new framework has for sustainable economic degrowth, ecological sustainability and social equity.

Keywords

De-growth, economics, binary framework, total social organisation of labour

1.1. Introduction: De-growth and a Whole Economics Approach to “The Economy”

"Economics must change, reinvent itself in the real world, to transform itself from a part of the problem into an element of the solution. Developing degrowth economics would be a substantial part of this process." (Spangenberg, 2008: 123)

The economic critique that has contributed much toward developing the concept and praxis of de-growth (or *decroissance*) shares many conceptual and empirical boundaries with the literature that advocates a wider engagement with whole economics. In contemporary society many of these implications of these complementary intersections need to be urgently addressed in a far more explicit nature in both theory and praxis. What is suggested here is that a broader conceptual and practical focus on whole economics, and on traditionally neglected (informal) economic systems in particular will provides academics, politicians, activists and members of the broader public with a liberatory concept and framework that, like de-growth, "challenges, raises questions, is found in improbable places and catches many people unaware." (Flipo, 2008: 24) Importantly, when calls coalesce around the need escape from the economy through de-growth (for example Fournier, 2008) then such a radical call does not necessarily, involve a movement from somewhere that is known to somewhere that is unknown. In challenging us to escape from the economy this call to re-prioritise and look elsewhere paradoxically uncovers socio-economic worlds which are very familiar and known to us; worlds that have persistent within this society of late capitalism. Thus the task of escaping from the capitalist economic trajectory should not be unnecessarily alarming or destabilising, or indeed problematic.

The paper will explore several key approaches, findings and arguments that have emerged from a critical focus on exploring the geographies of market and non-labour markets. This historical reading is necessary given that the principal concern of this paper is to critically understand how the dominant positioning and contextualising of existing ideas and visions within the work practices approaches has been framed within the dominant language, thought-processes, values and overarching frameworks of the orthodox neo-liberal economic academic and policy making communities of the western world. As Lietaert (2008: 68) rightly observed that the rise of the capitalist society, and in particular the notion of freedom of the market economy "has become a religious faith for politicians who are more obsessed to increase the GDP, the competitiveness of economic actors, the flexibility of (formal) job markets, than to focused on better living standard for the most, and to protect the environment."

It is argued that this dialectic relationship is a highly problematical one, not only when advocating "alternative" economic organisation and practice, but also for those advocating de-growth. Thus the question of how to move constructively uproot existing modern ways of knowing and engaging with political economics (for example) and move beyond these dominant points of reference toward re-imagining more critical and necessary languages, values and frameworks is a (economic) project becomes a central concern.

Focusing more specifically within the "alternative" or more total economic literature on community engagement, the paper addresses the call to develop a geographically-nuanced approach to unravel a more accurate interpretation of existing cultures of community engagement. Following its introduction by Williams (2009) the key idea is that a total system of social organisation (TSOL) approach would far better represent and capture the pluralistic, heterogeneous economics realities of production, consumption and exchange in society .

1.1.1 Why focus on Community Engagement?

Before continuing it is appropriate to consider why an extended focus on community engagement is justified when advocating de-growth. Consciously or otherwise when commentators and politicians talk about problematising economic growth, they have are almost exclusively fixated their attention on growth which is synonymous to one small but significant area of the economy, that which centres on the dominant relations of formal paid employment. In addition to this ongoing critique, it is a central argument of this paper that greater attention, conceived through investment of time, thought and empirical research

should be invested into exploring other typologies of work. In refining this focus even further, the paper will focus in particular on the implications that harnessing community engagement has for sustainable economic de-growth, ecological sustainability and social equity.

Four central arguments were presented by Burns et al (2004: 6) to support their call to advocate community self-help and mutual aid as a strategy for survival and a model for society, namely:

- Community self-help is the basis upon which communities survive, thrive and evolve
- The moral foundations of society are built upon reciprocity
- The dependency culture is corrosive of society
- The state as a welfare provider is in crisis

These arguments are also firmly in line with many of the theoretical and applied ideas within the de-growth movement. In his desire to develop a concrete political programme for de-growth, Latouche (2009: 70) for example highlighted the need to: "Encourage the 'production' of relational goods such as friendship and neighbourliness..." Justifying the focus on community self help from a macro political economic perspective, the economic crisis within in the formal sector has provided a wonderful rationale for looking beyond the capitalist market and the state to search for suitable "alternatives" to provide for human needs. In addition to this, as will be highlighted later, empirical research in the advanced economies has indicated that the assumed centrality of the Market and the State in communities' coping strategies is unsubstantiated. For example both Time Budget Studies and household work practice surveys have consistently shown that it is the matrix of personal, reciprocal informal exchanges within and between households that account for a far higher proportion of tasks undertaken in day-to-day coping strategies.

1.1.2. Structure of the

To a paper is broken down into three key sections. The first section explores the literature that has focused on exploring "informal" or "alternative" economic spaces and practices. Within this literature close attention is paid to highlighting the key methodological approaches, and findings that have been introduced, paying particular attention to empirical research undertaken within the United Kingdom.

The second section critically explores some of the implications of the conventional modern binary hierarchical representation of market and non-market labour practices. The dual depiction is problematic and repressive in many way, not least in its failure to recognise the complex multi-layered 'reality' of the types of community engagement; to properly acknowledge how participatory cultures vary spatially; represent the fuzzy areas that overlap and unite "mainstream" and "alternative " forms of engagement in the economy and the community.

The concluding, or third section constructively address the inherent weaknesses of the market/ non-market binary hierarchy by proposing a variant of what Glucksmann (2005) calls a total social organisation of labour (TSOL) approach, and focuses on the implications for the de-growth movement, particularly within the explicit focus on issues of ecological sustainability and social equity.

1.2 Recognising the plurality of "the economic": a focus on the diverse economies school

Historically, the primacy of the neo-classism approach to economics left little or no space for those "alternative" (i.e. non-capitalist) economic activities that lay outside its narrow formal framework of understanding. In such a context non-market activities became

“Reduced to...another shadowy zone, often hard to see for lack of adequate historical documents, lying underneath the market economy; this is that elementary basic activity which

went on everywhere and the volume of which is truly fantastic...a layer covering the earth.”
(Braudel, 1985: 630)

Attempts to shed meaningful light on this zone has been achieved for the most part by widening the economic lens to incorporate exchange that lies beyond capitalist activities, and examining non-market or informal production, exchange and consumption of goods and services. Over the last twenty years much of the "whole" economic literature that has emerged from a sustained and radical critique of the mainstream depictions of economic representations and realities has sought to re-assert and re-emphasise the social and cultural embeddedness of economic exchange (e.g. Carruthers and Babb 2000; Leonard, 1994; Pahl, 1984; Renooy, 1990; Thrift, 2001; Williams, 2002, 2004). Within economic geography, for example, significant contributions included feminist economic critiques which sought to recognise and value for the significance of unpaid household work (for example, Benston, 1969, England, 1996; Katz and Monk, 1993; Himmelweit, 1995; McDowell, 1983; Oakley, 1974); research focused on unpacking the nature of monetary exchange to rework the social nature of the economic (for example, Crang, 1996; Crewe and Gregson, 1998; Lee, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000); the highlighting of non-traditional, neglected, sites of consumption such as garage sales (Soiffer and Hermann, 1987); car boot sales (Gregson and Crewe, 2002, 2003) charity shops (Crewe et al. 2001; Williams and Paddock, 2003) and local currencies (e.g. Cahn, 2000; Lee 1996; North, 1999; Williams et al., 2001).

Not only have these alternate readings of "the economic" had the significant cumulative effect of making visible previously invisible social and economic spaces, they have also collectively demonstrated the very real extent that relationships and exchange within society are not motivated simply through economic rationales, and that, actually, acts of community self help and reciprocity are very much in evidence in advanced capitalist economies. Indeed, mutual aid is one of the 'non-profit sectors' that Amin et al (2002: vii) believes should:

“...no longer (be) seen as a residual and poor cousin to the state or the market or a sphere of charity and social or moral repair. Instead, it is imagined as a mainstay of future social organisation in both the developed and developing world, set to co-exist within the welfare state, meet social needs in hard-pressed communities, constitute a new economic circuit of jobs and enterprises in a market composed of socially useful goods and services, empower the socially excluded by combining training and skills formation with capacity and confidence building, and create a space for humane, co-operative, sustainable and 'alternative' forms of social and economic organisation.

Over the last decade, a great deal of research that has explored the non-commodified spheres of exchange in the advanced economies has focused on the geographies of community engagement. This research has revealed a complex range of different attitudes and rationales towards community engagement, and in particular between households in affluent and deprived communities. Before considering these findings in more detail, and discussing the dominant framework of analysis which has instructed and coloured the discussion of "mainstream" and "other" economic practices, it worth saying something about 'how' research has sought to reveal the geographies of the non-market economies, particularly for those in the de-growth movement who are unfamiliar with this area.

1.2.1. Methodological approaches to exploring non-market economies

“Work can be understood only in relation to the specific social relations in which it is embedded. Specific people in specific circumstances in specific sets of social relations can be described precisely in terms of whether they are engaged in work or play. The word ‘work’ cannot be defined out of context: that, indeed, is the conclusions and answer to the question (of whether all social activity is work).” (Pahl, 1984: 128)

One of the most influential academics in this field was Ray Pahl. In his research on the Isle of Sheppey and published in ‘Divisions of Labour’ (1984), he adopted a truly unique – though attractively accessible - way of capturing the categorically, the domestic divisions of labour, through using an interview methodology focused on the household. It was a methodology which, while aware of other more conventional approaches, went beyond these to establish a way of distinguishing between distinctive divisions of labour, and allowing their complexity to come to light. As Pahl (1984: 213-214) explained:

“The alternative approach is to focus on the labour that is done for households, including whether or not they do it themselves. The practical and pragmatic notion that work is any task that it is possible to pay someone else to do for one evidently embraces all activity. However, with the decline in servants, members of households have to do much of their everyday work for themselves. Friends, relatives, neighbours and the official home help service may do anything from making the bed to washing up for those who are elderly or incapacitated. Not all of these may define doing such tasks as work: clearly the woman in the home help service will do so, but the dutiful son or daughter may be ‘helping mum’. Certainly, it gets out of a lot of difficulties to focus, in a non-evaluative way, on the characteristics of those doing specific tasks – whether they are paid and whether they are a friend, relative or representatives of a formal firm or agency. This also enables analysis to be made on the basis of whether work is done by household members or non-household members and hence permits exploration of distinctive divisions of labour: divisions between household members, between some households and other households and between households and the money economy, including the distinction between whether the money is

paid formally or informally.

In 1984, R.E Pahl focused on understanding the divisions of labour within a local population on the Isle of Sheppey. The rationales he gave in the pilot study included the following:

“I am interested to find out how people get by in a number of specific circumstances... I want to know how the ordinary routines of life and the sexual divisions of labour within the domestic unit may be changing, as a result of the growth of a wide range of economic activities outside the formal economy... It is now possible for people to get by without necessarily engaging in formal employment. A man can own his own tools – power drills, chain saws, welding equipment; he can control much of his own time whether or not he is formally employed... (Pahl, 1984: 9-10)

What followed was an excellent, engaging and challenging account of work outside employment. Significantly though, for understanding mutual aid, one of its most penetrating influences was seen in the fact that subsequent research adopted many of the categories Pahl employed to differentiate informal economic activities (including domestic self-provisioning, informal labour and formal provision).

It is an approach which deeply influenced many successive researchers who have sought to engage with, and understand, informal economic spheres (e.g. Williams and Windebank, 2001a, 2001b; Williams et al, 2001). The methodology to tease out these divisions of labour though came in the form of a structured list of forty-one tasks. Having conducted a pilot study:

“Claire Wallace and I drew up the list of 41 tasks. (House maintenance, home improvement and decoration, routine housework, domestic production, car maintenance, child care)... All respondents were asked if they had ever done each task on the list and then, in the case of house maintenance and similar tasks, they were asked ‘Who did all or most of the work?’ In the case of more common domestic tasks, respondents were simply asked who usually does them. Respondents were also asked to name who actually did the task inside the household; outside the household they were asked to say whether or not it was done by a relative, friend or official firm and whether or not it was paid for. (Pahl, 1984: 214-216)

The approach favoured by Pahl has, as stated, been highly influential elsewhere. For example Williams and Windebank (2000; 2001a, b; 2002b,c) have adapted this methodological approach to examine self-help activity in a lower-income inner city neighbourhood; a neighbourhood locally viewed as a ‘sink’ council estate; and a higher-income suburb. Having argued that structured interviews were preferable to unstructured interviews, because households struggled to remember instances where self help had been used and supplied, they acknowledged the influence of Pahl:

“When designing the format of the structured interview, the starting point was the task list used nearly twenty years earlier by Pahl (1984) on the Isle of Sheppey. Using a slightly modified version of the common everyday tasks he used, 44 tasks were investigated...” (Williams and Windebank, 2001a: 70)

Research adapting this interview approach has not only been used in urban and rural England (e.g. Pahl, 1984; Williams and Windebank 1999; White 2000; Williams and White, 2002; White 2009) but also in Europe (e.g. Van Geuns et al. 1987; Renooy, 1990) and North America (e.g., Jensen et al. 1995; Nelson and Smith, 1999). Such an approach has also been advocated by Sen (1995, 1999).

1.2.2. Making room for 'other' economic practices within the mainstream economic paradigm

In their extremely influential approaches to destabilize a capitalocentric economic discourse, by re-thinking the economy and representations of the economy J.K. Gibson-Graham (2006: 1) harnessed a pedagogical-inspired economic "iceberg model". Essentially this model juxtaposes traditionally "alternative" non-capitalist market economic practices against the visible formal economy (see Figure 1) and in doing so:

"Opens up conceptions of economy and places the reputation of economics as a comprehensive and scientific body of knowledge under critical suspicions for its narrow focus and mystifying effects (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 1)

This model is significant in many ways, not least symbolically but certainly contextually in the way that it indicates the formal economy (wage labour produced for a market in a capitalist firm) as being just one segment amongst a plurality of other economic activities currently being organised and played out within contemporary societies.

This complex variety of production, exchange and consumption in these multiple "alternative" economic spaces have been organised into three key typologies being introduced to construct and differentiate between types of activities and contrasting modes of production (e.g. Burns et al 2004; Field and Hedges, 1984; Gershuny, 1979; Gregory and Windebank, 2000; Jensen et al, 1995; Leonard, 1998; Lynn and Davis Smith, 1992; Pahl, 1984; Renooy 1990; Williams and Windebank, 2000, 2001, 2002; White 2009). These are:

- Paid informal work, which involves the paid production and sale of goods and services that are unregistered by or hidden from the state for tax, social security and/ or labour law purposes but which are legal in all other respects.
- 'Self-provisioning', or self-help, which involves unpaid household work undertaken by household members for themselves or for other members of their household, and
- Mutual Aid "Unpaid help provided for and by friends, neighbours or other members of one's

community either on an individual basis or through more organised collective groups and societies.”

As the "alternative" economic literature matured, more nuanced and inter-linked typologies have been presented within these three areas. Referring to community self-help as "those informal activities that are not formally provided by the market and the state" Burns et al (2004: 29-39) consider a range of types of community self-help which include examples from both self-help and mutual aid (see Table 1)

Conceptualising mutual aid in this framework identifies a spectrum between more informal acts of one-to-one reciprocity on one side, with more formal voluntary organisations at the other. What is meant by paid, or monetized, mutual aid? Interestingly, recent empirical research focused on the rationales behind paid informal work and community self-help in particular, has extended the definition of mutual aid beyond considering strictly unpaid work undertaken by household members for members of other households, whether on an informal or formal basis. Examining the completed nature of social exchange in the informal sphere has brought to light socially orientated spaces of production and consumption which have traditionally been associated with being a purely exploitative, profit-motivated sphere of exchange, and thus labelled as "paid informal work". But more detailed investigation has undermined and blurred this distinction, by revealing a layer of activity in which exchange was not embedded in the profit motive (and thus unable to be claimed adequately as paid informal work) but that did involve either money or gift-in-lieu of money being exchanged or part-exchanged for work undertaken (hence mutual aid defined as 'unpaid' work, was equally inappropriate to capture and represent the relations of exchange properly). In comparing the rationales for engaging in paid informal work in higher-and lower-income urban neighbourhoods in Britain for example, Williams and Windebank (2002: 79) argue:

“Given that such exchanges are conducted largely under social relations akin to unpaid mutual aid and involve community-building and redistributive rationales, one cannot overlay market-orientated consequences onto such work.”

Such insights carry with them many implications, and provide another example of how mutual aid is very much the part of an emerging discourse. Here, the notion of monetized or paid mutual aid dissolves any absolute boundaries between (in this case) paid informal work and mutual aid, and, by capturing a type of exchange, the nature of which is clearly neither unpaid work in the pure sense as involving like-for-like reciprocity, nor is not reducible to the concept of paid informal work (see Ungerson, 1995). This fuzzy distinction is certainly captured within the TSOL approach introduced later in the paper following a discussion focused on problematising the market/ non-market labour divide.

1.3. Re-Conceptualising "The Economic": towards a TSOL framework of community engagement

"(T)his concept of degrowth indeed upsets the signs and the lines: the theoretical and symbolic signs of recognition" (Flipo, 2008:25)

"...(D)egrowth is offered first and foremost as a conceptual or ideological weapon... a political weapon to decolonise the collective imagination..." (Fournier, 2008: 532)

Problematising the Contemporary Binary framework

To re-cap, much of the theoretical discussion focused on the whole economies has, and perhaps necessarily so, sort to assert the extent and character of "alternative" economies within a dominant modern binary hierarchical framework: a framework which informs and frames discussion of economic practices (and modern society itself). For the purpose of this paper though it is meaningful to say that this binary framework has been dominant in most - if not all - the alternate economic literature to date. Before considering the ways in which current work on the "whole" economic sphere has suggested ways in which to liberate the imagination from this binary conceptualisation, it is important to problematise the binary framework. Here it will be shown how this binary understanding has functioned to effectively undermine and marginalise those advocating de-growth and radical economic thought. Moreover, the binary framework artificially separates and structures distinct boundaries between formal and informal economic worlds, and in doing so, suggest that both are embedded in qualitatively different social and economic values and motives. Thus despite opening up alternative readings of the economy, these (new) economic typologies did not take the further radical step of dismantling the binary hierarchy itself.

In a recent paper Williams et al (2007: 402) made a welcome, and long overdue, critique on the binary formal/ informal economy dualism. The rationale for developing such a critique came from the fact that: "Conventional binary hierarchical discourse depicts informal employment as a residual and marginal form of work that has largely negative consequences for economic and social development and needs to be deterred if "progress" and "advancement" is to be achieved." Essentially the Modern mainstream economic literature has interpreted and constructed the economy though imposing a perspective which has not only resulted in an artificial division of economics into either 'formal' or 'informal' sectors, but moreover to exclusively privilege and promote the former over the latter (see Derrida, 1967). Table 2 shows some of the adjectives which have informed a widespread attitude toward the economy in academic, policy and popular circles.

When taking even a cursory look at the literature focused on décroissance, it is immediately apparent that such a forced modern either/ or binary approach is still also evident between discussions on growth (as superordinate) and de-growth as subservient. Witness the latter being associated with negative values such as 'backward', 'traditional', 'obscure' etc. (Flipo, 2008).

Much of the starting points for research in the informal economy have been to critically address, deconstruct, and significantly in many cases refute these popular positive (formal) and negative (informal) representations of the economic. The extended typology of forms of community engagement (Figure 2) builds upon the work that Glucksmann (1995, 2005) did on the total social organisation of labour (TSOL) and the application of this to community engagement as made by Taylor (2004). Uncoupling the binary fragmentation from "the economic" unearths a wonderfully rich and progressive vision of economic activity.

The table allows a series of eight zones to emerge. The typology highlights (on the x-axis) a continuum of types of economic activity from the increasingly-formal-to-increasingly-informal, divided by (on the y-

axis) whether the form of activity is paid or unpaid. The dotted lines are deliberate in that they suggest the grey, fuzzy and blurred boundaries that in reality exist between these types of labour (rather than fixed and absolute differences).

What this conceptual framework encourages is a far richer and more nuanced appreciation of the multiple ways in which individuals engage in society, and one that will bring with it far-reaching implications for both theory and policy. The shaded zones signify the various types of community engagement. Here more group –based forms of community engagement include: (label 1) being formally employed in a voluntary organisation; unpaid work for community-based groups on both legitimate (label 2) and illegitimate (label 6). More one-to-one types of community engagements range from unpaid exchanges for kin and non-kin relations (label 3). The un-shaded zones involve types of labour that – while not forms of community engagement – do indicate alternative forms of delivering goods and services in society. These range from paid household work (label 4) and unpaid work (label 8) to formal paid work in either public or private sectors (label 1).

What is also a fascinating area of research is how space and place play a role in influencing community self help. In exploring the complex and negotiated spaces that community self help, and mutual aid in particular are embedded in White (2009) the spatial proximity of 'others' (neighbours for example) was an important factor in understanding why such community relationships took place. There was a broader consideration as well focused on the complex ways in which the wider capitalist environment has influenced the possibilities for reciprocal exchange:

"For example, one can appreciate how car ownership has affected the way people interact with each other, in the sense of distancing people are creating less opportunities for individuals to socialise. However, these changes have also fostered new opportunities for mutual aid and reciprocity to emerge (such as car sharing for the school run) (White, 2009: 468)

Some of the key themes that have found a natural home in the de-growth literature, also explicitly highlight benefit of mutuality and sharing. For example, focusing on cohousing and under the sub-heading, 'The habit of sharing goods and services' Lietaert (2008: 71) emphasises the way cohousing," can influence daily consumption habits, mainly shifting this behaviour from an individual to a more collective action. This is important because it not only enables (them) to save money and increase contacts with the neighbours, but it also reduces the environmental footprint."

1.4. Conclusions

Yes, it is vitally important that we urgently consider strategies that would systematically uncouple growth from the formal economy, but there is an equally urgent need to consider how best to re-orientate activity (and individuals) away from the mostly exploitative, competitive and commodified sphere of exchange in the economy, and toward economic worlds of production, exchange and consumption which nurtures, supports and develops positive empowered relationships between individuals. The first stage is to recognise what these (alternative) economic worlds are. With this in mind the paper has suggested the incorporation of a total social organisation of labour approach will allow a more nuanced and accurate reading of work practices in communities and in society. This focus on people and community self-help has many positive overlaps with those contributing to the de-growth movement, particularly as it emphasises the local and focused attention onto the quality of human relationships. As Burns et al (2004: 6) argue:

"Whatever the 'nature' of people (individualist, altruistic or otherwise), they undoubtedly live in relationship to each other. They are interdependent and both their survival and their happiness depend on that interdependence. This interdependence is brought about by a web of reciprocal exchanges. They may not be direct but they are tangible and meaningful at a community level."

The research focused on mapping and understanding the complex geographies of the whole economy, when taken in conjunction with the critiques that have convincingly uncoupled of the logic and desirability of 'growth-based' economic development, have been crucial in allowing a rich and fertile soils for new ideas, visions and concrete proposals to take root in, and gestate in. The time has come for these to attain a new level or maturity and influence in the systems around them. Indeed, as Schneider (2008: 34) argued the triple environmental crises - environmental, social and economic - makes these relevance of these ideas "now an absolute necessity". It is hoped that the total system of labour organisation approach (TSOL) outlined here will, like the subject of Degrowth itself becomes an international concept which opens up a new and deeper understanding and possibilities about our economic future. In this way economic crisis in the formal economy is timely and should be celebrated for the very fact that it creates a highly visible rational and opportunity to think differently, and do things differently.

For now, and in the future, one of the greatest challenges is to ensure that these ideas and visions remain immune from re-incorporation and re-subordination back into the dominant capitalist ideology. In this respect every movement which seeks to disrupt and break out of the old binary economic mould of thinking and doing economics is one step nearer that end goal realised. We must continue to ask problematic and deep questions which can only be answered by re-framing the crisis, and re-contextualising the tyrannical ideology of 'growth' and neo-liberal economics. Moreover we must individually and collectively invest serious thought and active commitment approaching and harnessing those empowered and multiple economic worlds we desire: worlds that are very much part of the present economic system(s). If this paper has contributed something that moves us closer towards these critical ends, then it will have served a real and timely purpose.

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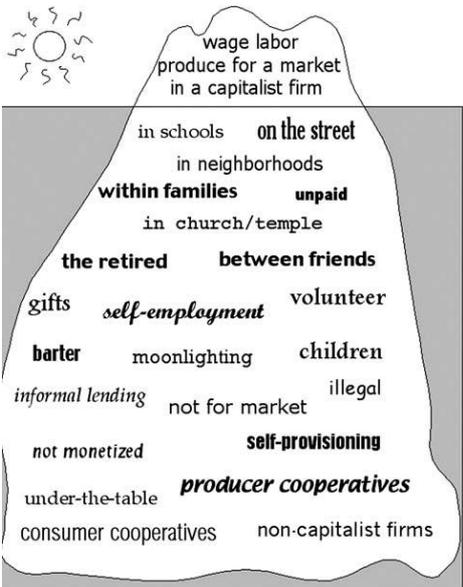
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Figure 1: The Economic Iceberg of Alternative Market Economies



SOURCE: Fig. 3. J. K. Gibson-Graham's iceberg model of alternative market economies (Gibson-Graham, 2006, 70; drawing by Ken

Byrne).

Table 1. Types of community self-help

Self-help	Routine self-provisioning	
	Do-it yourself activity	
Mutual aid	Unpaid	One-to-one kinship reciprocity
		One-to-one reciprocity between friends and neighbours
		Organised mutual aid
		Community volunteering
	Paid	Autonomous

Source: Burns et al. (2004: 30) Table 2.1: Types of community self-help

Table 2: Modern binary representations of economic activities

"The Economic"	
Formal (Superordinate)	Informal (Subservient)
Capitalist	Pre-Capitalist
Advanced	Primitive
Progressive	Residual
Mainstream	Marginal
Developing	Stagnant
Strong	Weak
Forward	Backward
Extensive	

Figure 2: Typology of forms of community engagement in the total social organisation of labour

PAID			
<p>1. Formal paid job in public, private or voluntary sector</p> <p>e.g., formal job in voluntary organisation</p> <p>FORMAL</p>	<p>2. Informal employment</p> <p>e.g., wholly undeclared waged employment; under-declared formal employment (e.g., undeclared overtime); informal self-employment</p>	<p>3. Paid community exchanges</p> <p>e.g., paid favours for friends, neighbours & acquaintances</p>	<p>4. Paid household/ family work</p> <p>e.g., paid exchanges within the family</p> <p>INFORMAL</p>
<p>5. Formal unpaid work in public, private & voluntary sector</p> <p>e.g., unpaid work in formal community-based group; unpaid internship</p>	<p>6. Informal unpaid work in public, private & voluntary sector</p> <p>e.g., unpaid children's soccer coach without formal police check</p>	<p>7. One-to-one unpaid community exchanges</p> <p>e.g., unpaid kinship exchange, neighbourly favour</p>	<p>8. Unpaid domestic work</p> <p>e.g., self-provisioning of care within household</p>
UNPAID			

Source: Williams (2009: 2) Fig 1: *Typology of forms of community engagement in the total social organisation of labour Unravelling cultures of community engagement: a geographically-nuanced approach*