

Unlocking Doors: Decolonising the Event Design Process

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Pamela Olga Netsai Zigomo hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.



Signed: _____ Date: 21 November 2018

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*“Zvikomborero
Zvikomborero zvizhinji
Zvikomborero tinazvo
Zvikomborero zvamwari”¹*

To the Maonero Visual Artists Collective, thank you for taking a risk and trying something new without guarantee of a successful outcome. Thank you for trusting me and teaching me about your world. To the amazing team involved with Chipawo Girl Power group thank you for sharing your amazing energy and creativity.

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¹ Translation: Blessings; showers of blessings; blessings we have them; blessings from God. Shona Methodist Hymn – ‘Zvikomborero Kunemwi’ – an adaptation of English hymn ‘There Shall be Showers of Blessings’ written by Daniel Webster Whittle (1840-1901)

ABSTRACT

Participatory Event Design (PED) is a potential innovative approach to the design of planned events intended to trigger social change. It is a values-based, transparent process that focuses on using safe, open spaces and dialogic encounters. The design of events for social change has traditionally relied on the voice of specialists commissioned by funders who prioritise socio-economic development objectives. This can result in the marginalisation of communities of interest. A Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach was applied to design an art exhibition with 17 Zimbabwean visual artists. The project focused on addressing problems relating to the access to spaces and resources that enable visual artists to achieve their economic empowerment. In PAR the researcher actively engages participants in the conduct of the research using an iterative process that requires periods of reflection for the researchers to identify key learning points. Post-Colonial theory was applied to examine the inherent power structures which enframed the traditional spaces of exhibition event design and to understand the beliefs and ideologies that informed the actions of the research community. The research drew on Participatory International Development practice to establish possibilities for solutions to the problems identified, this prompted the development of PED. The decolonisation of traditional event design processes is recommended to remove oppressive structures that compartmentalise stakeholders, encourage patronage systems and restrict the agency of marginalised communities. Event designers working on events with a social mission need to apply skills that enable them to empathise with communities that have experienced the traumas of being marginalised. They need to focus on facilitative and reflexive skills to leverage sustainable transformation. The notion of the colonial veranda is offered to explore the liminoid aspects of the PED experience which can be a safe space for communities to come together and create the necessary solutions for social change.

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List of Abbreviations

ACE – Arts Council England

ACZ – Arts Council Zimbabwe

CF- Culture Fund (Zimbabwe)

BAME – Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic

CBD – Central Business District

CES – Critical Event Studies

LOMA - Law and Order Maintenance Act

NEET – Not in Education Employment or Training

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

NGZ – National Gallery of Zimbabwe

NHS – National Health Service

PAR – Participatory Action Research

PED – Participatory Event Design

PIDS – Participatory International Development

POSA - Public Order and Security Act

ZRP - Zimbabwe Republic Police

ZIMSTAT – Zimbabwe Statistics Office

PROLOGUE



(‘Tumabhasikoro’ - The ‘Little Bicycles’ Series - Image taken by Author)

Taft: *I think we allow them to dictate prices and what we create because we have low self-esteem.*

Stool: *This is about poverty, people want to eat ...he who has money has power...*

Taft: *The other problem is us the artists...our issue is that we let them control us. If we did our little money makers on the side like your (points at fellow co-researcher) little birds and my little bicycles, and even if the buyers offer \$5 it doesn't matter, because the money is coming in, then you can be free to create your real art so that if you go to that gallerist and he tells you he doesn't want to show your work in his exhibition you can go somewhere else, you don't have to beg.*

Nana: *An artist can only be flexible when they are not hungry*

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

*“Don't you know
they're talkin' 'bout a revolution
it sounds like a whisper
and finally the tables are starting to turn
Talkin' bout a revolution
Yes, finally the tables are starting to turn”*

Tracey Chapman; Revolution

1.1 Introducing the Project

This thesis explores the experiences of a group of visual artists in Zimbabwe who came together to design an art exhibition event. This specific community of artists earn an average of US\$100 - US\$300 a month and are facing severe challenges in developing sustainable livelihoods. Most are the sole breadwinners and this income has to cover living expenses as well as the reinvestment required for the creation and marketing of new art. The participatory action research (PAR) project explored the problems relating to the access to space and resources that enable visual artists to represent themselves and develop networks with local and international audiences to earn a sustainable livelihood. The approach to this problem entailed the development of a process I call Participatory Event Design (PED). The group collaborated to design an art exhibition titled *‘Unlocking Doors’* which will be used as a tool to facilitate a closer engagement with the Zimbabwean public and policy makers in the hope that new markets can be developed, and policy makers can be influenced to set up a more informed and supportive infrastructure.

PED is a process developed from the intersections between Critical Events Studies (CES), Participatory International Development Studies (PIDS), and Participatory Action Research (PAR). CES examines the political, economic, social and cultural structures that frame event production and their various impacts on communities. The aim of this school of thought is to encourage the adoption of responsible and emancipatory production methods (Lamond and Platt, 2016). This creates a space for event organisers and the communities they engage with

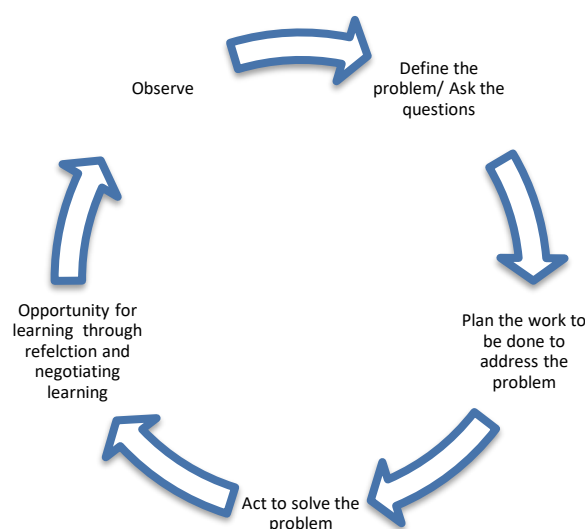
to critically reflect on their actions and act to challenge or dismantle the oppressive structures they encounter in creating and producing events. Moreover, CES encourages the application of critical theories in understanding how events are created and managed which differs from the traditional focus on operational and management aspects in the field of events management. The lens of post-colonial theory is the specific critical theory that has been applied in this thesis. PIDS offers methods and learning from real life projects that have used people-centred development practice to address complex issues around power relationships and people's realities. PIDS also challenges those leading in development or emancipatory initiatives to examine their worldviews and the oppressive practices they might inadvertently embrace in providing what Chambers (2017) calls a '*pedagogy for the non-oppressed*'. PAR creates a space for researchers and research participants to undertake a collaborative analysis of real life problems (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007). PAR acknowledges and respects the diverse sources of knowledge within a community. It prompts all participants involved to reflect on their findings and experiences and then decide on the most appropriate action to address the issues, thus removing the mindset that human agency is only a right of the project expert (Kesby and Gwanzura-Ottmoller, 2007).

Loomba (2005) posits that communities within a societal structure will behave in a certain way based on beliefs and ideologies that inform their thinking. The community of Zimbabwean visual artists participating in this research project were working within a societal structure strongly influenced by its colonial past. Thus, post-colonial theory based on the writings of Fanon (1961; 1963); Said (2003); Thiong'o (1986) and Njoh (2009) created a space for the examination of this societal structure and the inherent power and relational structures which inform traditional exhibition event design processes. Chapter 5 presents an analysis of the societal structure within the context of the colonial and post-colonial eras to highlight how certain power technologies have remained constant despite the change in governance over the years. This shows that the lens of post-colonial theory does not limit this thesis solely to the research of colonial sites.

1.1.1 Focus of the thesis and current status of the PAR project

This project started in September 2011 and went through several cycles of the action research process indicated in Figure 1 below to explore the issues that contributed to the problem, carry out work and critically reflect on the problem. Reflections on the PAR process are discussed in Chapter 8 but the majority of the thesis focuses on the 18 months spent developing and delivering the PED process with a community of 17 visual artists working in Harare Zimbabwe that signed up to the project in June 2016. In section 1.5 below I describe in more detail the experiences that led me to this focus. This participatory project is still ongoing, as Maonero Visual Arts have recently registered as a trust (Maonero Arts Trust) and set up their website in preparation for our art exhibition event to be held in Harare at the end of 2018.

Figure 1 - The Participatory Action Research Process



The narrative of PAR does not always follow the traditional patterns of a PhD thesis. The research approach is untidy and iterative and as the approach requires periods of reflection for the researcher to identify key learning points, the use of first person is essential to the narrative. The PAR approach used in this thesis was based on the transformative perspectives promoted by Freire (1996), Mertens (2007) and Smith (2012). This school of thought argues

that if participatory inquiries are to be emancipatory, then the research methods applied must be culturally aware and engage people in a respectful way that acknowledges the complex relationships that inform the research context (Whitmore, 1998, Mertens, 2007 and Endo, Joh and Yu, 2003). This thesis therefore also recognises the value in the reflection and narrative of the co-researchers and includes significant portions of their direct quotes in the empirical chapter (Chapter 6) as a means of telling the story of the group of artists that became *Maonero Visual Arts* and the key issues they considered in designing their exhibition '*Unlocking Doors*'. Keeping participants' voices and experiences central allows the reader to gain a better insight into the emotions and experiences of the co-researchers.

1.2 The research context and problem

Currently, Zimbabwean audiences have limited resources and are thus reluctant to invest in art let alone engaging with art through visits to local art galleries or art fair events. Some reasons for this include the lack of art education resources in the current education curriculum and the historic engagement with cultural spaces. The creative practice of contemporary art is also perceived, culturally, as having little economic value in comparison to other more formal professions (discussed in Chapter 4). The number of opportunities to show work and access wider international audiences has historically been limited as the few galleries in the country can only take on a limited number of artists at a time and are also facing funding and sustainability challenges. Artists also have to negotiate with unscrupulous art dealers and international galleries that negotiate commission deals which leave them at a disadvantage.

1.1.2 Contribution of the thesis

The following contributions to knowledge is made: -

1. I present Participatory Event Design (PED) as an option for designing events that effect social change. This emancipatory process is values based; transparent, relational, flexible and porous. PED challenges the events industry to revise the closed, manipulative,

traditional spaces of design, which are skewed towards an operational or commercial focus.

2. PED has the potential to leverage the transformative effect of events as it creates a necessary space for the conscientisation and critical thinking process. I propose that this space is a liminoid space where feelings of *communitas* are generated and the community can start to develop action for change.
3. I argue that post-colonial theory provides a useful lens for academics in critical event studies to examine the power structures that enframe the event design process in the Third Sector.

My discussions with the visual artists on this project revealed that although Zimbabwean artists face some serious challenges in earning a sustainable livelihood and their conversations have revealed some of the trauma they have suffered in dealing with gallerists and policymakers, they do not consider themselves as powerless victims. They can also see how the gallerists and resource holders are enframed in their own networked structures of power, thus they acknowledge that sometimes there are advantages to working in the margins as they do not have to deal with some of the challenges other stakeholders face. The artists have developed a pragmatic approach and quietly work within the existing political and economic structures with the aim of gaining access to the resources that will give them the freedom they need to develop sustainable livelihoods.

1.3 Why Planned Events?

The term 'event' as used in this thesis refers to 'planned event', specifically planned events in the Third Sector. Planned events can take the form of festivals, conferences, live performances or mega-events such as the Olympic Games. The term 'planned events' acknowledges Donald Getz's definition, which is widely adopted in the study of events: –

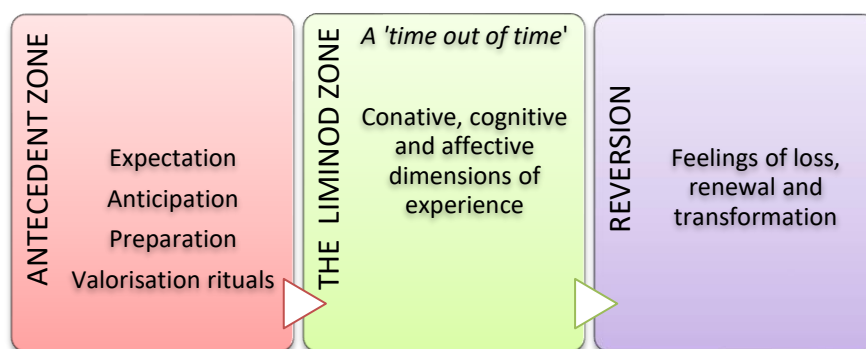
“Planned events are live, social events created to achieve specific outcomes, including those related to business, the economy, culture, society and environment”. (Getz, 2012; p40)

In this thesis the term planned events refers more to Julie Olberding’s definition of events produced in the Third Sector by social enterprises –

“...events with a social mission, purpose or cause...events that have been developed or implemented to help, improve or create benefits for a community or society.”
(Olberding, 2016; p13)

The literature in events and leisure studies identifies the significant potential for events to be effectively applied for political and social purposes as well. Getz’s (2010) model of the Planned Event Experience (Figure 2), refers to the works of Arnold van Gennep (1960) and Victor Turner (1964) to propose the possibilities for transformation opened up in the liminoid zone of the planned event.

Figure 2 - The Planned Event Experience (Getz, 2012)



The Liminoid Zone is the phase where the individual is 'in-between' worlds and there is real potential for transformation to take place. Characteristics of the liminoid zone and my

reflections on the groups' experience in the liminoid zone of participatory event design are discussed in detail in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.3) and Chapter 7 respectively.

There are a number of stages to producing a planned event, these include objective-setting; concept-development; feasibility assessment; detailed planning; implementation and evaluation (Shone and Parry, 2013; Bowdin *et al*, 2012; Bladen *et al*, 2017; Pielichaty *et al*, 2017). At the beginning of this research journey my focus was on the 'what' which was the event artefact and quick impact measurement metrics, but the learning points coming out from my immersion in the critical theory, periods of reflexivity and the experiences from initial failed attempts to develop the project highlighted the importance of focusing on the 'how' to begin with. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the data and findings specifically from the concept-development and feasibility assessment stages of our event creation journey where the opportunity to establish a PED process emerges (refer Figure 3).

Figure 3 - The Stages of the Planned Event Creation Process and the Focus of this Thesis



1.4 Defining Social Change for This Research Project

Harper and Leicht (2007) define social change as the significant alteration in social structure and cultural patterns through time. Whereas Moore (1963), Nisbert (1969) and Massey, (2012) write about social change in terms of evolutionary or incremental changes to society over time rather than a specific movement focused on bringing about the alteration of an existing societal structure. Moore (1963) stressed the importance of acknowledging and understanding the fact that all social systems have their own collective values and norms and unique rules which govern their actions and behaviour. He points out that these social systems are high in complexity, thus making it important to proceed with caution when exploring and analysing changes to a social system. Garner (1977) also acknowledged the complexity within social structures and suggests that the differences in wealth inform the power-bases that frame the eco-system of the societal structure and each one has its own internal specific patterning regarding beliefs, rules, values and behaviours. It is therefore important for us to always be aware that the transformation of a societal structure will affect the different groups and individuals within it at different rates. Moore (1963) and Massey (2012) discuss a less disruptive type of transformation, where the systems change over a long period of time and sometimes the change is not immediately apparent – although it is clear to see the difference between the before and after states.

Garner (1977) and Massey (2012) highlight the importance of social networks and social capital in bringing about social change, insisting that social change requires the group to work together rather than an individual working in isolation. Garner also points out that true transformational change is irreversible.

“It is cumulative and unidirectional and is a change in the total pattern of human activity” (Garner, 1977 p58).

Garner (1977) writes about 2 types of change; Objective change relating to the inevitable change of objects, places, people, appearances over time and Subjective change, relating to changes in the way one sees things due to the influence of the new things they have learnt and experienced over time. This latter type of change is a product of the conflict, interaction and negotiation of the different individuals where enough of these smaller changes must build up for the existing system to collapse in order for a new one to take its place. This project focuses on the latter type of social change.

An international development practitioner who provides a description of social change that was useful to consider for this project is Doug Reeler. He proposes a three-fold theory of social change based on an ideology that is very similar to that of Freire (1996). This definition alludes to critical pedagogy and recommends that all players in the social system must participate and be committed to the action for transformation, otherwise only a 'false liberation' or unsustainable change occurs.

“Conventional development practices often lead to projects being imposed on unstable, crisis-ridden or stuck conditions, leaving practitioners surprised by resistance or lethargy or the destructive competitive behaviour that emerges when project resources are blithely delivered into divided communities leaving them more divided and defeated by the experience” (Reeler, 2007; p24)

Reeler's theory, which is based on the core values of equality, freedom and mutuality prescribes the preliminary step of observing and understanding the change processes that already exist in the social system as it is important to develop social change interventions based on respect, and a keenness to work within the context of the social structures instead of imposing processes that are not relevant. The core values of mutuality with equality suggest more horizontal relationships as opposed to the traditional vertical hierarchical power-bases as used in neo-liberal development practice.

Reeler (2007)'s threefold theory of social change sets out social change along three realms – the emergent, transformative and projectable states.

- *Emergent change* occurs in situations requiring unconscious and conscious learning from experience and usually occurs in highly uncertain environments where it is necessary to go through an iterative change process. This is the most prevalent and enduring form of change and it is not neat and tidy or linear. It is less predictable and more chaotic as it acknowledges the complexity of social systems.
- *Transformative change* comes about after a period of crisis or 'stuckness' when tensions arise due to shifts in external political, economic, cultural or environmental contexts and reveal the contradictions in existing relationships. This transformation process involves uncovering the roots of crisis, leading to unlearning of inappropriate or obsolete ideas, then leading to the turning point where there is resistance to change and then a final moving on to adopting new ideas and finally creating the new situation. Extracts from the transcripts of our participatory event design workshops presented in Chapter 6 illustrate this process. This type of change also supports Moore (1963)' Garner (1977) and Massey (2012)'s argument for the need to understand the complexities of the social system under analysis – and this process takes time. This is not a straightforward process as the transformation requires an unlearning of current rules and values present in the social system.
- *Projectable change* - occurs when working in stable, predictable systems where problems, needs and possibilities are more visible under relatively stable conditions and relationships.

Reeler (2007) presents some very interesting points in relation to how the international development sector engages with social change interventions and criticises donors of being risk averse in crisis situations. He also suggests that it is actually during the period of crisis that the potential for truly sustainable transformation to occur arises and therefore

recommends that donors rethink their support strategies, considering less predictable and traditional methods where they have more control.

“...the challenge of development might not be a lack of capacity but rather a relationship of power that needs to be surfaced, ‘unbuilt’ and transformed. Used inappropriately or by default, capacity-building can become another mechanism of control” Reeler (2007; p32)

The definition that best encompasses all the key elements of social change that align with this project is one provided in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report on Communication for Development practice which defines social change as:-

“A process of transformation in the way society is organised, within social and political institutions, and in the distribution of power within those institutions. For behaviours to change on a large scale, certain harmful cultural practices, societal norms and structural inequalities have to be taken into consideration. Social change approaches, thus tend to focus on the community as the unit of change.” (United Nations UNICEF, 2012 as cited by Thomas, 2014, p13)

This definition was derived from the report produced by McCall (2011) on behalf of the UNDP, which advocated the use of dialogue and participatory approaches as central to development for empowerment. This approach was based on the principles of tolerance, self-determination, equity, social justice and active participation which would facilitate the local people or communities of interest to become agents of change.

1.5. Setting the Context to the Development of the Research Focus

Planned events in the Third Sector have mainly focused on advocacy and fundraising objectives. There has been limited scope to consider alternative ways these events could be used as tools that effect social change. One of the reasons for this has been the focus on the

‘aestheticisation’ and ‘entertainisation’ elements in the design of these third sector event experiences (Lahusen, 2001). This can either result in reinforcing the existing oppressive power structures that might have contributed to the development of the social problem being addressed or, depending on the design, create new inequalities within the societal structures. These latent possibilities have the potential of minimising the efficacy of any events that have been designed with a social mission.

Event organisers in the Third Sector have been challenged to critically examine the interventions they create for some time now. Since the ‘rock for a cause era’ of the 1980’s, where events such as Live Aid, Human Rights Now, Rock against Racism, Free Tibet and Live 8 concerts were staged, researchers have asked important questions as to the real impact of these events (Lahusen, 2001; Street, Hague and Savigny 2008; Sanders *et al*, 2008; Rojek, 2014; Grant, 2015). Added to this, an increasing public awareness of social justice issues has created a bigger platform for the more recent revelations in the Third Sector to be scrutinised. This is an even louder wake up call for event organisers to examine their practice. For example, the President’s Club Annual Fundraiser Scandal (reported in January 2018), exposed the coercion, manipulation and harassment of female event staff and was met with public outrage. The furore was so great that some charities reconsidered receiving funds from the proceeds of the dinner (Lee, 2018). Moreover, with the sexual misconduct claims raised against Oxfam staff in February 2018, Third Sector professionals have been challenged to scrutinise their practices and make changes for the better (Enria, 2018).

These debates in the academic literature and related industry sectors together with my personal work experiences gave me cause to critically reflect on how events professionals can design Third Sector events to be more effective. I then decided to start this research project. In order to set the context that led to my developing the core research question presented in section 1.2, I will briefly discuss a few examples from my work experience that sparked some of the key themes discussed in this thesis which include: -

- The complexity of societal structures and the need to acknowledge this complexity in the change process (Garner, 1977; Moore, 1963; Lahusen, 2001; Dovey, 2014).
- The conflict and tensions arising for the event organiser who must navigate the sometimes differing and complex requirements between funders (including policy makers) who have access to specific resources and the communities of interest who seek access to these resources (Jepson and Clarke, 2017; Finkel, 2006).
- The need to establish optimum structures and approaches that can take advantage of the expertise of the event designer/ arts manager as well as acknowledge the expertise of the communities of interest who are not just docile or petrified bodies with no agency (Foucault, 1991; Fanon, 1961; Freire, 1996; Rooke, 2014; Chambers, 2017).
- Understanding that optimum working structures will include safe and open spaces and the time necessary for collaborative working that empowers communities of interest. (Thiong'o, 1986; Mertens, 2007; Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2010; Ledwith, 2016)

I moved into events management after working 9 years in the finance sector and was able to apply my business management skills supporting marginalised artists, arts venues and arts charities by delivering planned events aimed at capacity development and skills building for the next 10 years.. This work experience afforded me first-hand knowledge of how events are produced in the Third Sector in the United Kingdom (UK), specifically organisations working in the cultural and creative industries, and I found that there were similarities within the UK and my home country Zimbabwe., I observed that despite the creative and cultural sector being identified as a substantial contributor to the UK economy (Arts Council, 2013), most of the arts practitioners working in the small to medium sized organisations working in this sector were not earning a sustainable livelihood from their work. This was very similar to the experiences of artists working in Zimbabwe who must seek alternative sources of income and livelihoods apart from ticket or merchandise sales and royalties to sustain themselves and their families. I present a detailed discussion of the Zimbabwean context in Chapter 4 but in

this section, I want to briefly discuss some of my reflections from my work experience in the UK that prompted me to begin this research project..

Thrive! - The Experience that sparked the Questions

In 2005, Arts Council England (ACE) set up a new initiative within their Organisational Development (OD) department called Thrive! The desired outcome for this project was to prepare arts and cultural organisations for the impending cuts to public sector funding. and enable the cultural sector to remain relevant and fit for purpose. I was recruited by an audience development agency in the West Midlands in 2007 which had applied for funding from this department.

This project introduced me to the concept of social innovation and also enhanced my understanding of the change process within organisations and communities. Although the techniques used for this project were mainly based on organisational change methodologies, it soon became clear a few months into implementation that the human and emotional complexities embedded in the organisational structures had not been acknowledged in our analysis of the context. In order to change the organisation, a change in behaviours and thinking amongst the individuals involved in the different levels of the organisation was also required.

There was an overemphasis on systems and procedures which overshadowed the human context, and thus silenced and marginalised the staff members and artists we were trying to support to thrive. I also found that there were increasing tensions for us in our role as the agency commissioned by ACE to deliver the project. The project had been set up in a structure where we had access to funding for 5 years to develop the project but we had to submit an evaluation report and a revised business case at the end of each 12 months. We were aware that many arts organisations would not want to jeopardise their relationships with their funders

at this time as the economic climate was changing and organisations were preparing to go through major changes regarding revisions to national funding portfolios.

This 5 year initiative was unfortunately not as successful as planned as PricewaterhouseCoopers issued an interim evaluation report in 2008 stating that of the total 22 organisations taking part, there were indications that several organisations were planning to drop out of the programme post phase one without achieving their objectives. The project was further hampered by the change in government in 2010 and resultant change to arts funding policy. Changes in funding priorities also led to restructuring within the Arts Council and a reassignment of the Thrive! Team, thus the project was terminated.

Although the overall objectives were not achieved, the project gave me the opportunity to reflect on change and capacity development interventions and their effectiveness. There was clearly an issue around developing effective projects that could successfully transform an organisation or community without coercing or marginalising some of the stakeholders involved. I began to think about alternative approaches to effect a transformation within a community or societal structure. . This prompted me to investigate other sectors that were developing change projects to transform communities with more success. I wanted to understand how they were doing this and whether there were any specific success factors that were important. My research led me to the social sector and theories around social change that incorporated critical pedagogy and participatory development based on the work of Paulo Freire, Augusto Boal and Richard Chambers. I began with a focus on the African continent as my interest was in developing solutions to work with non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and cultural practitioners in my home country Zimbabwe.

Observation of Theatre for a Change in Malawi

I identified an organisation called Theatre for a Change (TFaC). a charity that mainly uses arts events created around '*Theatre of the Oppressed*' techniques focusing on HIV prevention in

Ghana and Malawi. Theatre of the Oppressed techniques were created in the 1970's by Augusto Boal, a Brazilian theatre practitioner and activist who drew on Paulo Freire's '*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*' to develop interactive drama techniques that theatre groups used to engage the public in dialogue about issues of social justice that were prevalent in their society. Although TFaC is a UK charity, its policy is to identify team members from the community of interest they are working with to take a key role in developing the projects. These team members then go on to equip the community groups with facilitation skills so that they can lead the interventions. This strategy has also been used successfully by Mehta, Adebayo and Martin (2010) when working with the Vidya Educational and Charitable Trust in India. In May 2010, I spent 2 weeks in Malawi, observing the work of TFaC in Lilongwe. At the time, the organisation was piloting a new programme, which they called the ABC Behaviour change project. This project was focused on working with sex workers to educate communities about HIV and its transmission; using Boal theatre techniques to facilitate behaviour change through group counselling activities and to develop vocational and enterprise skills amongst the community of sexworkers by retraining them and providing small business start-up loans,

The time I spent with the ABC group allowed me to observe how this organisation went through the process of creating and delivering social change interventions using theatre. At the time I visited, the project was led by 2 group leaders who were from the local community and had extensive experience in community development and theatre for development techniques. The group had been given sole use of an old theatre building for the full period of the pilot. TFaC had recognised the importance of creating a safe space for the group to discuss the issues that affected them and develop their theatre projects without reprisal. No one else was allowed to use the space when the group was there.

The group sessions were held each morning at the theatre and were well attended by all 12 members of the group who were highly engaged in the sessions and very vocal. I observed that the group felt free to explore the theatre techniques and talk about their experiences and

issues concerning them. I also attended one of the group's public events at a local market one afternoon and the group presented a powerful workshop that brought the market to a standstill as people stopped to watch the theatre performance and take part in the performance sessions. The group was also able to encourage a significant number of individuals to go for HIV testing and counselling. In contrast, the group did not do so well when they trialled a new event they had developed in a local nightclub area. The group members frequented this area as sex workers and it was inevitable that they would meet their clients and peers. Prior to this evening performance, the group was excited and looking forward to the session and when we arrived at "the spot" everyone was in good spirits. But as soon as we arrived at the event venue and group members started to see people they knew, the mood changed. Their confidence was now replaced by a shyness and some of the group members were even reluctant to take part. This had a significantly adverse impact on the event and left me reflecting on whether specialist skills were required to develop effective arts and event based social change interventions. I became distracted by these elements of the event artefact, and for a time after this trip, was convinced that social change interventions of this nature could only be effective and sustainable in scenarios where the project was well resourced in staging and scripting as well as drawing on highly skilled staff in the performative aspects. I had found TFaC's approach of embracing and recognising the value of the participants' expertise very enlightening, but it appeared as if the aesthetics and entertainment aspects were essential to the success of events of this nature and only trained actors could make these interventions work.

Youth dance workshops for NHS North London

Following this experience in Malawi, I then worked on a youth dance project with a London based Dance Company. NHS commissioned the dance company to deliver a series of dance workshops in three estates in North London across a period of 6 weeks in 2010. The aim of the sessions was to provide opportunities for young people who were not in education, employment or training and categorised as NEET. The anticipated outcome was facilitating

fair access to social, economic and environmental resources needed to achieve wellbeing. The three estates identified for the project by NHS had a history of social and economic challenges and so there was already high involvement from other agencies like the Safer Neighbourhood Teams, including the Metropolitan Police Service and the Borough Commander Unit, in addressing the high levels of Anti-Social Behaviour and crime noted in the area. We developed the project with two main aims, first to raise awareness of the importance of exercise and physical activity in promoting emotional resilience and mental wellbeing. Second, to improve the recognition of common mental health conditions such as anxiety and depression and share information on where to go for support and treatment. The project developed an ambitious set of outcomes on the back of these aims, which included:-

- Improving the positive social and community engagement amongst young people to reduce opportunities for negative behaviour patterns.
- Supporting work retention amongst young people at risk of losing their jobs.
- Reducing the high suicide rate amongst NEET residents in the borough as indicated by the 2009 suicide audit update from the London Health Observatory.
- Increasing self-awareness and self-esteem, confidence, communication skills and team working for the residents.

We planned to achieve all of this through working on the positive activity of dance and performance. The hope was that participation in this activity would increase cohesion between the residents on the estates. We designed the summer dance workshop event in the space of 3 months. During this period, I observed that most of the project preparation activity in that time period was focused on conversations with the funding officer. Moreover, our constant reference to the young people as '*NEETs*' (though useful as a quick term of reference) dehumanised and objectified them. Our activities in the design of the dance workshop event focused on negotiating budget line items that would fit within the assigned project funding amount that the NHS had set aside and agreeing on the specific wording regarding the project

objectives and outcomes. Apart from a review of the existing secondary data on the problem and a few visits to the 3 estates to look for potential spaces to hold the workshops, there was little dialogue with the group of young people that were the focus of the work. The project funding and 3 month lead time did not allow for time to engage with the young people prior to the event to establish bonds or get to understand the issues they were facing.

In funding terms, the project was successful as we were able to provide attendance numbers; photographs and testimonials implying that we had met the operational objectives focused on providing immediate results. We did however report back to the funders that 6 weeks was a very brief time span to make a long lasting intervention and we strongly recommended that NHS make plans to provide ongoing long term support for the participants we met during the project. We had learnt that the young people were seriously concerned with the adverse economic conditions that were reducing their employment prospects as well as the anticipated cuts to public spending which were going to reduce the support and services they could access from local youth agencies. Unfortunately, the project was discontinued as there was a restructuring of the youth support services in the borough. There was also no way to track whether the project had any direct impact on the suicide statistics of the borough; the 2013 suicide audit indicated a drop in suicides in 2011 but the numbers were on the increase again in the subsequent years (Choudhury, Bhattacharya and Klynman, 2013). Again, this experience left me thinking about the efficacy of this project as well as my role as an event organiser who had to liaise between funders who were focused on addressing their policy-bound funding remits and the communities of interest we created the projects for, who were not always getting the help they needed.

1.5.1 Analysis of the creative and cultural industries sector

The creative and cultural industries (CCI's) emerged as a significant industry sector in the 1990's when human creativity was increasingly cited in academic research as the ultimate

economic resource. Richard Florida studied American creativity and signalled the rise of the creative class in geographical regions such as Silicon Valley that were open to accommodating young, highly educated workers with specialist forms of creative, technical knowledge (Florida, 2002). Policy makers from western nations were soon keen to identify CCI's as a significant contributor to national economies yet a number of authors (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Pratt, 2005; O'Brien and Oakley, 2015) have challenged Florida's positive portrayal of the creative industries providing examples from the UK context. They argue that viewing CCI's with the core characteristics identified by Florida namely a dynamic, highly skill-based and diverse sector of the economy do not provide a complete picture.

CCI's are still a matter of debate amongst cultural policy scholars; the very nature of their terminology associates them more with manufacturing activity as it implies they are commercially oriented and thus there is a tendency to regard them as only relating to mass or popular culture (Pratt, 2005). UK cultural policy has also traditionally focused on committing public resources to elite cultural forms based on the argument that the nation state is expected to provide public goods and so justifying the need for public funding for CCI's has been a challenge. Government support for CCI's became more focused after 1997 when the new British labour administration introduced the term Creative Industries and the 1998 Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) developed a definition of the sector which focused on the provision of wealth and employment. Pratt (2005) suggests that the term CCI can be seen as a political construct as the focus on the sector has been on collecting information for policy makers to better map and manage the sector, thus quantitative research on employment and output variety have been the focus. The criteria used to identify CCI activities have also been challenged. O'Brien and Oakley (2015) noted that some of the activities included under the CCI umbrella are questionable, for example the re-inclusion of software and services as a sub-sector, thus introducing a lot of noncultural work and complicating conversations about the demographic make-up of the cultural industries. The debates about terminology and activities

in British CCI's differ from the ongoing debates about CCI's in Zimbabwe where policymakers are still grappling with establishing workable definitions as well as establishing one key ministerial office to deal with CCIs. In chapter 4 I discuss how the debates around culture as heritage versus the commercial elements of culture have resulted in a lack of focus regarding effective strategies to develop the sector.

Another key issue to note is the use of CCIs by British policymakers to address a variety of social and economic issues. Using CCIs in this way suggests the state recognises culture has some relationship to those social issues. Culture, for government, is thus bound up with inequality, even if the state mistakenly hopes culture can provide equitable outcomes (Pratt, 2005). Further problems have been caused by the wider public spending cuts following on from the 2010 elections resulting in limited funds available to conduct useful research into this sector. There appears to be a tension amongst the priorities of various government departments as to how to support the sector. I discussed my personal observations of this in the process of my work on projects like the Arts Council Thrive! Project and the NHS youth dance project in the previous section. Kaye *et al* (2012) highlighted this conflict in their investigation of the impact of conflicting policy decisions on disabled communities between the Department for Health and Social Care and the DCMS. The public funding cuts left already marginalised communities with minimal support while the DCMS was promoting projects through the arts council that prioritised the inclusion of marginalised communities in cultural activity.

There is still concern that Britain's CCI's are increasingly dominated by the privileged classes which challenges their image as a new, dynamic and inclusive knowledge economy. Scholars like O'Brien and Oakley (2015) point out that CCIs are less ethnically diverse, more male and skewed towards those of a higher socio-economic background than other parts of the economy. Stanziola (2011) also noted funding inequalities for culture within regions of engagement as the larger cities and urban areas seemed to get the most attention. This

highlights the fact that there is still work to be done regarding representation when considering racial, ethnic and gender inequalities thus certain stakeholders are still marginalised and excluded. O'Brien *et al* (2016) also challenge the policy narratives that present CCIs as having significant economic potential and being open and meritocratic working conditions. They note that research indicates that the majority of individuals within CCIs are poor, with uncertain career prospects and low- or even no-pay. There are some similarities and differences regarding Zimbabwe's CCIs. The main similarity is that, like British CCI's the majority of Zimbabwean cultural practitioners are also poor and have to rely on a second job to make ends meet. The main difference is that CCI's are not dominated by the privileged classes. This is due to the colonial history of the country where careers in business, medicine and middle management were highly valued and seen as way of escaping poverty and accessing the benefits of the bourgeois middle class (discussed in chapter 4).

British policy makers are slowly beginning to take notice of these concerns, with renewed pledges to support a range of initiatives aimed at addressing support, investment and diversity in cultural production (O'Brien *et al*, 2016). However, the issue is still problematic as the definitions of culture adopted by the sector still imply there is a hierarchy of cultural forms where some have more value than others and are linked to other forms of social hierarchy. The linking of cultural forms to social hierarchies was analysed in detail by Pierre Bourdieu who suggested cultural spaces like the visual arts sector is constructed of fields inhabited by various agents (i.e. artists, middlemen, agents, gallerists, art collectors, funders and curators) who were in a constant struggle to place value on the art. He argued that it was not so much the quality of the work of art that drove the art world as quality was a relative term that was determined by the artist's position in the complex societal structure (Bourdieu, 1993). In this research project we find that those that have access to the exhibition design spaces are in the most favourable position and supports observations by Stanziola (2011) and O'Brien *et al* (2016) who state that cultural spaces are also now legitimised by commercial principles due to the funding structures adopted by CCI's.

1.6 Research Questions

The research questions underpinning this thesis were developed in the action research cycles, following observations from my experiences and research activities. The reflections from my observations and experiences discussed in section 1.5 led me to start this research project and my core research question was:

‘How can planned events be designed to bring about social change?’

I wondered if there was a possibility to develop new approaches to event design that did not just focus on the managerial and operational aspects but would also consider the complexities of the social structures addressed in the Third Sector. While asking this question I had to establish what I meant by social change and in establishing that definition for this project (see section 1.4) I then had to consider which field of study had successfully addressed issues of social change using approaches that aligned with Post-Colonial theory - this question led me to explore Freire’s Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Participatory International Development Studies (PIDS). As I looked into the methods applied in PIDS and the discussions in Event Studies literature on participatory projects the next key question that emerged was:

‘What level of participation is the most effective and efficient for the event design process?’

The literature on participatory projects in event studies (reviewed in Chapter 3) discussed the issues around participation and presented recommendations for further research to be done in this area, but there had been limited focus in understanding the participatory experiences or feasible levels of participatory working. Where participatory design had been explored in the field of design research, the design community had started to debate whether quality might be sacrificed if the expert was not allowed to lead (Lee, 2008). The next key question that emerged was:

‘How does the role of the event design expert change when a participatory approach is adopted and what new skills are required?’

I therefore wanted to understand what the development of participatory methods in event design might mean for the event expert. Analysing and making sense of the data helped me to answer this question in Chapter 6..

1.7 The Thesis Roadmap

Having introduced the research topic, its scope and provided the context to why I wanted to carry out this research, I present my thesis road map in Figure 4 below which visualises the discussions presented in each chapter of this thesis.

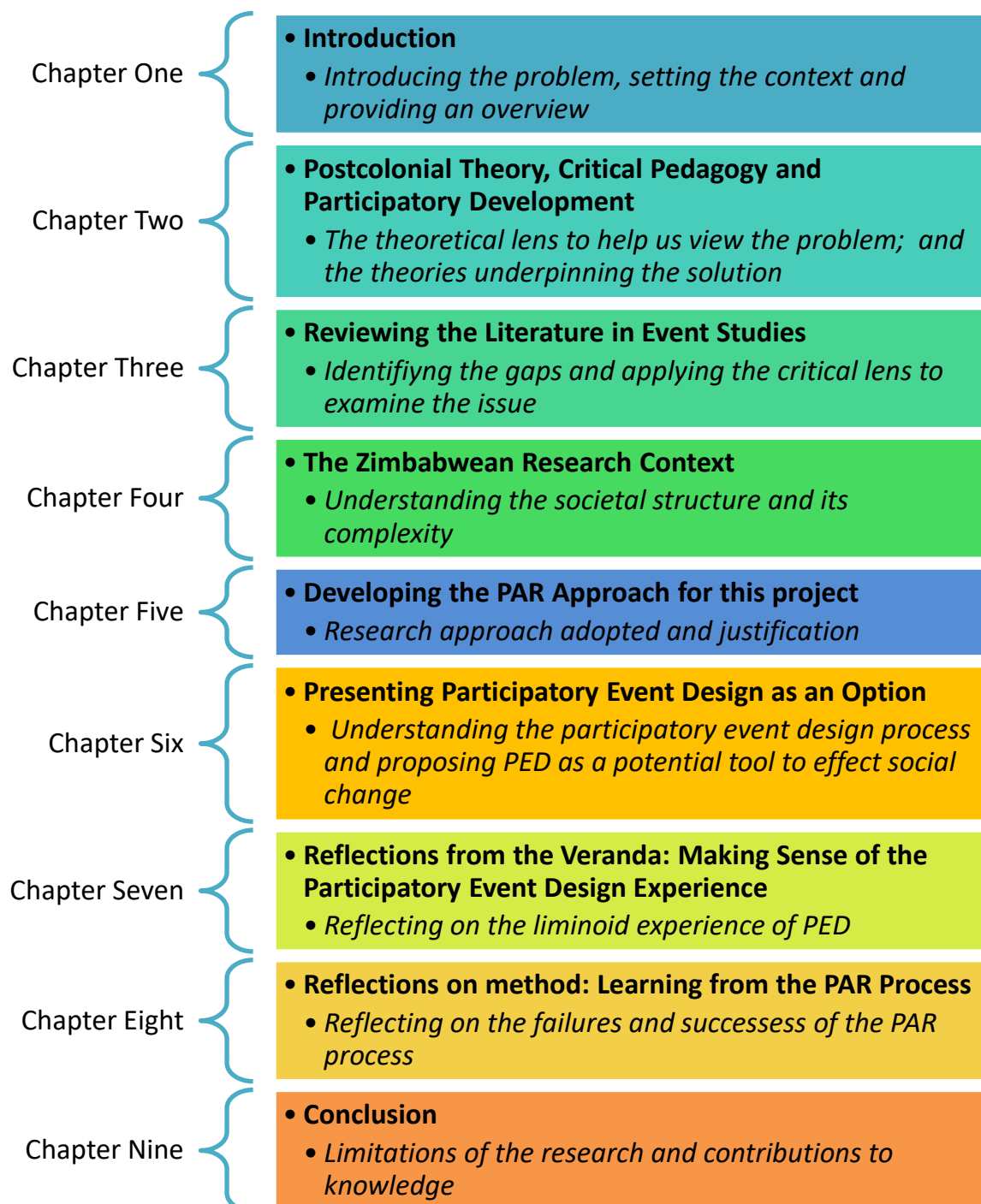
Chapter 2 has two main sections. The first half of the chapter presents the lens of Post-Colonial theory I am proposing we apply to our scrutiny of traditional event design processes and the research context of this project. I focus on the writings of Edward Said, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Frantz Fanon to establish the key concepts around the creation and reinforcing of power and control systems in a societal structure. The second half of the chapter critically evaluates contributions from participatory development studies, a body of work which offers solutions in the form of methods and principles that can be applied to dismantle oppressive power structures while developing the project. This section focuses on the work of Paulo Freire, and on Robert Chambers who pioneered the participatory methodologies that inform the development of the PAR process used in this research project.

Chapter 3 is a critical and evaluative review of the literature in event studies and Third Sector event design, presenting findings on how social change, event design, power relationships and participatory approaches have been studied and discussed. This chapter also identifies the gap in the event studies literature and considers learning and recommendations from participatory design studies to develop a solution that will answer the research questions.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the research context which is the Zimbabwean cultural sector. It starts with a brief historical overview that places political and cultural issues in context and then ends with a closer examination of the Zimbabwean visual arts sector. The chapter uses the Post-Colonial theory concepts identified and discussed in Chapter 2 to shed light on

the oppressive power structures that enframe the societal structure and restrict the economic empowerment of the community of visual artists who worked on this project.

Figure 4 - Thesis roadmap



Chapter 5 is a methodological discussion that establishes my position as a researcher in this project and argues my case for adopting a PAR approach for this project. I set out the details

of the research strategy, including the theoretical principles that I used to develop the PAR framework for this project; the plans for gaining access and establishing collaborative working methods from the setup of the project to the gathering and analysis of the data. I conclude the chapter with a discussion on the ethical issues considered in the setup of this project.

Chapter 6 presents the major findings from the research project. The chapter starts with a brief overview of what we did to set up and start the PED process. This is followed by a section that presents the transcripts from the design process, initially with minimal interpretation and interruption from myself as research-facilitator so that the reader can hear directly from the co-researcher. This section is then followed by a section that discusses how we (the research-facilitator and co-researchers) worked together to make sense of the data in a subsequent participatory evaluation workshop. The final sections in this chapter present my reflections and evaluation on other aspects of the PED process that I found to be interesting. I conclude the chapter by proposing how PED could be an option to consider when designing events for social change and conclude with a reflection that considers the different set of skills and approaches event designers working in the sector might need to adopt.

In Chapter 7 I invite the reader to use the analogy of the colonial veranda to analyse our experience in the liminoid zone of the event design process. I apply the theory on liminality and liminoid experiences introduced in Chapter 3 to analyse the social change experience of the group and reflect on our distance travelled.

Chapter 8 provides some extra detail as to my experiences in developing the PAR project. It sums up what I learnt from my experience of adopting a PAR approach and includes a detailed account of my first attempt at setting up the PAR project which failed and my reflections on that action research cycle. I also include some key reflections on my learning and personal growth on this participatory research project.

I conclude my thesis in Chapter 9 with a summation of my core findings to illustrate how I have answered the research questions from Chapter 1. I present my contributions to knowledge and discuss the limitations of the research project. I conclude with a set of recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: POST-COLONIAL THEORY AND PARTICIPATORY INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

“Empowerment needs an analysis of power to be transformative – it is the ability to make critical connections in relation to power and control in society in order to expose the contradictions that lead to privilege on the one hand and poverty on the other”.

(Ledwith, 2016)

Introduction

This thesis is situated within the field of critical event studies. The primary research question that framed the literature review was – ‘How can planned events be designed to effect social change?’ I have applied the lens of postcolonial theory to this research project as it gives me the opportunity to create a space to examine the inherent power and relational structures which inform the event design process. Highlighting these power structures provides a framework I can use to make sense of current practice within the events industry sector. This is done in the next chapter (Chapter 3), which reviews the literature within event studies in order to understand how the events industry has approached the topic of social change, as well as how events created in the Third Sector have been designed and produced to achieve the social aims they pursue.

Postcolonial theory also resonates with the research context – Zimbabwe’s cultural sector. My research project explores how participatory event design can be used to alleviate poverty. Therefore, in order to consider how sustainable social change can be effected within the existing societal structures it is important to understand the complex power relationships that make up Zimbabwe’s cultural sector. Loomba (2005) states that communities within a societal structure will behave in a certain way based on their beliefs and the ideologies which inform their thinking. The community of Zimbabwean creative practitioners participating in this research project are working within a societal structure which is strongly influenced by the

political and cultural context of the country. The development of the cultural sector in Zimbabwe has evolved within the various stages of the country's political, economic and social history which can be tracked through four main eras (moving from precolonial to post-colonial) discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Post-colonial theory as presented in the seminal works of Edward Said, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Frantz Fanon forms the key focus of the analysis of post-colonial theory in this discussion. These authors present key themes that will help us scrutinise oppressive power hierarchies set up within societal structures which result in the marginalisation of certain groups. This is very relevant to the Zimbabwe research context. These themes include the embedding of a colonial discourse that sets up hegemonic structures which relay subtle but very clear messages relating to the identity and role of the colonised as well as access, patronage and representation. Specific examples of this will be discussed in Chapter 4 which scrutinises how the visual arts are designed and presented through art exhibition events in Zimbabwe. The work of other key post-colonial theorists is also referred to in this chapter, including Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, who enhanced the postcolonial debate by highlighting the multiple layers and complexity of the post-colonial societal structure in her essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1988). We also explore the discussions of Homi Bhabha's (1994) *The Location of Culture* which highlights the oppressive power play inherent in mimicry where the colonised strives to be as much like the colonised as possible but only ever achieves a flawed hybridity which still supports the colonisers' efforts to contain and separate the colonised. The analysis of post-colonial theory in this chapter also refers to Michel Foucault's and Antonio Gramsci's discussions on power and hegemonic structures that inform post-colonial descriptions of colonial discourse.

Research scholars working to address power relations in an emancipatory context have also referred to the work of Paulo Freire which plays a significant role in the fight for social change. Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, first published in Portuguese in 1968, proposes a

critical pedagogy that emphasises the importance of praxis in emancipatory projects and warns against the dehumanisation of communities of interest in developing social justice initiatives (Freire, 1996). This chapter also reviews the literature that critiques Freire's work so that we can better understand how to apply critical pedagogy in different cultural and operational contexts such as the project discussed in this thesis. Understanding the contributions from this field will enable us to examine how the Third Sector approaches the traditional event design process (discussed in Chapter 3) and explore options for how Third Sector events can be more effective tools of social change (discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8). The chapter concludes with a look at the theoretical and practical contributions in the literature from previous studies where critical pedagogy and decolonising strategies have been applied. The participatory development sector was the most appropriate as the focus of this thesis is on exploring how events in the Third Sector can be designed to effect social change.

2.1 Post-Colonial Theorists

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2007) define post-colonialism as the effects of colonisation on cultures and societies. Post-colonial theory allows us to scrutinise the cultural effects of colonisation on the colonised as well as the colonisers. It has the potential to give those marginalised and dominated by the colonial process the opportunity to take some of their power back by turning the gaze back on the colonisers who have used it to objectify and dehumanise those they have decided are not like them.

2.1.1 Frantz Fanon

Frantz Fanon, a Martinican philosopher and psychiatrist wrote two key texts that were of great significance to the development of post-colonial theory '*Black Skin, White Masks*' (1961) and '*The Wretched of the Earth*' (1963). Although Fanon's writing on postcolonial theory and decolonisation focuses on his personal context of living under French colonial rule, and his

observation of how Antillean, Martinican, Algerian and Senegalese societies struggled with the legacy of colonialism, there are some clear themes that resonate with the Zimbabwean British-colonial context. Key themes are that of identity – the psychological domination of the colonised which sets up binary structures that Fanon (1963) termed ‘Manichean’ and sets up distinct boundaries that the colonisers use as a form of communication that clearly relays the message that the groups are different. Fanon also highlights how these structures were used to control access to resources and thus economic and social capital. These distinctive boundaries can be seen in the way the event design process is structured (discussed in Chapter 3) where there is an expert - the event designer, who speaks on behalf of the client who is assumed less knowledgeable and thus takes on an inferior role in the process. Fanon’s analysis of colonial structures is also useful to this project as he also includes a cautionary note on looking out for nationalist movements led by what he terms the “colonised bourgeoisie” (Fanon, 1963). This group denounces the negative impacts of colonisation and claims to adopt decolonisation processes that are in reality only aiming to achieve the dominant power status of the outgoing colonisers.

2.1.2 Ngugi wa Thiong’o

Ngugi wa Thiong’o, is a Kenyan writer and philosopher whose text *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African Literature* (1986) examined the impact of British colonial rule on East African identity and culture. Thiong’o also discusses the colonial process of domination through psychological attacks on the identities of the colonised. This was achieved with the decimation of the cultural structures that were the basis of those communities, specifically cultural practice rooted in orature. Thiong’o (1986) also highlights how space was used by those in power as a form of currency and this is a critical issue for most Zimbabwean visual artists seeking to access event spaces so that they can establish the crucial economic and social connections required to earn a sustainable living from their work. His text not only analyses the cultural impact of colonisation but also provides some useful guidelines and

recommendations for successful decolonisation initiatives as the latter half of the text discusses how these structures can be dismantled. Thiong'o's account of his decolonisation projects in theatre and literature provide useful learning points that have been incorporated in the development of this research project which shares similar experiential elements. Thiong'o's discussions of colonial and postcolonial structures in Kenya closely aligns with the Zimbabwean context. Thiong'o and Fanon also warn of the dangers of pseudo-decolonisation or neo-colonialism in their writing and this is very relevant to the Zimbabwean context as discussed in Chapter 4.

2.1.3 Edward Said

Edward Said was a Palestinian American who is noted as being the founder of the academic field of post-colonial studies (Loomba, 2005). Said's seminal texts '*Orientalism*' (2003) and '*Culture and Imperialism*' (1993) presented a key concept of postcolonial theory – Orientalism - which focused on western representations of Asian, Middle Eastern and North African societies and the colonisation of their culture and literature. He discussed how the communities of interest are portrayed by the colonisers using images and words that reinforce the concept of 'othering' as they are based on the interpretation of the coloniser and how they have read a world that is different to theirs. The images and words presented by the colonisers focus on highlighting the differences between the coloniser and the colonised. Said's discussions on paternalistic colonial attitudes that focus on objectifying the colonised and highlighting the aesthetics and 'otherness' of the colonised are key to the Zimbabwean colonial experience. The element of othering is also prevalent in current event design practice (discussed in Chapter 3) and brings attention to how the design of Third Sector events can leave event designers at risk of applying something similar to a colonial gaze upon the marginalised communities they work with in the effort to produce the memorable event experiences that they believe will help them achieve the social objectives that have been set.

This process of dehumanisation is discussed in detail in the critique of Freire's work later on in this chapter.

2.1.4 Gayatri Spivak

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, an Indian literary theorist and feminist critic, picks up the issue of representation in her seminal essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1988) which focuses on the context of Indian women from the rural, working classes. She takes the postcolonial debate a little deeper as she points out that colonial structures are not only complex, but they also are set up in such a way as to exclude and silence those at the lowest levels which raises problematic issues around giving voice or providing empowering representation to the least powerful. Spivak's discussion is of relevance to the research context of this project as the complexities around the issues of representation resonate with the Zimbabwean context (discussed in Chapter 4). She refers to Antonio Gramsci's writings on hegemony in his '*Selections from the Prison Notebooks*' written between 1929 -1935. Spivak asks whether the subaltern women in rural communities, who are the least powerful and from the lower socio-economic groups in society, can speak about their concerns and be heard by those with more power. Spivak (2010) argues that the subaltern cannot be heard if there is no infra-structure to facilitate this and she proposes a solution which she acknowledges as not the ideal but the most workable at the moment, where the female intellectual must speak on behalf of the marginalised, less powerful female. Spivak (2010) acknowledges that any representation is not a true representation of the colonised.

2.1.5 Homi Bhabha

Homi Bhabha, a literature scholar, proposed the concept of 'hybridity' which is the process by which the colonised, caught in a conflicting state of ambivalence, behave in a way that mimics and imitates the coloniser in a bid to be more like them yet still despising them and their dominance over them (Bhabha, 1994). This desire to be more like the coloniser is one of the negative impacts of colonisation (Fanon, 1963). The colonised are in fact encouraged by the

coloniser to perform this imitation and mimicry with the full knowledge that they will never be exactly like the coloniser, there will always be a level of imperfection. These performative aspects are also seen in the way event design in the Third Sector focuses on incorporating representations of the communities of interest in events that focus more on entertainment, emotive and aesthetic elements. These performative rituals are a way for the coloniser to appear more powerful over the colonised as they can always be observed in this performative act of mimicry as 'the other' and different, we can see that mimicry is also a form of control for the coloniser (Bhabha, 1994; Ashcroft, Griffith and Tiffin, 2007).

2.2. Applications And Manifestation Of Power Theories in Post-Colonial Theory

Authors who have analysed colonial societal structures have noticed the combination of subtle and overt power frameworks that existed to assert control over the colonised (Fanon, 1963; Thiong'o, 1986; Myers, 2003; Said, 2003; Njoh, 2009; Smidt, 2014 and Ledwith, 2016). The dominant groups or colonisers used overt types of coercion manifested in repressive state laws, establishment of police and armed forces to oversee and control the colonised. Colonisers also introduced parallel ideological systems that persuaded the colonised to consent to the dominant social order by embedding dominant attitudes and values in cultural institutions such as schools, mass media and religious organisations. Ledwith (2016) refers to Antonio Gramsci's notion of Cultural Hegemony in describing this subtle form of power and Fanon (1963) describes the long lasting negative psychological effects of this type of power on the colonised.

2.2.1 The Notion Of Cultural Hegemony

Antonio Gramsci highlighted the concept of cultural hegemony which is the process by which one group dominates and controls another. The dominant class projects its own way of seeing the world and power lies in the acquiescence of the dominated group who accept these views as the natural order of things (Gramsci, 1976). The ideology of the dominating group governs

the actions of that societal structure and thus each group then behaves in the manner they have learnt is expected of them per the hegemonic structures in place. Hegemony asserts control over knowledge and culture, it affirms the idea of a dominant culture and marginalises and silences lower classes (Gramsci, 1976). Gramsci believed in the intellectual potential of everyone to take a key role in the process of change within their class of origin and recommended praxis in the process of change (Smidt, 2014; Ledwith, 2016).

Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony can be linked to Bourdieu's 'Habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu describes this as the way to measure and gauge where you are situated within the networked structures of power or fields. Bourdieu (1984) suggests that each individual is constantly navigating various social fields made up of complex, networked structures of power. In each of these fields the individual adopts a different identity – the identity that is expected, a coded identity set by the hegemonic structures in place. The networked structures of power in the research context of Zimbabwe's cultural sector are highlighted in this thesis – in Chapter 6 the artists note how the gallerists and collectors have their own challenges to deal with, and in Chapter 7 I discuss the multiple platforms and different power structures the event designer must navigate. Habitus contributes to the embedding of colonial hegemonic structures as it teaches one group to think a certain way and controls how each group behaves. Ledwith (2016) suggests that learning to see this allows us to read the colonial power structures and see where we are positioned in the complex matrix of cultural power so that we can begin to decolonise these structures.

2.2.2 Technologies Of Power Within The Societal Structure

Michel Foucault saw power everywhere, even in the micro-relationships as per the field networks that Bourdieu discusses. He also saw knowledge and power as inseparable. Foucault (1991) proposes that apart from the overt and repressive power based on force and coercion there is a more important normalising power which is subtle and has a greater impact.

This notion of power has some similarity with the notion of hegemony. Normalising power is manipulative and forces the individual to do what they come to believe is the right thing to do (Foucault, 1991). Post-colonial theorists discuss this type of power in their analysis of colonial societal structures (Fanon, 1963; Thiong'o, 1986; Said, 2003 and Njoh, 2009). These normalising power structures were reinforced in the colonial discourse of the day and were entrenched everywhere. Njoh (2009) analysed normalisation and other technologies of power in colonial structures based on theorisations of power first discussed by Dovey (1999, 2014) when she analysed how power framed built spaces.

Njoh (2009) discusses two categories of power, the first being power over others (i.e. control) as well as power to do something (i.e. capacity). Power as capacity is the ability of an individual to imagine, construct and act to control the circumstances in one's life so that they can influence the outcome of situations in their favour, this can be seen as empowerment. Empowerment is thus linked with terms such as autonomy, agency and freedom. Dovey (2014) also notes that both power as capacity and power as control are interdependent and power as control over others is usually sought for one's empowerment. Usually the assumption is made to perceive power over others as the more important in the relationship, but where this is done the danger is that a zero-sum game is set which promotes the belief that where one gains power over another the other must lose it. In situations where power is related to a resource like space which is finite (a significant issue in this thesis), it makes it more problematic for those with power to be willing to relinquish it. 'Power over' is like the normalising power that Foucault discussed, the power to ensure compliance with one's will comes in 5 forms – force, coercion, seduction, manipulation and segregation. These forms of power are very visible in the key themes in post-colonial theory discussed in the next section.

2.3. Key Themes In Post-Colonial Theory

The term 'post-colonial' has many interpretations and there is still much debate around the definition of the term (Loomba, 2005). Authors have often set a context to their discussion by explaining their interpretation of colonialism based on the geographical contexts that is the focus of their writing (Fanon, 1963; Said, 2003; Thiong'o, 1986; Spivak 2010; Loomba, 2005; Ashcroft, Griffith and Tiffin, 2007). Both Thiong'o (1986) and Fanon (1963) argue that colonialism was a violent process of political and economic domination which resulted in the dependence of the colonised communities who lost their identity. Thiong'o uses combative metaphors to describe the spread of colonialism on the African continent. He discusses two violent phases, the first – "the night of sword and the bullet" (Thiong'o, 1986 p.9) – was to carve out the territory agreed by the elite decision makers in Berlin in 1884. The second phase – "the morning of the chalk and blackboard" (Thiong'o, 1986 p.9) – was focused on taking mental territory. The first was an overt, coercive and repressive power that used physical violence to take the physical territory in order to control the wealth that had been produced and distributed in Africa. The second was a subtle and insidious form of psychological warfare that used normalising power to take mental territory and establish what Thiong'o (1986, p.9) calls "spiritual subjugation".

Fanon (1963) also alluded to the psychological impacts of colonisation when he discussed several cases of psychiatric patients he encountered in the time of Algeria's decolonisation. Both Thiong'o (1986) and Fanon (1963) argued that this mental colonisation was the most destructive and left the most devastating legacy. These authors also discussed at length the fact that colonialism resulted in the irrevocable change of the colonised community. Loomba (2005) cites Hulme (1981, p.69) who calls it the 'un-forming and re-forming of societies'. This explanation of the disruptive change to an existing societal structure implies that a post-colonial phase is not a simple or automatic reversion to the pre-colonial status quo. Thus, decolonisation strategies must understand the legacies of colonialism and take this into

account. The following key themes have been identified in analysing the writings of Thiong'o, Fanon, Said, Spivak, Bhabha and Njoh and are discussed in this section:-

- Colonial discourse as a tool to silence and limit the agency of the colonised
- Knowledge as a tool to establish hegemonic structures
- Compartmentalisation of spaces as a tool for segregation
- Patronage as a tool to control access

2.3.1 Colonial Discourse As A Tool To Silence And Limit Agency

Language was used as a tool by colonisers to spread the propaganda that promoted and elevated colonial culture and practice while disparaging local culture and practice resulting in an inferiority complex among the colonised. Njoh, (2009) refers to this form of power as 'seduction'. One of the most explicit illustrations of this type of power was in the activation of what Thiong'o refers to as 'the cultural bomb' –

"The effect of the cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves." (Thiong'o, 1986, p. 3)

The taking over and control of language and culture was key to the mental domination of the indigenous communities as it promoted the colonial ideology that the culture of the coloniser was more advanced and better than that of the colonised. Pwiti and Ndoro (1999) analysed the lack of engagement amongst local communities and local cultural product in Zimbabwe and allude to the colonial propaganda disseminated in history textbooks (used in most schools even after independence in 1980), that the country's most renowned cultural icon and heritage site, Great Zimbabwe, could only have been built by western explorers.

Seduction as a form of power is closely aligned to Gramsci's concept of hegemony (1976) and is highlighted in the works of Fanon (1961; 1963); Thiong'o (1986) and Bhabha (1994) who

discuss the introduction and embedding of colonial languages and cultural practice in key institutions such as schools and churches. These authors also discuss the removal of traditional practices rooted in orature and the establishment of formidable and inaccessible cultural buildings amongst communities that had been familiar with engaging in cultural activity in flexible, open spaces.

Thiong'o (1986) argues that language in Africa was not just for communication, it was used to live out the values and ethics of that community and united people in their activities in the home and at work. The tradition of orature is deeply rooted in most African cultures. It informed how a group of people saw themselves and the world (Thiong'o, 1986; Vambe, 2000; 2005). Stories and laws that established the identity of different African tribes were not written down – they were passed on from generation to generation as oral histories. This custom of orature made words and African languages distinct. The remapping of this cultural activity by the coloniser was a way of exercising power over the colonised who sought to diminish the importance of local languages and local cultural activities rooted in orature.

“It is the final triumph of a system of domination when the dominated start singing its virtues.” (Thiong'o, 1986 p.20).

Local languages and culture were key to the identity of the colonised. Thiong'o (1986) and Vambe (2000) point out that the subversion of local cultural practice, resulted in a loss of confidence among the colonised who were then programmed to think local cultural products were inferior. Colonisers were thus able to establish a colonial discourse that embedded hegemonic structures and decimated the sense of identity and self-efficacy of the colonised as the colonial education system marginalised precolonial histories and local cultural product. Therefore, the colonised could not see any contribution they made as being significant or of value (Fanon, 1963; Thiong'o 1986; Bhabha, 1994; Wilkes, 2016). The messages communicated by colonial structures to the colonised were that they were unable to look after

themselves or make wise decisions to effectively represent themselves and thus they had neither value to offer society nor the accompanying agency to bring about changes to the conditions governing their lives resulting in the petrification of the colonised (Fanon, 1963; Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2007; Wilkes, 2016).

Fanon (1963) recounts some of the colonial strategies used to control local storytellers and songwriters and prevent them from telling the stories passed down within the community that encouraged bravery and confidence. Colonisers now supervised local storytellers and songwriters to sing new songs that had been sanitised and projected the messages that fit with the colonial discourse that encouraged the colonised to acquiesce. The new languages coming with colonialism disrupted the unity and sense of belonging and identity amongst the local communities as traditions of orature were stopped. In schools students would be singled out and ostracised if they were caught speaking in their local languages (Thiong'o, 1986). The stories the children read were now the colonisers' stories – where colonial ideologies of how the colonised and the coloniser should behave were recounted and internalised. This embedded the hegemonic structures that ultimately informed how the colonised saw themselves.

2.3.2 Knowledge As A Tool To Establish Hegemonic Structures

Colonial systems also used what Njoh, (2009) refers to as '*manipulation*' as a form of power. This type of power relies on the concept of knowledge as power (Foucault, 1991; Said, 2003). The mapping of the colonies and presentation of the colonised as objects and curiosities to be categorised and organised, generated the underlying message that those who were presenting this information were superior. Manipulation was enforced through the withholding of information to some communities, this had the automatic result of segregating communities where some individuals might have had access to more information than others. Those communities within the societal structure that had been kept ignorant could then be

manipulated to make decisions that were not necessarily to their advantage as they did not have all the facts.

Myers (2003) and Njoh (2009) give an example of power through manipulation in their analysis of colonial housing strategies in urban and rural areas. The goal in the urban planning strategies of colonial cities and towns was to enforce segregation as well as monitor and restrict the movement of the different colonial communities living in settler townships, farm compounds, servants' quarters, native hostels, tribal trust lands and reserves. This was done, partly, by overt coercion and segregation tactics discussed below, but also by using a subtle form of manipulation where the different groups within the societal structure received tailored messages informing them that the segregation was for health reasons such as preventing the spread of diseases like malaria, which was being spread by certain communities (Myers, 2003). These divisive messages would be relayed secretly to the various groups and thus one group would think they were better than another. This form of power, relied on different groups believing the messages they were being told so that they could self-regulate their activities and become docile bodies which helped the colonisers to control the colonised, this was colonial governmentality in action (Foucault, 1991; Njoh, 2009).

The decisions on how to govern and manage the colonies were made through silencing the colonised. In his text, *Orientalism*, Said (2003) analyses the images and works produced by authors and artists from the colonising communities and notes how the colonisers speak of and present the colonised using specific images and languages that emphasise difference. In doing this, the colonisers spoke on behalf of the colonised who became the subaltern. This issue of silencing the subaltern in order to speak on their behalf raises the issue of representation. Thiong'o (1986) best explains this process in recounting the story of the Scramble for Africa in 1884 as a process where a group of people in western countries gathered to play a game similar to that of Risk, in a remote and secluded location. The objective of the game was to divide up a geographical region and the prize was gaining the

most access to economic resources that would enhance the capitalist endeavours of each country playing the game. This game did not consider the communities already living in those regions and neither was there a set of explicit criteria that explained how the people most affected were ineligible to contribute to the decisions that would affect their destinies. Representation is linked to the process of mapping undertaken by colonisers in their bid to understand the foreign lands and navigate them. This very act of excluding the communities of interest from the spaces of decision-making and thus silencing them, highlights how colonialism resulted in the objectification and dehumanisation of the colonised (Said, 2003). Said (2003) asserts that per the colonial mind-set, knowledge leads to power. The colonisers' knowledge of the colonised and their environment was useful as it resulted in gaining power over the colonised. Representation led to power for the colonisers as they worked to create a version of the colonised environment that they could control (Said, 2003; Mudimbe, 1988).

2.3.3 Compartmentalisation Of Spaces As A Tool for Segregation

Segregation as a form of power was established in the setting up of literal and figurative boundaries to separate colonial communities by status, gender, race, culture, ability (Njoh, 2009). Space, the access to and organisation of space is another critical theme in postcolonial studies. Fanon (1963) and Myers (2003) discuss how colonisers used the system of compartmentalising social structures and physical spaces as a means of enframing and dominating the colonised. This strategy of organising space to set up physical boundaries relates to two types of power that Njoh (2009) refers to as '*force*' and '*segregation*'. Force is when an individual makes a person or group comply with someone else's will without giving an alternative. This is similar to Foucault's (1991) thoughts on spatial confinement in his work titled the '*Madness and Civilisation*'. This was a system of collecting and locking up people considered different and thus a real or potential threat to social order in institutions like asylums, prisons, orphanages, sanatoriums. Per post-colonial studies this is highlighted in the use of compounds for workers or camps and barracks that were set up to contain and separate

the colonised (Fanon, 1963; Myers, 2003; Glover 2004). The underlying message would be that those who lived outside of the containment areas were superior or normal.

Myers (2003) notes that colonial strategies of enframing were used to make the colonised accept British rule and goodwill as the natural order. This was a subtle way to embed racial segregation and, more importantly to set up structures to observe, monitor and regulate activities in what Foucault (1991) refers to as surveillance. This process of setting up what Fanon (1961) calls 'Manichean' structures established implicit power hierarchies resulting in the division and fragmentation of the colonised community, thus weakening it and making it easier to control (Escobar, 1995; Bhabha, 1994).

The strategy of setting up physical structures that ensured the compartmentalisation of the different groups also resulted in an irrevocable change to communities. The new colonial spaces were different to communal traditional social spaces which locals were used to. Where possible, the coloniser would be positioned at a higher separate level, so as to be a reminder to the colonised of who had the power (Myers, 2003; Njoh, 2009; Glover, 2004). Myers (2003) analysed colonial structures in East Africa and found that most physical structures were designed with 3 levels where; the colonisers who held the power were at the top; there was then an intermediate level with a colonised middle class who acted as gatekeepers and intermediaries; and then the lower colonised classes at the bottom level. The colonial powers sought out the higher physical spaces so as to be able to implement a form of control that Foucault refers to as panoptic (Foucault, 1991). Colonial authorities set up these systems of surveillance which allowed them to efficiently monitor what the colonised were doing as well as reinforce the subliminal message that they were far more superior and powerful, these messages had an intimidating and self-regulating effect on the colonised who then believed the colonial powers were invincible (Fanon, 1963; Myers 2003; Njoh, 2009)

Thiong'o (1986) uses the example of indigenous theatre and discusses how cultural spaces used for theatre and drama were colonised in Kenya. The legacy of this process is still impacting these spaces following independence. In precolonial times drama was integral to Kenyan indigenous communities as it supported the tradition of orature. Open spaces central to local communities were used to enact dramas and rituals and ceremonies re-counting battles won and adventures that instilled pride and confidence. These open spaces were flexible and accessible and thus key in uniting the community and promoting dialogue – stories would be told, lessons would be taught and there would be opportunities to celebrate the local culture. Colonial laws banned these activities and public gatherings now required a licence (Thiong'o, 1986). This was a form of controlling and monitoring the colonised to ensure the colonised could not revolt against the existing colonial system. Chapter 4 discusses how the nationalist government re-introduced these laws in 2000 to control public gatherings again.

The theme of space in relation to postcolonial studies can also be seen, in the example of the veranda (a roofed porch built adjacent to a house which was a popular feature in colonial architecture). Njoh (2009) specifically alludes to the articulation or mediation of power in built form using the analogy of the veranda as a symbol of colonial power structures as this elevated platform was used to surveil the colonised. The theme of colonial spaces like the veranda as a symbol of access is also linked to discussions in the literature that allude to the liminoid properties of the veranda space. The veranda was seen as an in-between space, some groups would have access to this space and the superior comfort of the colonial home beyond and other groups did not. The veranda as a liminoid space could at times become a borderland or boundary between the world of the coloniser and the world of the colonised (Glover, 2004; Spencer 2006; Ashcroft, Griffin and Tiffin, 2007; Njoh 2009). The veranda could be used as a system of surveillance and a symbol of self-regulation as the colonised knew they were being watched. However, this gaze could also be returned by the colonised as Glover (2004) points out.

Goh (2010) discusses how the veranda could be used by the coloniser to take refuge from the oppressive heat and gaze upon the colonised as they did their work, but at night, this gaze was reversed and the colonised would be able to look into the brightly lit veranda to observe their superiors engaging in cultural activity that appeared mystical and sophisticated (Goh, 2010). These two worlds would always be presented as opposites – one mystical, desirable, plentiful and indestructible while the other was unattractive, cramped and full of lack where one tried to escape (Fanon, 1963). The tacit role of veranda was a symbolic space of economic and political status that could only be accessed by those who had been permitted, this also highlights how it could be viewed as a physical symbol of colonial patronage (Myers, 2003; Spencer, 2006; Njoh 2009). We return to the analogy of the veranda in Chapter 7, where we reflect on the usefulness of the concept of the veranda for participatory event design.

2.3.4 Patronage As A Tool to Control Access

Tangible and intangible systems of patronage were established to control access to resources. Fanon uses the example of language and how it could raise an individual's position within certain hierarchies.

“A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language.” ...” Mastery of language affords remarkable power.”
(Fanon, 1961 p.18)

The application of power technologies like seduction resulted in English becoming the superior and acceptable language, this was a challenge for the colonised as they now needed to use the acceptable language to gain access and approval from those in power. Enforcing new criteria for what was acceptable not only made the colonised lose their sense of self as discussed above but also determined their socio-economic position (Fanon, 1961; Thiong'o, 1986).

“Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world. How people perceive themselves affects how they look at their culture, at their politics and at their social production of wealth, at their entire relationship to nature and to other beings.” (Thiong’o 1986, p. 16)

Those that were quick to take on the language, cultural practice and mannerisms of the coloniser were rewarded by being awarded positions at an intermediary level by those higher up who were always aware that those seeking to attain their level would never be able to. This would also reinforce feelings of superiority amongst the colonisers and inferiority amongst the colonised. Writers like Fanon (1963); Bhabha (1994) and Myers (2003) discuss this key tactic of separation where certain colonised groups would be elevated to positions of overseers and gatekeepers of this new hybridised community as a form of pacification and control. Fanon (1961; 1963) labelled this destructive colonial system of compartmentalising society as ‘Manichean’ and highlighted the economic and social inequalities arising from this practice.

Colonial patronage could also be used to apply a type of power that Njoh (2009) refers to as ‘coercion’ - a latent type of force that leaves people feeling forced to comply. Those with access to physical and financial resources could use systems of patronage to coerce individuals or communities seeking resources to say or do what they wanted under the guise of being mentors. This was sometimes used as a form of censorship, especially among artists and producers of cultural product who would only be able to present cultural products that pleased their mentors (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2007; Boal, 2008; Thiong’o, 1986).

This type of power created privileged spaces of access and facilitated the implementation of oppressive colonial systems that had an impact on the socio-economic status of the colonised (Fanon, 1961). A very distinct example of this was the allocation of land. Njoh (2009) points out that the notion of land as a power basis was from the European context based on their

experience of land and its scarcity in Europe. Land gave access to economic resources which was a basis of power, colonial communities believed that power resided with the person who had the largest economic resources. Fox (2012) also highlights the importance of land and space as a source of power and alludes to Foucauldian theory that space is fundamental in exercising power, there is something extremely powerful or god-like in the ability to control the landscape and map subjects. Fanon (1963) points out that when space is restricted the colonised also lose a sense of self.

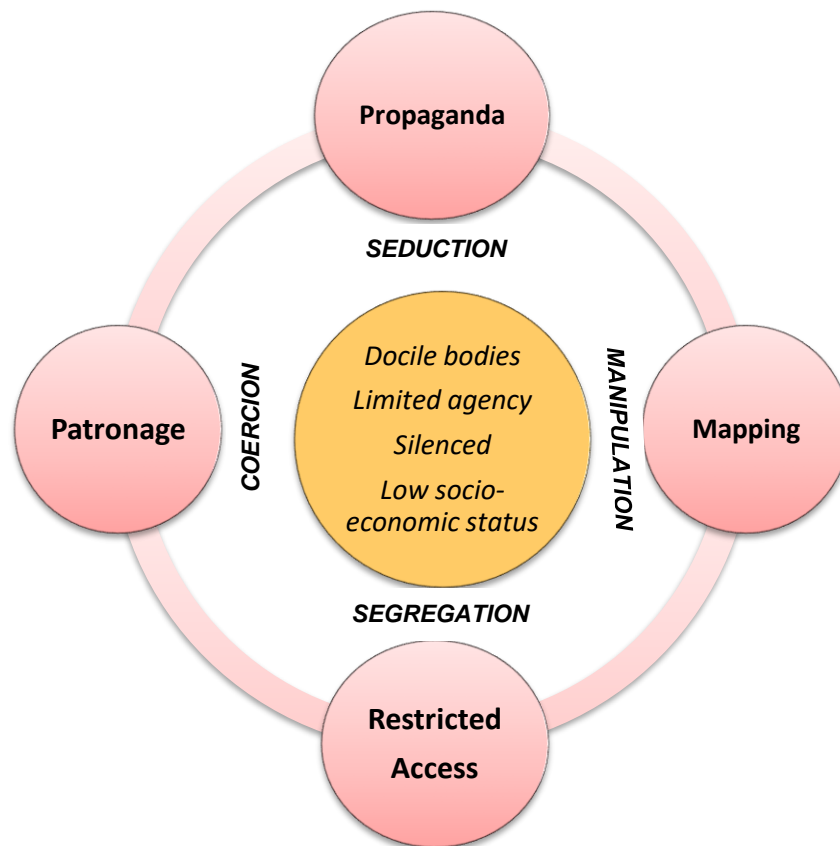
“For a colonised people, the most essential value, because it is the most meaningful, is first and foremost the land: the land, which must provide bread and, naturally, dignity.” (Fanon 1963, p.9)

2.3.5 Summarising Key Themes in Post-Colonial Theory

This section has demonstrated how post-colonial theory is a useful lens to examine the oppressive power structures inherent within colonial systems. In Figure 5 below I summarise how colonial governments' implemented strategies involving the gathering of intelligence to map colonised communities and gain knowledge that would enable them to organise and compartmentalise the colonised so that they could surveil and control them. Compartmentalisation and decimation of local cultures strategically left the colonisers at an advantage and thus they could use systems of patronage to restrict access to key resources. All this was done by activating power tactics that applied systems of manipulation, seduction, segregation, coercion and force to dominate colonised communities.

Identifying these key themes in post-colonial theory and illuminating the power tactics used in colonial societies gives us a theoretical lens to examine the power structures that frame the traditional event design process and the resultant impact on communities of interest. This lens will also be useful to examine the societal structure that is the Zimbabwean visual arts sector.

Figure 5 Power Systems in Colonial Structures and Their Impacts



Having used critical theory to establish the systems of power used in societal structures with a colonial history, we can now analyse the literature in Participatory International Development Studies (PIDS). Critically evaluating contributions from this body of work can reveal potential solutions in the form of methods and principles that could be applied to dismantle the oppressive power structures that have been noted above. The rest of this chapter will review the debates around emancipatory and participatory working that have evolved within the Third Sector. The work of Paulo Freire and Robert Chambers who pioneered in the participatory methodologies that inform the PAR process used in this research project will be examined closely in order to identify key principles from the literature that can help to provide solutions for the problems faced by the research participants in this project.

2.4 Post-Colonial Arguments Against Development And The Emergence of Participatory International Development Studies

Escobar (1995) and Said (2003) noted that new geographical spaces were recreated by the West to suit their purposes, all in the name of development. Escobar (1995) and Mudimbe (1988) challenged the automatic assumption that the goal for development was to become like the industrialised European nations and the Americas. These authors argued that definitions of development and the understanding of development were rooted in European constructs which informed colonial ideology and became the foundations of neo-liberal discourse. This discourse still manages to 'other' and silence former colonial regions judged on criteria for development that supports Western ideals of advanced industrialisation, urbanisation and rapid technicalisation of agriculture and material production (Fanon, 1963). Escobar (1995) focused on American development discourse established by the United Nations (UN) and other international development agencies following World War 2 in the Cold War era that was steeped in the fear of communism and Russia's growth as a superpower. This discourse prompted a new type of colonisation through neo-liberalism and led to another 'scramble for Africa, Asia and Latin America' in a bid to prevent the spread of Russian influence.

2.4.1 Colonial discourse problematising the realities of the colonised

Escobar(1995) cites Bhabha, 1994 in describing colonial discourse as a discourse that sets a group of people apart. This discourse does not acknowledge or appreciate the cultural differences but instead sets up structures that enable one group to take a higher position and assign terms or labels that separate the other group. This opens up a system for these others to be labelled, monitored and watched and managed,

"A form of governmentality that in marking out a subject nation appropriates, directs and dominates its various spheres of activity." Escobar 1995 p.75

Escobar refers to Michel Foucault who coined the term 'governmentality' (Barry et al, 1996), he points out that issues of development and poverty were an organising concept to facilitate the manipulation and control of groups or parts of the world that were not like the dominant Western powers. Escobar (1995) observes that misguided attempts to intervene and bring about change have in turn actually caused more harm.

Infrastructure set up in the pursuit of development goals has at times silenced and marginalised some communities and proceeded to exaggerate the feelings of difference. A new form of binarism emerged with terms like 'First World' or 'Developed Nation' versus 'Third World' or 'Developing' or 'Under-developed Nations' becoming embedded within development discourse. This highlighted how development discourse infantilised colonised regions.

"Concomitantly the management of poverty called for interventions in education, health, hygiene, morality, and employment and the instilment of good habits of association, savings, child rearing and so on." Escobar 1995 p.23

2.4.2 Proposing alternative solutions – emancipatory approaches and participatory development

Prior to the debates on post-development and post-colonial realities, projects initiated in the development arena usually adopted a vertical and binary view (Escobar, 1995). A top-down project-based approach to community development would be applied where outsider experts represented by government agencies or non-governmental organisations (NGO's) would implement interventions focused on extracting knowledge from communities of interest, to provide knowledge for people outside of the community (Chambers, 1994). In his analysis of how neo-liberal ideologies established the same oppressive power structures as previously existed in colonial times, Escobar (1995) proposes participatory and empowering development practice as the way forward. This process must begin with a close examination

of the motivations and actions of the people working in the development sector, who despite having well-meaning aspirations are still steeped in a colonial mind-set as to how they view the issue. Escobar (1995) is an advocate of finding alternative solutions that do not impose biased/western non-familiar definitions of development. Like Freire, (1996), he advises those seeking to engage with marginalised communities start by taking into account the contexts and stories of those communities. Escobar (1995) refers to Fals Borda and Rahman (1991) who recommend the use of participatory methods as a way to deal with the issue of representation, so that those who live in these realities are not silenced and are heard at the decision-making tables.

Discussions around participatory approaches to development emerged in the international development arena in the 1980's and 1990's, in response to the call for more localised, empowering approaches (Mohan and Stokke, 2000). Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy formed the basis of research in this area. The next section will discuss and critically evaluate Freire's work and his suggestions for a '*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*' (Freire, 1996). The final section will focus on a discussion and critical evaluation of Robert Chambers' work on participatory development approaches which started with the practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) (Chambers, 1994).

2.5 Critical Pedagogy and Paulo Freire

Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy was founded on recognising the worth of the individual and their capacity to liberate themselves (Freire, 1996). This is the founding principle in beginning the process of critical reflection and the analysis of colonial structures that enframe those who are oppressed. Freire (1996) argues that all individuals within the societal structure must participate in the action for transformation; the oppressed must liberate themselves and everyone (both the oppressed and the oppressors), must be committed to the transformation, otherwise only a false liberation occurs. An important step to developing actionable change is

what Freire calls the process of *conscientisation*, (Freire, 1996) which focuses on raising levels of critical consciousness and a clearer understanding of the world, resulting in individuals becoming more critically aware of the sources of their oppression. This prompts individuals to start to consider how they can change their situation (Blackburn, 2000; Smidt, 2014). Paulo Freire sets out a manual of how to put his critical pedagogy into practice and he focuses on an adult literacy project he developed in the 1960's. Freire (1996) recommends that the conscientisation process has 3 stages, starting with investigation – where dialogue is encouraged and everything is discussed and recorded, noting words, phrases and expressions used, as these are the ways the group sees the world. This then leads to the next stage called thematisation, where generative words with significant meaning and relevance are identified and codified. These words usually highlight the key aspects relating to the lives and experiences of the group. The final stage is problematisation where the group develops solutions to deal with the challenges or issues faced and thus learn the new skill.

Freire's approach was rooted in how he read his world. The phrase 'reading the world' was one Freire used in his text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996) to mean making sense of the world. Smidt (2014) states that Freire argued it was important to start by observing and reading the world, so as to reflect on those experiences and only after that, start to read the theory. Ledwith (2016) notes that applying theory in action and developing theory from that action is what Freire referred to as 'praxis', an important aspect of the social change process. This would expose the stark contradictions that we as individuals live by in our societal structures and would help us see the world through a new lens. Clear sight of power in action would then form the basis of action for social change (Smidt, 2014; Ledwith, 2016).

2.5.1 Significant themes in critical pedagogy

Humanisation

Freire's personal experiences and exposure to the writings of French and Greek philosophers while studying informed his strong belief in the need for what he calls humanisation (Freire, 1996). Humanisation, or the process of becoming more human was grounded in upholding the importance of giving back power, decision making abilities and voice to marginalised and disadvantaged members of society. This was core to Freire's pedagogy. During his work as an educator in Brazil, Freire had observed the inequities in societal structures that meant the poor and disadvantaged did not always have the freedom to make the choices that would make them mobilise for humanisation (Blackburn, 2000; McLaren, 2001). The struggle for humanisation is still very widely pursued in most global communities and thus Freire's critical pedagogy has formed the basis of many social justice projects in the educational and Third sector (Ellsworth, 1989; Blackburn, 2000; Thomas, 2009; Spaaij and Jeanes, 2013).

Importance of dialogic encounters

Another important aspect of Freire's approach is the importance of making space for critical reflection which must be followed by true dialogue with all the parties concerned and then, very importantly action (Freire, 1996). Critical reflection enables all parties to question what they perceive to be the status quo and allows for the exposure of any self-limiting beliefs, behaviours and attitudes that might contribute towards a culture of silence within the power structures and hierarchies of that societal structure. Once these have been exposed then true and meaningful dialogue can begin. Freire (1996) stresses that meaningful dialogue can only take place when each party acknowledges and understands that they cannot impose their view of the world upon others and that establishing understanding is a co-generative process. Pursuing dialogue in such a manner allows for a new reality with new power structures to be created by all parties in the societal structure. The final step in the process is action – this is very important to avoid the risk of either reverting back to the old undesired state or a transformation where the oppressed have now become the oppressors.

Trust – developing authentic connections

Freirean principles advocate that in order to facilitate the dialogue and critical reflection required, the educator must be authentic, creative and behave in a sympathetic and loving manner (Freire, 1996; Blackburn, 2000). The educator must also be willing to immerse themselves in the lives of the people they are working with, thus experiencing their reality as they will need to use the context of the participants' reality to develop a new course of action. The educator, in effect needs to think of themselves as a catalyst or animator who creates a space where the oppressed educate themselves and each other and this is how social change is achieved.

2.5.2 Critiques of Freire's work

Authors who have critiqued Paulo Freire's contribution to critical theory over the years have recommended that we seek to understand his personal context first so that we see how this might have influenced his thinking and the evolution of his ideas over the years (Lockhart, 1997; Schugurensky, 1998; Blackburn, 2000; McLaren, 2001; Thomas, 2009; Spaaij and Jeanes, 2013; Smidt, 2014 and Ledwith, 2016). These authors analysed Freire's personal transformation - specifically the evolution of his ideas and thinking regarding his view of himself as an educator. Freire's thinking was significantly influenced by his personal experiences in the societal structures he was a part of, in his home country and also during his travels while in exile. Lockhart, (1997) noted that it was only during Freire's travels whilst in exile and his subsequent work as a civil servant upon returning to his home country that he started to see himself not only as an educator but also as a politician.

For Freire, his initial reading of his world was through the lens of the political and socio-cultural context of his home country Brazil as well as his Christian and Marxist world view (Blackburn 2000). Freire's ideas developed while living in exile following the coup in Brazil in 1964

(Lockhart, 1997). The Brazilian economy was also rooted in agrarian practice and therefore there was a working class that was marginalised and lived under prevailing assumptions about how power and authority was automatically awarded to those in higher positions. (This economic, political and socio-cultural context has significant similarities to that of the Zimbabwean context as discussed in Chapter 4).

Schugurensky (1998), Blackburn (2000) and Spaaij and Jeanes (2013) have pointed out that by developing specialised projects where people with special roles known as educators must deliver and oversee a process which singles out the oppressed or marginalised communities, we can end up making them objects and this is similar to what Said (2003) refers to as othering. This process of singling out certain groups within a societal structure can result in the negative impact of using certain terms/ language to construct the world and view it in very discrete hegemonic structures where there are 'the oppressors' and 'the oppressed' or the 'subaltern'. Blackburn (2000) also questions the labels of 'literate' versus 'illiterate' and asks who has actually defined these terms. Here Blackburn brings up a similar debate to Spivak's on the subaltern as he goes on to suggest that the groups in society with the least power or economic resources are unable to read their world and reflect on their experiences without the help of a 'literate' educator and that they might not be intellectually confident to do this. I argue that this must be challenged - If we are to respect the reality of the individual, they live it and thus are well experienced in their reality, then we must acknowledge that they have the capability to read their world as they need to in order to survive. Chambers (1997) also offers the same argument and warns that we can inadvertently end up setting infrastructure that separates or excludes some groups when we seek to classify and manage them in development projects.

Bowers (1983) and Blackburn (2000) also challenge the inappropriate imposition of a certain vision of power on people who may not perceive themselves as powerless and may not want to be empowered in the prescribed way being offered. These authors point out that Freire's

context and pedagogy is rooted in colonial structures. They argue that critical pedagogy is not necessarily a good decolonisation as this process of liberation could actually end up alienating the oppressed and further marginalise them. Smidt (2014) concurs and warns that a blind adoption of Freire's blueprint could result in the negative effect of silencing the communities we want to work with because we try to engage with them terms that might not be relevant or comfortable to their situation and could end up excluding and thus silencing them because it feels so alien to them and not part of their experience.

Ellsworth (1989) also critiqued Freire's work in her reflection of her experiences while applying Freire's critical pedagogy in her classroom. She points out that this approach is appealing in abstract discussions but when practically applied to the real-world scenario she and her students faced it was not liberatory. Ellsworth (1989) points out some of the pitfalls encountered when she tried to develop an emancipatory framework that used the very oppressive structures to map and enframe the marginalised students she sought to assist. She also notes that the process of giving the formerly silenced students the opportunity to speak was not a simple and easy solution. Every student in the class came in with their own truth and it was difficult to negotiate a single truth from the different voices and experiences in one classroom. Ellsworth noted that at the end of the project there was still a culture of silence, it was not so easy to remove the fear of speaking out. Some participants' experiences made them more reserved and thus the democratic process of uniform engagement was not achieved.

Despite these critiques of Freire's work, there have been several successful initiatives developed over the years in the third sector that have used Freirean principles. Interventions with a social aim that are developed for the third sector are increasingly looking to the field of participatory development to borrow principles and methods that can be applied to bring about the desired transformation. Social change projects in these sectors have also focused on capitalising on the experiential elements that can contribute to transformation. These include

Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed; Sports for Development and Edutainment projects like those using the Sabido methodology to bring about social change through communication media like daytime television and radio dramas. Freire's work has had a limited profile in event studies. To date, one of the key studies published is that of Finkel and Sang (2016) who applied aspects of critical pedagogy in their PAR project that focused on co-creating a community festival.

2.6 Participatory Development

2.6.1 Significant Themes in Participatory Development

Interventions with a social aim that are developed for the third sector are increasingly looking to the field of participatory development to borrow principles and methods that can be applied to bring about the desired transformation. Participatory development emerged as a popular approach in the international development arena in the 1980's and 1990's, in response to the call for more people-centred, empowering approaches (Mohan, 2001). Research in this area was led by Robert Chambers who drew on Freire's critical pedagogy to develop methods and applications for participatory approaches through the practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) (Chambers, 1994). Chambers' debate on participatory development focused on the relationships set up in the development process. Prior to the debates on post-development and post-colonial realities, projects in the development arena usually adopted a vertical and binary view. A top-down project based approach to community development would be applied where outsider experts (the uppers) represented by government agencies or non-governmental organisations (NGO's) would implement interventions focused on extracting knowledge from communities of interest (the lowers), to provide knowledge for people outside of the community (Chambers, 1994; Escobar, 1995). Participatory development approaches were still binary and vertical adopting a bottom-up approach that focused on the community (the lowers) actively taking part in their own research investigations and analysis so as to change relationships with the uppers. Chambers (2006) refers to the framework developed by

VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) to assert that participatory development interventions focus on supporting marginalised communities to gain power *within* (self-confidence) and power *with* (collective power) to change relationships with those that have the power *over* (the uppers who have the power).

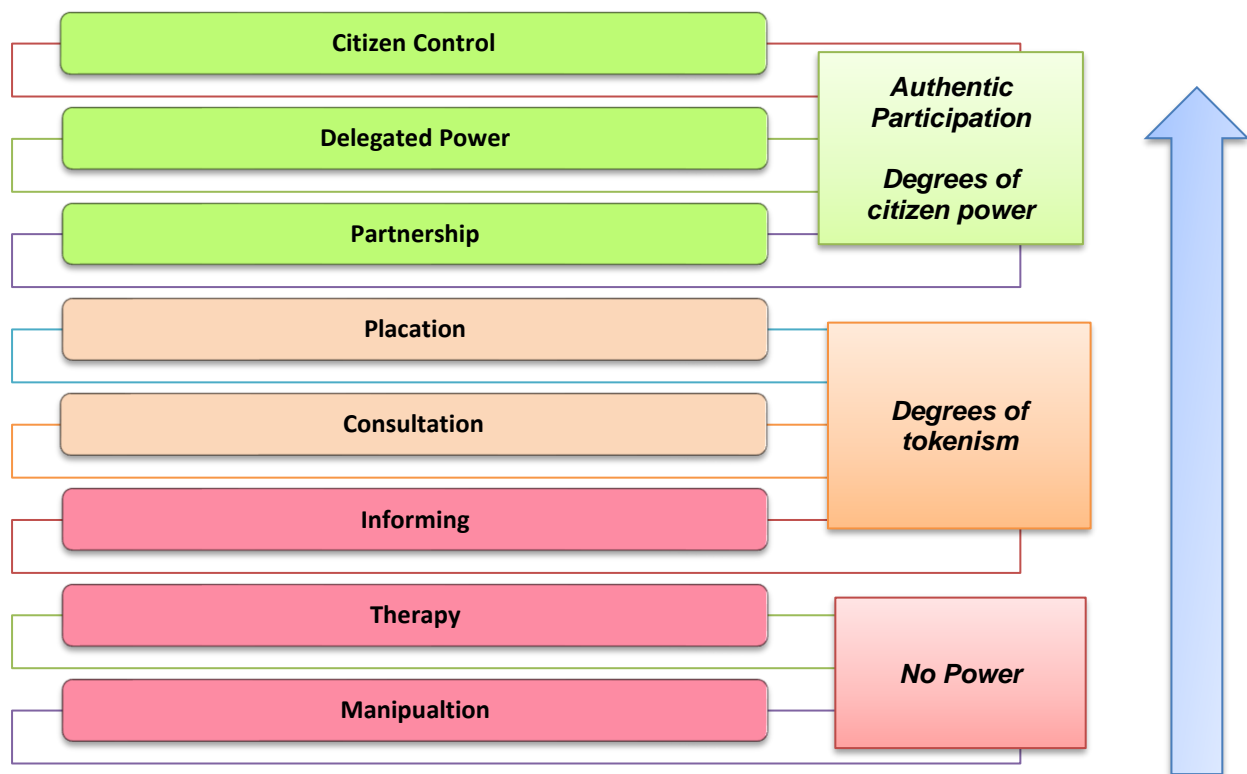
2.6.2 Critiques Of Participatory Development

Cooke and Kothari (2001); Mohan and Stockke (2000); Mohan (2001); Kapoor (2002) and Parfitt (2004) have published critiques of participatory development approaches and highlighted the risks of adopting a binary approach as it reinforces practices of othering (Said, 2003). A superficial application of participatory development could also set up the oppressive Manichean structures (Fanon, 1963) that the approach seeks to eliminate. In instances where the approach is seen as a means to gain legitimacy or funding, it can result in tokenism or manipulation of communities (Mohan, 2001).

“...participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the powerholders to claim that all sides were considered but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit.” Arnstein, 1969 p2

Sherry Arnstein developed a typology of citizen participation following on from her study of over 1000 American community action organisations while working in the Department of Housing in the 1960's. Arnstein's Ladder of participation presents a range of eight levels of participation ranging from non-participation to citizen power as illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6 - Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (1969)



She also highlights some critical issues relating to achieving true participation. Firstly, the simplicity of the typology can mislead people into thinking that various groups in a social system are identical when each group has its own layers of complexity similar to the fractals discussed by Moore (1963) and Spivak (2010). Therefore, it is more likely there might be differing points of view and priorities within each group. A second point raised by Arnstein (1969) is the challenge of navigating what she calls the 'roadblocks' on either side be it paternalism or limited skills and knowledge. A review of the literature on participatory event planning and production activities in Chapter 3, notes that the events industry has mainly adopted approaches that would fall into the 3rd and 4th rungs of Arnstein's Ladder of Participation. Innes and Booher (2004) propose an enhancement on Arnstein's model which focuses on implementing transparent and porous systems of working based on regular dialogue which make decision making accessible to all participants in the process.

2.6.3 Options For Transformation Recommended In Participatory Development

Studies

More recently Robert Chambers has published a new body of work that provides an updated critique of participatory development and in this work he focuses on the mistakes and false truths in the international development sector. Chambers (2017) focuses on providing learning points and recommendations for those in the societal structures that might be considered the 'uppers' – those with access to the resources and power. He prescribes a set of new principles for those working on social change projects to consider, which he refers to as a '*Pedagogy for the Non-oppressed*' (Chambers, 2006; 2017). Based on the errors and failures from previous participatory development initiatives, the following 3 elements are recommended as key areas of focus:

1. The need to develop methodologies that facilitate personal and epistemological awareness with those leading development projects – There is a need for increased praxis and reflexivity. Time to be self-critical must be carefully planned into future projects. Chambers (2017) notes that to date, there is still very limited literature on this issue. This would be useful in supporting those leading development projects to critically examine how their worldviews influence the decisions they make as well as highlight any default technologies of power that they rely on such as manipulation and seduction to coerce communities of interest into making decisions that might not necessarily be for their good.
2. The development of mechanisms that reduce the distance between the decision makers and the communities of interest. Chambers (2017) notes that the current practice in participatory international development is that those who fund and oversee projects are usually working in remote offices far away from the communities of interest. This can result in an inadvertent silencing of communities of interest, as systems of governmentality focus on production of required statistics and evaluation metrics that reduce community issues to numbers and targets. Mechanisms need to be established in projects that require resource holders to recognise the true effects of

their decisions and actions. Decision makers and resource holders need to trace the causal links between their actions and the long-term impact on the communities of interest.

3. The last one is the most difficult to pursue, Chambers (2017) recommends that future development projects find a way to enable resource holders to stop believing the myth that empowerment is a zero-sum game where one group must lose for another to gain resources; in other words, the myth that resource holders must be encouraged to be satisfied with less. This non-zero-sum principle will be the hardest to establish in future development projects as all stakeholders within societal structures are manipulated to believe in the binarism of empowerment discussed in section 2.3. Developing projects that can help resource holders to unlearn this and learn a new way to approach participatory development will be the biggest challenge.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the power structures embedded by colonialism and discussed how the terms 'power', 'influence', 'control' and 'domination' can be related or interchangeable. The ideology of the dominating group governs the actions of that societal structure and thus each group then behaves in the manner they have learnt is expected of them per the hegemonic structures in place (Gramsci, 1976). A specific focus was given on the articulation or mediation of power in built form using the analogy of the veranda and will be developed further in Chapter 7 (Myers, 2003; Njoh, 2009 and Glover, 2004). The review of these colonial structures highlights the processes within the statutory, educational, and religious structures that reinforced the message that the Europeans were superior and the colonised did not have the agency to help themselves. Educational colonisation resulted in a focus on the histories and cultural successes of the colonisers being celebrated (Thiong'o, 1986). One of the key legacies of colonialism discussed by Thiong'o (1986); Said (1993) and Fanon (1961) is the resultant identity crisis which is manifested in a distorted sense of self and low self-esteem

amongst the colonised. The setup of societal structures that explicitly separated the colonised and the colonisers, with an intermediate group of native overseers that served as gatekeepers imposed a new culture of individualism in societal structures that were previously built around a sense of community. This process of compartmentalisation as discussed by Fanon (1963) ensured colonial structures were set up to enable one group to take a higher position while monitoring and managing the lower group. The attack on language and oral tradition was central to the eradication of the cultural identity of the indigenous population. Colonialism marginalised local languages, culture, history, art and literature in order to elevate the language of the colonisers and establish a mental dominance. Colonising cultural spaces changed how people met and communed. The new colonial halls, buildings and theatre spaces were used for colonial activities. National theatres produced works focused on promoting classical western culture while local culture was side-lined and denied a platform in these spaces. The legacy of this strategy still lives on in Kenya as well as in Zimbabwe. Very little has changed as the focus of national theatres and galleries is to highlight Western culture.

Using the critical lens of post-colonial theory to highlight these power structures provided a framework I can use to make sense of current practice within the events industry sector in the next chapter (Chapter 3) and then examine the specific societal structure of the Zimbabwean cultural sector that makes up the research context for this project (Chapter 4). Chapter 3 will now go on to review the literature within event studies to understand how the events industry has approached the topic of social change and then to focus in on how events created in the Third Sector have been designed and produced to achieve the social aims they pursue.

The latter half of this chapter reviewed the key aspects of critical pedagogy and highlighted the work of Paulo Freire in order to understand how his ideas led the movement to decolonise Third Sector development initiatives and became the foundations of the participatory development sector. Freire (1996) advocated for the oppressed communities to liberate themselves through a process of 'conscientisation', which encouraged problem posing and

critical reflection to challenge existing perceptions, thus creating a space for true dialogue which would then prompt the action that brought about transformation. Freire's approach has been applied in educational, political and theatre for development situations since the 1960's when he first published *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Establishing the major debates around participatory development and highlighting the sectors where emancipatory and participatory approaches have been the recurring theme to social change projects within the Third Sector shows that there is much to learn from these projects – whether successful or not – in understanding how we can effect social change. The learnings and principles from the participatory development sector have also been key to developing a robust participatory action research strategy for this project as discussed in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER THREE: REVIEWING THE LITERATURE IN EVENT STUDIES

“...professional designers in every field have failed in their assumed responsibility to predict and design-out the adverse effects of their projects. These harmful side-effects can no longer be tolerated and regarded as inevitable if we are to survive the future.”

(Nigel Cross – Design Research Society Conference, 1972)

Introduction

Events have always had a strong social and anthropological significance, they have evolved out of the need to celebrate key milestones or mark the progression through rites of passage within communities (Getz, 2012; Andrews and Leopold, 2013). Planned events bring together groups of people united by a shared interest for a brief time, enabling them to create an alternate reality over a series or sequence of event phases. At times their purpose is cathartic, to enable communities to let off steam and at other times their purpose is to trigger a change in the communities. Several authors have pointed out the more political functions that planned leisure events have (Sharpe, 2008; Shaw and Williams, 2004; Arai and Pedlar, 2003; Mair, 2003 and Glover, Parry and Shinew, 2005). The first is that of facilitating the struggle for liberation by creating a space for the individual to challenge and critically question the status quo or ‘dominant patterns of power’ to facilitate the liberation and empowerment of a community (Sharpe, 2008). The second is that of supporting a community to create a social space for civic activity through what Mair (2003) terms ‘civil leisure’ where true dialogical exchanges can take place. This reveals the potential for using events as an intervention to effect social change and highlights why planned events with a social mission were considered as the focus of this research.

This literature review was conducted with the aim of identifying existing approaches to the design of events with a social aim as well as to understand how emancipatory or participatory

approaches to event creation and production have been applied in the events sector. In this chapter I present my findings following a review of the existing literature in event studies related to the topics listed below: -

- Events and their impacts linked to social change –The chapter starts with a discussion of how social change has been addressed in the events industry and highlights the debates related to the social impacts of events such as community festivals and major and mega sporting events like the Olympic Games and FIFA World Cup. In order for us to consider how events can be designed to trigger social change, it is important to review how the literature has addressed the social impacts of events and specifically how the field of event studies has discussed social change.
- Event design and event design in the Third Sector – The core research question asks how events with a social mission can be designed to effect social change and thus it is important that this literature review chapter focus on analysing the literature that discusses event design, specifically social design and Third Sector event design. The field of event studies has not really looked at Third Sector event design in much detail but there is a substantial amount of literature on Third Sector events in international development studies. This will help to establish the methods and approaches that have been applied and will enable us to apply the lens of critical theory presented in Chapter 2, section 2.3.5 to analyse the efficacy of these approaches.
- Participatory design and participatory event design – the second half of this chapter undertakes a focused review of how participatory design has been practiced and analysed to identify key learning points that can be applied in this research project.
- Studies of power relations in critical event studies – the chapter concludes by taking a look at how the field of critical event studies has discussed power relations to identify links and gaps between the discussions of systems of power in colonial structures as presented in Chapter 2.

Some specifics related to social change such as liminality and the potential for transformation, social capital and power and hegemony have been highlighted. This chapter plays a key role in identifying the gaps and areas where my study can make a significant contribution.

3.1 Events and Impacts linked to Social Change

Haraway (1988) states that the post-colonial lens offers a perspective that is deeply embedded in situated knowledges. This is relevant to this project as post-colonial theory creates a necessary space for a more meaningful contextualised analysis of the arguments presented in the literature on event impacts. In this section I provide an overview of how the topic of social impact has been addressed in the literature. The first point I considered was how event impacts have been assessed by scholars in event studies. When studying the impact of two major events on young residents living in Adelaide, Hixson (2014) noted that despite the increasing literature on social event impacts there have been limited studies to measure outcomes in a multi-dimensional way. In the past the focus has been on economic return on investment, and while this works in most situations where operational efficiencies, economic potential or policy judgements are the focus, it unfortunately does not provide enough insight for research aimed at understanding social change and the potential contribution of events as is the focus of this thesis. I also noted that the literature in event studies that explores the varied ways of determining an event's worth, especially its value to communities is still limited as there has been a focus on economic metrics. Wood (2005) studied local authority events in the United Kingdom and argued that the social impacts of events have more weighting than economic impact. Deery (2010) was also of the same opinion and asserted that understanding the value of social and environmental impacts is of a greater priority for research and practitioners. I agree with this perspective and argue that in a bid to leverage and maximise positive returns on events, we sometimes silence and objectify some segments of the communities that are affected by the events we create.

In my review of the literature I also observed that the complex relationships event organisers have with various stakeholders usually inform how the event impacts are studied and reported on and it is at this point some groups might be silenced or marginalised – specifically the groups with less access to the resources required to stage the event. This is because research focus on event impacts has been primarily focused on supporting the existence of planned events as a legitimate industry sector worthy of policy focus and investment thus it has been necessary to establish easily quantifiable factors which could then be managed and monitored. Fredline, Deery and Jago (2003)'s definition of social impact in relation to planned events as anything which affects the quality of life for the host community supports this line of thinking. This definition implies that some economic impacts such as job creation also contribute to the quality of life for a host community. The focus on quantifiable metrics has also been noted by Getz (2010) in his review of the literature on festival and event impacts, he states that discourse on impacts has focused on event tourism, event marketing and the events industry which all have economic and policy-based contexts.

My review of the literature also identified a body of literature that has focused on specific impacts of events on communities. This has included studies assessing the social benefits and costs of hosting events, attending events, as well as residents' perceptions of these events. I noted that these studies have mainly focused on quantitative approaches such as resident surveys that measure perspective at a given time (i.e. snapshots) rather than longitudinal studies recommended to study social change (Quinn, 2013; Fredline, Deery and Jago, 2003; Deery, 2010). A number of scales have been established to measure the social impacts of festivals and events on host communities and the common metrics used have been those linked to perspectives of the local economic community. Delamere *et al.* (2001); Molloy (2002) and Lade and Jackson (2004) looked at social indicators of local support for a number of regional festivals in Australia. Studies conducted by these authors highlighted categories and themes for community participation from stakeholders such as councils, local businesses as well as volunteer activity. Small, Edwards and Sheridan (2005) studied community festivals

and event and took a different approach in developing a framework to measure sociocultural impacts based on residents' perceptions. They argued that small community events have limited resources and are usually created by a small sub-group of the community who have taken ownership of the event and have specific ideas about the values they wish to display. The authors recommended that in this context, a more useful measurement tool would be a flexible but logical framework that incorporates practical tools for evaluating the socio-cultural impacts of the event so that valuable feedback can be input into the organization of the future festivals and events. The social impact assessment framework proposed by Small, Edwards and Sheridan is the right step towards measuring social impacts in a more multi-dimensional way but only as long as there is an acknowledgement that residents of a host community are not one homogenous group. I am also of the opinion that there must ultimately be a way to combine both perspectives of the residents and local businesses to establish a clear and rich picture of the overall impacts. Wood (2009) started to address this and proposed a framework for evaluating the economic, social, and environmental impacts of local government community festivals following on from her initial study of resident perceptions of civic pride and sense of community in disadvantaged urban areas in the north of England (Wood, 2006). Although the focus of her study was on the wider impacts of community festivals rather than community involvement, she has provided a useful evaluation typology for this area.

Event impact analysis to date has also included a useful scrutiny of both the positive and negative aspects of event impacts (Sherwood, 2007; Richards and de Brito, 2013). Past research on social impacts has been at risk of approaching host communities as a homogenous group, implying non-complex societal structures that experience event impacts in the same way overall. When applying the lens of post-colonial theory, the positive and negative impacts must also be analysed from the varied perspectives of the different segments that make up the host community. Matheson and Finkel (2013) and Finkel and Finkel (2015) studied the under researched issue of human trafficking as a negative impact of international sporting events. Studies like this would not previously have been highlighted as they did not

support the narrative of global events as tools to market destinations and re-brand nations (Florek, Breitbarth and Conejo, 2008). In societal structures that are enframed by colonial power technologies the implication is that those with access to the most resources have more influence in deciding what is to be considered good or bad. The dedicated research on the impacts of mega and major events like the 1990 Glasgow European Capital of Culture and the 1992 and 2004 Summer Olympics in Barcelona and Athens, respectively have highlighted how specific communities were affected because of urban regeneration and debate has ensued amongst academics as to whether these impacts were positive overall or indeterminate (Garcia, 2004; Hall, 1992). More recently, researchers have started to explore issues of power in relation to event creation Clarke and Jepson (2011) noted the varied and complex claims to power that can be set up in the production of an event. They challenge event organisers to learn how to carefully examine existing power structures within the communities they work with (Jepson and Clarke, 2018). This is one of the key arguments underpinning this thesis.

Rogers and Anastasiadou (2011) also noted that retrospective studies of event impacts broaden the focus and clarify what has already happened to help impact projection for the future. I agree with this perspective as these studies are useful in identifying what happened and document how change takes place so that impact measurement and management can continue over time. The retrospective evaluation of festivals and events can play an important role reporting on the impacts, both positive and negative, and their relative importance to the host community. Such information promotes deeper understanding of issues concerning the community by event organisers and assists organisers to develop future strategies to maximise the positive impacts, and minimise the negative impacts of the future festival or event. Therefore, if this was the criteria used to prioritise research activity then investing in what is a resource intensive qualitative study of the multi-layered social impacts would not be encouraged. It is only more recently with the development of critical events research that this

focus is now being contrasted with a cultural-anthropological approach to event studies in which experience and meanings are at the fore.

3.1.1 Social Networks And The Social Value Generated

One of the key themes in social impact discussions in the literature is the creation of social networks and social value. Scholars in event studies such as De Bres and Davis (2001), McCarthy *et al* (2004) and Wood (2006) explored the concept of social value generated through social networks, from a cultural policy perspective and noted the intrinsic benefits that are directly attributable to cultural products like festivals and events. In my earlier discussion (section 3.1), I highlighted the approaches that have been taken to study these social impacts and I believe there is still more work to be done in establishing value measures that are accepted by the events industry and policy makers as well as the host communities. Discussions in the literature have focused on positives such as the social networks created when communities work together to put on a festival. Derrett (2003) observed that social value is created within a community when the local skills base is improved and the community's confidence and pride in its achievements is boosted. This does not mean that all members are of the same opinion but sometimes different members of a societal structure can agree to differ on some issues while working together on others. This supports the findings of Crespi-Valbona and Richards (2007) who observed that social networks can have multiple layers and less attention has been paid to studying those areas where consensus may co-exist with conflict. It is important to remember that this can only work where the community is united in purpose, Clarke and Jepson (2011)'s study highlighted how events can be divisive when the cultural elite of a community take a different viewpoint as compared to the wider public. I agree with this perspective that we as critical events researchers must approach the study of social networks and social bonds acknowledging the complexity of the societal structures we study.

We must also be aware that the strength of the social bonds and networks created by cultural and community festivals is at risk of being weakened by the increasing commodification of events (Quinn, 2003). Numerous examples exist of events being transformed for consumption to appeal to more visitors, by locating the event in more accessible spaces or altering the content, a prime example of this was the bid to move (Moving the Rio Carnival to the Sambadrome in 1984 and attempted move of Notting Hill Carnival to Hyde Park in 2005). During a festival or event traffic congestion and overcrowded local facilities can disrupt the lives of locals (Getz, 1997; Delamere, Wankel, & Hinch, 2001). Other social problems such as crime and vandalism can promote a growing level of local hostility towards visitors who become symbols of negative change (Douglas et al, 2001). These changes to daily life may create challenges to traditional morals and values, leading to loss of identity (Douglas et al, 2001). In terms of negative cultural impacts, festivals and events have the power to destroy existing social networks by allowing for the commoditisation of culture to meet the needs of an increasing number of visitors (Getz 1997; Douglas et al 2001).

Sometimes the social networks created are not always as anticipated or expected and this depends on the wider contextual issues such as political history, a key issue discussed in this thesis in Chapter 4 and 6. Snowball and Webb (2008), studied the social networks created by communities involved in the development of the National Arts Festival in South Africa during and after the abolition of Apartheid. The authors observed how the festival was struggling with the formation of fragmented social networks that had conflicting perspectives and opinions of South African culture. The authors noted that the sub groups formed in the apartheid era where African artists were excluded and marginalised (due to prevailing policy and legal structures), and white South African artists were excluded and marginalised by the international arts community (due to global sanctions) were not removed post-apartheid. Thus the anticipated positive impact of stronger social bonds and networks were yet to be achieved as the community had not been able to quickly forget the practices of the past. The

observations made by Snowball and Webb (2008) are very similar to the research context of this thesis and highlight the importance of understanding the detail of the community context.

3.1.2 Social Capital

Definitions of social capital presented by authors such as Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; and Putnam 1993 refer to the concept as social resources which are embedded in relationships between individuals and groups, wherein such resources can be accessed and used to reach individual or collective goals. These three authors provide a similar starting definition, but their discussions and studies of social capital reveal its complexity and varied meaning depending on the context of the study. I will focus on Bourdieu and Putnam's theorisations of social capital in this thesis with a primary focus on Putnam's theory. Bourdieu's theory of social capital is useful in understanding the context of the societal structure of Zimbabwean visual arts (Chapter 4) while Putnam's theorisation of social capital helps us understand the PAR experience the research group went through in developing bridging and bonding social capital as we designed the art exhibition.

Pierre Bourdieu discussed social capital from the basis of seeking to understand the reproduction of social class and inequality. He studied the social hierarchy embedded in Algerian society and noted how people used different tactics to be successful in the hierarchy based on the differential distribution of four specific capitals. Bourdieu conceptualised social capital as an offshoot of three other forms of capital – economic, cultural and symbolic. Symbolic capital referred to the honour or prestige that one has and is measured by how much social, economic and cultural capital one holds. Social capital arose out of cultural capital which had had three parts. Objectified cultural capital referred to material objects, such as houses or in this research context design offices and gallery spaces. Institutionalised cultural capital referred to credentials and qualifications held by an individual (Bourdieu, 1986). Habitus referred to how individuals perceived the world based on their social position and

provided a structure for understanding the world which then established fields for interpreting communications within the societal structures (also discussed in Chapter 2). Bourdieu viewed social capital in the context of the position that one held in a field within the social space. Fields were patterns of relations between positions (e.g., political field, religious, economic, educational, health, family). Bourdieu theorised that social capital is people's key to obtaining varying degrees of economic and cultural capitals and whether or not a form of capital can be exchanged largely depends on the field (Bourdieu 1986). Thus, fields play an important role in the market place of relations. Bourdieu's theory has roots in a Marxist view of economic capital as well as Weberian leanings with regard to power. The former can be seen in Bourdieu's belief that economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital (Bourdieu 1986). However, focusing solely on economic capital was not enough, Bourdieu was interested in how the combination of the different forms of capital helped to create and perpetuate inequality in society. He noted that pre-existing conditions affected the quality of one's social capital which, in turn, leads to a lower position in the social hierarchy (Bourdieu 1986). Therefore if an individual had a high social status, a lot of money, and was well educated they had many resources of value at their disposal. This was in contrast to an individual who had little education, lower social status and a lower income – even if they had numerous social ties, their social capital would be qualitatively different and of a lower value. While Bourdieu (1986) writes that social capital is an important form of capital his approach to social capital is not as in-depth as other theorists but it enables a clear understanding of the ways in which social capital influences the reproduction of inequality.

Robert Putnam's theory of social capital was based on his study of communities in the northern and southern regions of Italy, he concluded that the region that had higher levels of volunteering and civic action as well as democracy and community had more social capital. Putnam (1993) likened social capital to other forms of capital in that social capital will grow with use and dissipate with disuse (he also noted that trust, social networks and social norms operate similarly). Thus social capital lay within an individual's network and more specifically,

in their relationships. Putnam's theorisation of social capital came out of his observation of a decline in social capital in America. He noted that there were fewer organisational memberships, loosening ties across the country, as well as a sense of lost community (Putnam, 1993). Putnam viewed social capital as a by-product of other social interactions and trust was an essential key indicator because of its link to the norm of reciprocity. In his later publication *'Better Together'*, Putnam (2000) provides even more detail to his concept of social capital when he describes thin and thick trust to outline the two forms of social capital he identifies as bonding and bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000).

Bridging social capital (also described as thin trust), refers to ties with resources that extend outside of one's immediate community or network such as links between acquaintances or strangers. Putnam noted that thin trust was better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion which was important to community social capital (Putnam 2000). Bridging social capital lies in the diversity of relationships and promotes the appreciation of differences. Putnam also identifies bonding social which he describes as a thick trust that is similar to the strong ties that family members, close friends or long term acquaintances have. Bonding social capital helps to create loyalty to the group and strengthen in-group membership. Putnam states that there are four important functions of bonding and bridging social capital. First, it reduces the complexity of solving collective problems as it facilitates mechanisms such as networks and social norms that enable the solving of community issues. Second, social capital, fosters an atmosphere of trust and reciprocity thus social transactions are less costly. Third, social capital allows for people to be more tolerant and empathetic because of a greater common consciousness. Finally, it can be linked to altruism and charitable endeavours as participating with others toward the common goal of helping others is a clear example of social capital (Putnam 2000). These four points are very important in light of the aim of this thesis and the focus of the group on using participatory event design to effect social change. In describing the two forms of social capital, Putnam states that both are important as bonding social capital is crucial to the well-being of an individual's emotional and immediate social

network while bridging social capital is crucial for pursuing opportunities for advancement, and maintaining diversity and open-mindedness. He notes that most communities tend to have more bonding social capital than bridging as it is easier to build and maintain. In this study there is a need to examine and understand the bonding social capital we create while in our liminoid space of PED (This is done in Chapter 7).

Although I have stated and explained why this thesis focuses on Putnam's theorisation of social capital, it is also important to note the critiques of his work. In his writings on the topic, Putnam focuses on the positives of bonding social capital but only notes briefly that it also comes with the risk of being an exclusionary form of social capital. The thick trust that is represented in the strong ties and close personal relationships can also result in a higher likelihood of rejecting differences of outsiders in order to focus on the similarities (Portes, 1998; Norris and Inglehart 2006). Knudsen et al. (2008) went further to suggest that the experience of social capital varies by region of the country as well as by inclusive or exclusive group memberships. Portes (1998) questioned Putnam's original argument which stated that cities that are well governed and moving ahead economically do so because they have high social capital and the poorer cities lack civic virtue. Portes pointed out that this was based on a retroactive explanation of what was going in the two regions. Factors like differences in levels of economic development, education, or political preferences proved to be imperfect predictors and the analysis could never rule out other potential causes because these explanations remained untested in cases other than those considered. I agree with this criticism as I believe bonding social capital in Zimbabwe is a resource that is in abundance, despite the nation having issues with poor governance and economic stability. These factors would imply there is low civic virtue per Putnam's theory but it is in fact the opposite because of the cultural context of Zimbabwean society which values '*hunhuism*' or '*ubuntuism*' (a philosophy that espouses the importance of togetherness and mutual respect, discussed in Chapter 4). Silva and Edwards (2007) also point out the elitist stance of Putnam's theory, which automatically places responsibility for the alleged decline of social capital on the leisure

behaviour of the masses, rather than on the economic and political changes wrought by the corporate and governmental establishment. Florida (2002) challenges Putnam's research based on his research findings from studying the creative class in states in America like Silicon Valley. He notes that the people he studied valued the semi anonymous living of contemporary societies, weak community ties were now preferred instead of the strong community ties Putnam noted as declining. Florida (2002) was also critical of Putnam's treatment of ethnic diversity in his theorisation of social capital. In his study he noted that places with high ethnic diversity suffered from lower levels of participation and community connectedness and this might have been because the ethnically diverse communities had more people working hard to gain a foothold in a new country.

When comparing the two, Putnam (1993; 2000) is more explicit conceptually than Bourdieu (1988) in his theorisation of social capital. Florida (2002) differentiates the two theories of social capital by describing Bourdieu's theory of social capital as a reason for the advantages and the opportunities that people could accrue in their membership groups while Putnam's theory is essentially based on reciprocity, where trust and mutual respect are important. Putnam analyses social capital to help us understand it in a community context. His detailed theoretical descriptions of social capital can be operationalized more easily than Bourdieu's. It is important to note that Bourdieu's theory of inequality takes into account much more of the social world than Putnam's.

I believe that the choice between Putnam and Bourdieu depends on the research context and the problems we are interested in. I present my reasons here as to why I have given Putnam's theory of social capital more prominence in this thesis. First, Putnam's theorisation of bonding and bridging social capital is most relevant as it provides a useful starting point to understand how we can use the social resources that lie within our PAR research group as well as the potential resources we would need to access in networking and reaching out to individuals outside the group. Putnam states:

“...bonding social capital is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity” (2000: 22).

Second, Putnam's idea of social capital deals with collective values and societal integration, whereas Bourdieu's approach is made from the point of view of actors engaged in a struggle in pursuit of their interests. Bourdieu's view of social capital tends to take a static view as he argues that people tend to accept the social position they are in. Access into any field is granted to those who can demonstrate they have learned the rules of the game and can accumulate enough of the required capital. Ray (2007) suggests that Bourdieu's work is not a critique oriented to praxis and in I agree given the research context. This project seeks to understand social capital in order to get insight of how it contributes to or is reproduced in social change interventions such as PED. Bourdieu sees the powerless trapped in a zero-sum game. He argues that those with the propensity to speak politically must feel they have the right to speak (Bourdieu, 1986). If they are to mobilise and form a group to challenge the oppressive structures that enframe them, they must cede power to an individual who will then speak on their behalf (Spivak, 2010). This again does not align with a participatory philosophy adopted in this research project where power is not ceded to one individual but shared amongst the group (discussed in Chapter 6). Third, is that in Zimbabwe, social class as discussed by Bourdieu in his analysis of cultural capital has not played a significant role in determining culture amongst the indigenous population (A further discussion of the issues of culture and power can also be found in section 3.3.4 and Zimbabwean societal structures are described in Chapter 4). The artists who are studying fine art are not necessarily from privileged circles of society with the expected levels of higher education as noted by Bourdieu in his research. One of the research participants notes in preliminary discussions that art was proposed as an option for those students that were not doing so well at school. In Zimbabwe family connections (this includes extended family or those connected by the same totem) and political party affiliations are the most important and relevant. Social status is mainly derived from the wealth accumulated usually due to connections with those in the ruling political party. The gatekeepers with the legitimate power to control access to resources dictate what they

deem to be acceptable as long as it does not challenge the political norms. This is similar to what the ruling elite have observed and learnt in colonial times and illustrates what Bhabha (1994) described as mimicry (discussed in Chapter 2).

Discussions of social capital in event studies literature

Social Capital theory is frequently mentioned in event studies literature in social impact studies, namely where social networks or bonds are created within host communities and amongst event attendees. Thus there has been a tendency to focus on bonding and bridging social capital as described by Putnam (Dickson, 2010; Finkel, 2010 2012; Quinn 2013). In my review of the literature in event studies I also observed that the literature has focused more on social capital formation during the event and not necessarily after the event or, as in the case of this study, during the period of event design.

Quinn, (2013), wrote on social capital in relation to cultural policy and suggests that culture can bring together diverse groups and thus promote well-being by allowing the production of mutually beneficial norms of reciprocity, generalised trust and cooperation, these are concepts put forward by Putnam. This feeling of community is linked to Turner's (1969) 'Communitas', which he described as the transformative experience that goes to the heart of each person's being and finds in it something profoundly communal and shared (Chalip, 2006; Dickson, 2010). Terms like 'collective experience' and 'collective effervescence' have also been used to discuss this phenomenon (Ryan, 2012; Bjorner and Berg, 2012). Dickson (2010) discusses social capital in relation to her study of participants in the Australian scholar athlete games and suggests that sports and arts events can be used as a vehicle for promoting notions of understanding, acceptance and friendship'. She describes social capital as reciprocal relationships embedded within social networks, again referring to Putnam's theory.

Discussions of social capital have included a focus on how it manifests at different levels of the societal structure and the dynamic nature of social capital as a resource that is ever

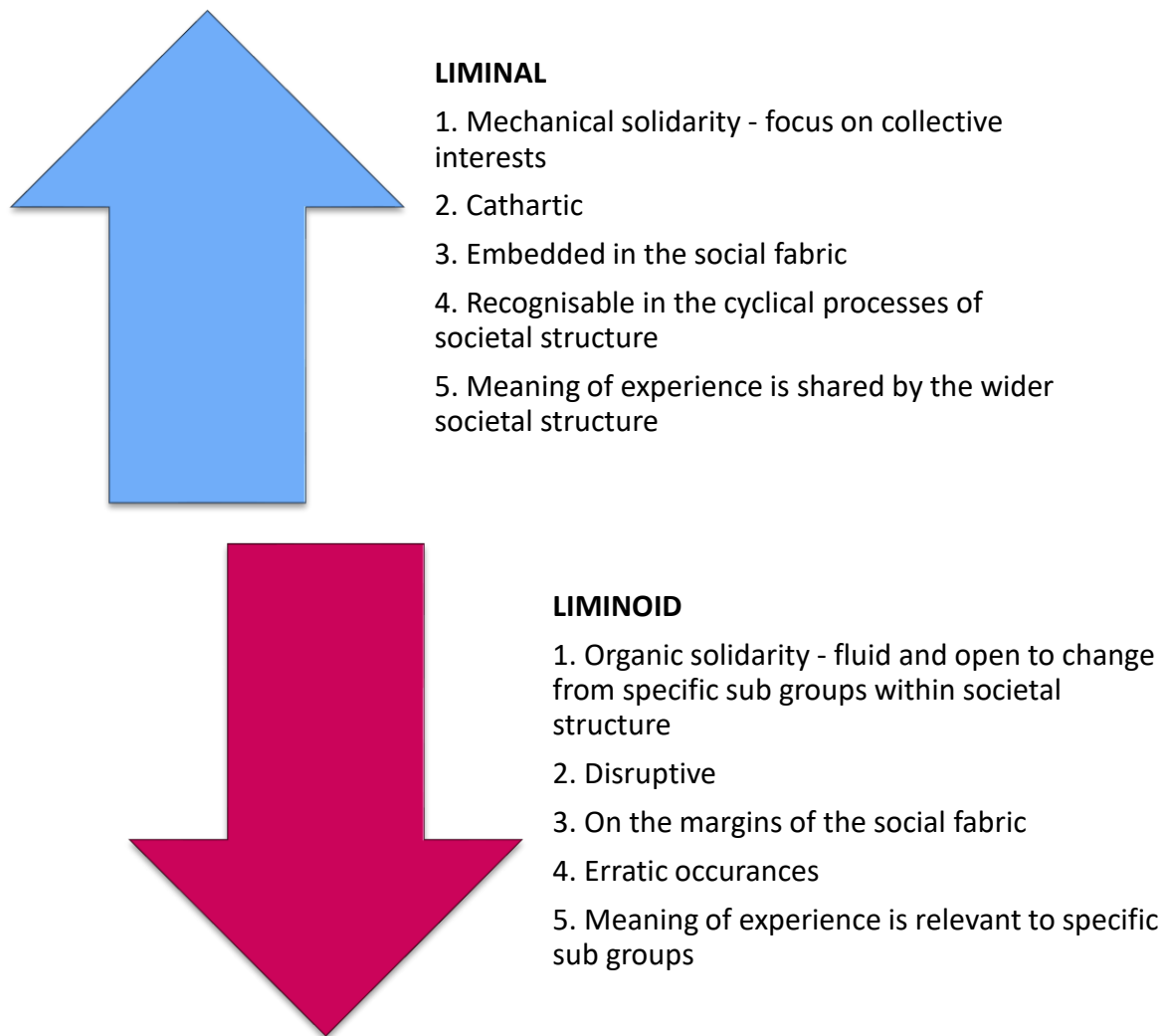
changing, these are useful points to consider in this thesis and support my analysis of the group's experience in the liminoid space of PED in Chapter 7 of the thesis. Wilks (2012) suggests that Putnam's theory of social capital can be analysed at a macro level where it plays out as social networks and their potential for public good and at a micro level where it focuses on the individual, highlighting personal actions and potential benefits. The literature in events has more recently start to challenge researchers to analyse how social capital can be affected by other issues such as the changing composition of the host communities and levels of inclusivity within the community (Duffy and Mair, 2014; Laing and Mair, 2015). This resonates with Snowball and Webb (2008)'s findings in their study of social networks created at a South African arts festival discussed earlier. These are important issues that I consider in this thesis as I argue that it is important to establish a clear understanding of the community of interest and the societal structure is it is enframed in so that we can begin to use the post-colonial lens to examine the inequalities. There is still room to study the concept of social capital and its manifestation in the different sectors of the events industry and many academics have called for more research in this area (Misener and Mason, 2006). Finkel (2010) points out that unfortunately the opportunity to focus on studying these potential impacts has been limited due to the focus on commercial and tourism aspects. Quinn (2013) also highlights these limitations and states that some of the social impact literature is ill-defined and at times employed in different ways or ways that overlap, thus making it difficult to apply and operationalise.

3.1.3 Liminality As A Space For Social Change

Scholars in event studies have explored the idea of liminality as discussed by Van Gennep (1960) and Turner (1969) in order to understand the experiences of event participants and attendees as they move through the different stages of an event. The work of Victor Turner has provided a significant basis for this work as he developed the idea of liminality. Turner (1974) developed Van Gennep's idea of the 'liminal' space in his anthropological studies and then proceeded to propose his own idea of the 'liminoid' space. These two concepts are linked

in that both are spaces or times set apart from the day to day social existence where alternatives to the norm are practiced. In Figure 7, I present my interpretation of the key distinctions between the liminal and liminoid experience as discussed by Turner (1974). Both terms acknowledge an inversion of states, where there is a break from the norms of the societal structure. The key distinction lies in the fact that the liminal space is essential for the maintenance of the societal structure and therefore has the role of reinforcing the status quo whereas the liminoid space is disruptive and has the role of triggering or enabling the emergence of transformation within the societal structure. Turner's definition of the liminoid space as a space that can trigger disruption and facilitate the transformation of a societal structure aligns with the aim of this research project and in Chapter 7 I propose the idea of participatory event design as a liminoid experience.

Figure 7 - Distinction between the liminal and liminoid (Turner, 1974) - Author's interpretation

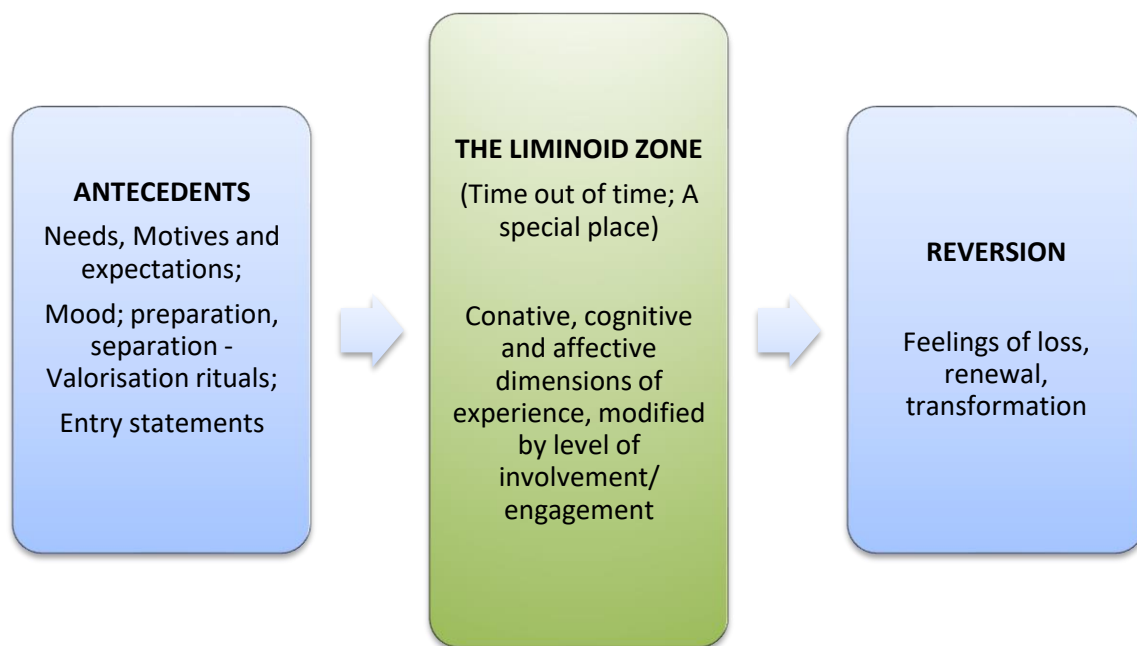


To date, there has been a limited exploration of the distinction between liminal versus liminoid spaces in event studies literature. Spiegel (2015) examined the characteristics of liminal and liminoid spaces in his study of community experiences in the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, The Mother City Queer Project and the Cape Minstrels Carnival Parade. He noted that Turner established a binarism in his presentation of the liminal and liminoid space. Spiegel proposes that the binary view of the terms be done away with and scholars studying liminality in the present think of it as more of a continuum where both elements of the liminal and liminoid can exist in an event. For the purposes of this research project, specifically the detailed

discussion in Chapter 7, the term 'liminoid' will be used as this project was developed in interstitial spaces for a very specific subgroup with the aim of disrupting the existing social structure and the concept of participatory event design is still being developed.

Getz (2007; 2012) refers to the liminoid zone in his Model of the Planned Event Experience where he outlines 3 distinctive phases an event attendee goes through (refer Figure 7a). First, is the 'pre-liminal' phase where individuals respond to a call and participate in valorisation rituals that enable them to leave the structures and norms of their day to day to world and step into a new space. Second, is the 'Liminoid Zone' – or time out of time' as described by Falassi (1987), where the individual is inducted into a new space where the norms and structures they are used to in their day to day life are suspended, different structures and rules apply in this new space. Getz (2012), proposes that while in this liminoid zone, the individual has an experience that engages them at a conative, cognitive and affective level. The third phase is that of 'reversion' where the individual leaves the event space and reverts to their day to day reality. Getz (2012) discusses the individual feeling a sense of change, which can come in different forms – such as a 'feeling of accomplishment, renewal, transformation, relief or loss'.

Figure 7a - The Planned Event Experience (Getz, 2012)



Festivals such as Lightning in a Bottle in Southern California; Boom Festival in Portugal, and Burning Man in Nevada have been studied by authors to understand this phenomenon of liminality (Kozinets, 2002; St John , 2004; Toraldo and Islam, 2017). In some cases different currencies, new languages and new societal rules are created within this liminoid zone.

It is important to note that the liminoid zone created by planned events has not always been viewed as a wholly positive space and a space of opportunity in the literature. Human and Robins (2011) discussed their discovery of what they called ‘the underbelly of communitas’ when they researched the experiences of young Zimbabwean migrants living in South Africa, during the FIFA 2010 World Cup. These authors highlighted some negative aspects and proposed that, even though the liminoid space is supposed to be the in-between world at the margins of society where norms and structures of society are done away with (Turner, 1969), power hierarchies and binary relationships or compartmentalised structures can still exist.

There can still be individuals within the liminoid space that will be considered 'others' by more dominant groups in the same space, implying that the holistic feelings of *communitas* or egalitarianism as espoused by Turner (1969) are not always attainable. This sinister aspect of being 'in-between worlds' and not safe was also alluded to by Ashcroft, Griffin and Tiffin (2007) in their discussion of liminality created by colonial binary systems where the in-between world became taboo. Glover (2004) also refers to liminoid spaces in his analysis of the veranda, an iconic colonial space. He noted that despite it being viewed as an effective tool to surveil the colonised, it also became an uncomfortable space to reside in as the coloniser became aware that the elevated space was an effective vantage point for the colonised to return the gaze.

3.1.4 Social Change Terminology in Event Studies Literature

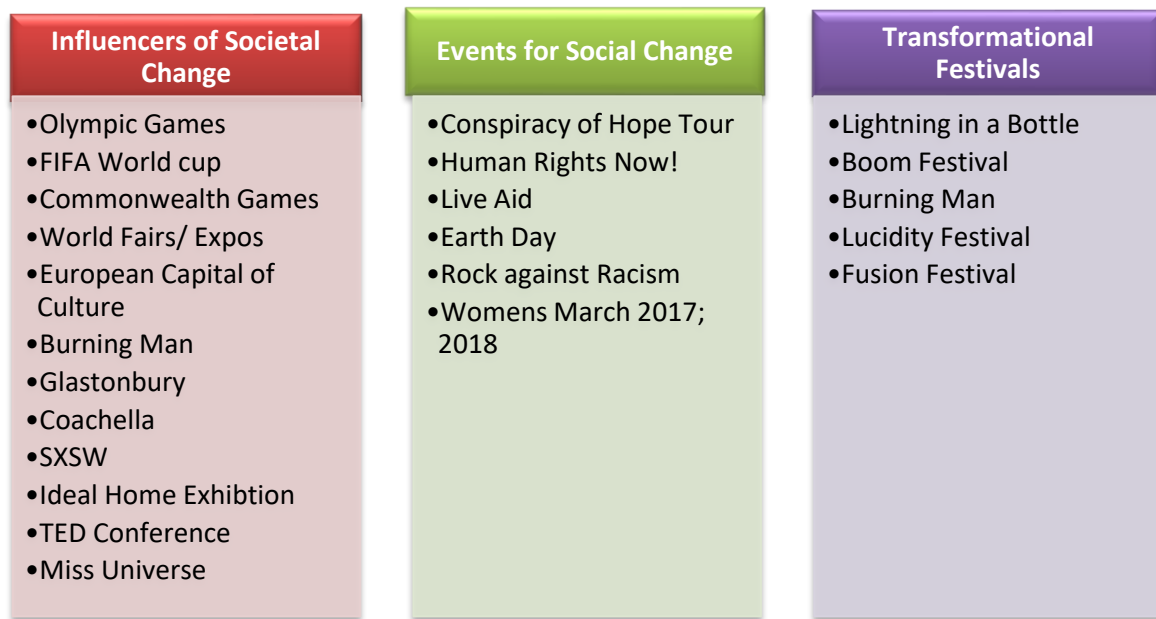
A search in the literature for the term 'social change' in relation to event studies revealed 3 broad groups of events I have categorised according to the scope of this research (as discussed in Chapter 1) and presented in Figure 8. One significant paper to note is the conceptual paper published by Greg Richards in 2015 proposing that events can be seen as actors playing a role in social systems. He argued that events were either 'Iterative' meaning they had the purpose of maintaining social structures and creating bonding social capital or 'Pulsar' events, meaning they had a transformative effect on social structures by creating bridging social capital that empowers groups in new ways (Richards, 2015). Pulsar events are relevant to this research project, specifically pulsar events created in the Third Sector, although our research experience in developing the participatory event design process resulted in the creation of both bonding and bridging social capital (discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.3.7 and Chapter 7).

In Figure 8 the first group – 'Influencers of Social Change' - is made up of events that appear in the majority of the publications in event studies. These events were organised to achieve objectives of the governing organisations that own the event and objectives have ranged from

economic and political to social and cultural. Discussions in the literature relating to social change focus on the evolution of festival and event rituals and changing cultures as a result of globalisation (Picard and Robinson, 2006; Richards, de Brito and Wilks, 2013 and Richards, Marques and Mein, 2015). The term 'social change' is also used in some literature that has published studies on communities and the affirmation or creation of their identities in the way they engage with festivals (Fredline and Faulkner, 2001; Garcia, 2004; Gursoy and Uysal, 2004; Small, 2007; Bardsley, 2008; Wilks, 2012; Andrews and Leopold, 2013; Mair, 2003; Marschall, 2009; MacLeod, 2006 and Sharpe, 2008; Richards, 2015).

There is also a large body of literature on the use of sports events and mega-sporting events as a tool to bring about social change. Authors such as Delaney and Keaney (2005); Chalip (2006); Lee *et al* (2005) and Roche (2017) have published work in this area and suggest that these events have the ability to unite communities and provide a space for escape and entertainment which can generate valuable social capital required to bring about social change. The events in this first group in Figure 8 have significantly influenced how society thinks, behaves and acts in certain social spheres, but were not purposefully designed to alter the power structures within a societal system. (Roche, 2017)

Figure 8 - A Proposed Typology of Events for Social Change



The second group in Figure 8 lists some events that I would categorise as – Events for Social Change – these are events that have been specifically developed to address a social problem. The most popularly cited events are the Live Aid, Live 8, and Amnesty International Human Rights Now! Concerts (refer Figure 9). The literature published on whether these events actually brought about a sustainable social change is limited (Rojeck, 2014; Muller, 2013 and Grant, 2015). Davis (2010) states the main impacts of these events were that the celebrities involved achieved record sales and raised their profile, host cities received a boost in tourism and benefited from the halo effect of being associated with a good cause, and the corporate sponsors benefited from the increased brand awareness of being associated with these events. Other authors like Lahusen (2001) and Downing (2010), have debated that events of this nature were less political and were instead created for advocacy or fundraising purposes. Live Aid was a fundraising event aimed at the public for a humanitarian cause, while Live 8 was an advocacy event directed at government with aim to change policy on global debt.

Figure 9 - Examples of Events for Social Change

<p>1985 - Live Aid <i>Band Aid and USA for Africa combined response to the famine in Ethiopia in 1984-1985.</i></p> <p>Event: 16 hour long benefit concerts in London and Philadelphia broadcast live. 162000 people attended both events (70k London; 92k Philadelphia) Approx. 1 billion viewers from 150+ countries.</p> <p>Impact: <i>Raised £60 - 70 million Encouraged changes to government policy. UK and US governments increased aid to Ethiopia after previously cutting it due to the country's communist govt. (Shukar, 2008; Davis 2010; Dando 2012)</i></p>	<p>2005 – Live 8, <i>20th Anniversary for Live Aid. To mobilise public pressure to encourage G8 leaders to cancel debt of developing countries. 'Make Poverty History'</i></p> <p>Event: 10 concerts in 10 different locations around the world over 3 days. (London; Philadelphia; Cornwall; Paris; Berlin; Rome; Barrie; Tokyo; Johannesburg; Moscow). Final concert in Edinburgh during G8 Summit.</p> <p>Impact: <i>Raised over £10 million. All G8 leaders present agreed to cancel the national debt of 38 African countries and provide additional US\$50billion a year in development assistance. Only the UK has kept this pledge. (Elliot and Connolly 2007; Gill 2010; Davis, 2010)</i></p>	<p>1988 – Human Rights Now! <i>To commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and boost membership globally to Amnesty International (AI)</i></p> <p>Event: Live music events in sponsored by Reebok Foundation. Toured 18 countries including UK, US, Europe, India, Brazil and Zimbabwe. Audience of 1 mill spectators and 1 billion viewers in 62 countries</p> <p>Impact: <i>Many small branches of AI doubled their membership. The campaign collected 1.2 billion signatures in support of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (Lahusen, 2001)</i></p>
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The third group in Figure 9 is an emerging type of event, frequently termed the Transformational Festival. This typology was first presented at a TED talk in 2010 by Jeet-Kei Leung who described the event as having the cathartic characteristics of authentic festivals from the past, where ritualistic activities involving dance and chanting take the main focus in order to induce a trance like state that allows the individual to be released from the constraints of day to day life (Leung, 2010). These events value community building and sustainability and are usually co-created with the attendees, focusing on the transformation of the individual. The studies published to date on these types of festivals have focused on exploring the psytrance phenomena and the liminal experiences of the attendees (St John, 2010; Johner, 2015; Ruane, 2017). Studies that explore the creation of these events, the phenomena of transformation or their impact on the communities involved are still minimal.

This discussion has shown that the research on social impacts needs to extend its line of enquiry towards understanding how the transforming process works together to produce the outcome of social change within a community's societal structure (Chapter 1, section 1.4). Academics have noted that there is an opportunity to harness the social capital created in these instances in order to bring about significant change which could re-form and re-shape the existing societal structures and have called for more research in this area (Misener and Mason, 2006; Getz, 2008; Deery and Jago, 2010; Richards, 2015). Other academics have also noted that true impacts are difficult to pin down as it can be hard to assess whether certain outputs can be directly attributed to the hosting of that event (Lee and Taylor, 2005; Crompton and McKay, 1997; Tyrell and Johnston, 2001; Wood and Thomas, 2006). The impact research in event studies appears to have focused on a particular perspective where measurement of impact involves taking a snapshot in time, very few longitudinal studies have been carried out (Dickson, 2010) thus the whole area of assessing impacts based on the long term social change or exploring how it has been considered in the event design stages has been limited.

3.2 Event Design For Social Change

3.2.1 Event Design

The definitions of event design presented in the literature have focused on the form and function of the event rather than the process of design itself. Monroe (2006) defines event design as:-

“...the concept of a structure for an event, the manifest expression of that concept expressed verbally and visually which leads, finally to the execution of the concept”
p4.

Berridge (2012) describes event design as a simulated stage-managed environment, creating authentic moments of experience within that setting for guests and participants.

The discussions on event design are also usually rooted in the objective of creating an experience, acknowledging the experience economy thesis of Pine and Gilmore (2011). Getz (2010; 2012) has argued that if the individual will construct their personal meaning of the experience, then event experiences cannot be designed or engineered due to their heterogeneous meaning. He points out that whilst event design can help create the entire system and process of planning, managing and delivering an event, it cannot guarantee how people will respond to it or whether the stimuli provided will be received in the way it was intended.

Berridge (2012) agrees that experiences are complex to interpret as they have many layers and meanings which are specific to individuals and their context, however, he does suggest that there are possibilities to designing the event experience. In addition, he notes that it is important to have foresight of the nature of interactions between people and the relationships they have with each other and the physical environment. Therefore, while event producers can design the programme, theme, service quality, consumables and setting, there will always be the core element of experiencing the event along the conative, affective and cognitive dimensions which cannot be standardised. Berridge (2012) recommends that the creation of the planned event experience should be part of a deliberate and integrated design-based process whereby each element of the event is carefully mapped out in order to produce an environment (or setting) with an opportunity for the creation of the anticipated experiences.

Table 1 provides an overview of findings from a review of the wider literature in event studies to understand how event design has been discussed and studied. The literature reveals a focus on discussions around designing the event experience for the attendees. Terms like 'participation' are mainly used in relation to getting attendees to be active consumers of the event. This also leads to the use of the terms like 'co-creation' and co-performers'. As discussions on event design are always linked to the experience economy, references to 'personalisation' are ever present. Event design is seen as the initial phase in the performative

process and references are made to ‘atmospherics’, ‘servicescape’, ‘dramaturgy’ (Bitner, 1992; Nelson, 2009). There is also a focus in the literature on incorporating elements of environmental psychology as recommended by Mossberg (2007) and the development of ‘*experiencescapes*’ – where experiences are co-created through staging and direct participation of attendees (O’Dell and Billing, 2005). This also includes the strategic combination of setting, sensory, symbolic, temporal and meaningful aspects of experiences (Diller, Shedroff and Rhea, 2008) as well as the importance of getting the right elite labour (aesthetic and performative labour) who present the right kinds of emotion and look the part while performing and are effective in the role (Nickson, Warhurst and Dutton, 2005).

Table 1: Summation of Themes in Event Design Literature

Themes	Authors
<i>Focus on attendees, consumers, delegates, customers</i>	<i>Bitner 1992; Kale, Pentecost and Zlatevska, 2010</i>
<i>Performative and staging elements in event design</i>	<i>Brown and James, 2004; Nelson, 2009; Pentecost and Zlatevska, 2010; Berridge, 2012; Ferdinand and Williams, 2012</i>
<i>Service elements – servicescape; customer service</i>	<i>Bitner, 1992; Csiksentmihalyi 1997; Silvers, 2004; O’Dell and Billing, 2005; Ralston et al, 2007; Kale, Pentecost and Zlatevska, 2010</i>
<i>Physical elements – environment; props</i>	<i>Mossberg, 2007; Ferdinand and Williams, 2012; Berridge, 2007; 2012; Getz, 2012</i>
<i>Sensorial elements – 5 senses; WOW factor</i>	<i>Manners, Saayman and Kruger, 2014; Diller, Shedroff and Rhea, 2008; Getz, 2012; Saayman and van de Merwe, 2014</i>
<i>Leveraging strategies</i>	<i>Chalip, 2006; Bjorner and Berg, 2012</i>

Terms like staging, theming and scripting are frequently used as the purpose of design focuses on creating a space for event staff (sometimes referred to as ‘actor’s’) to engage; educate; entertain; evoke emotions; create a visually captivating WOW factor (importance of aesthetics); leave a memorable impression and motivate the attendees (Bitner 1992; Ralston

et al/2007; Nelson, 2009; Morgan, 2010; Kale, Pentecost and Zlatevska, 2010; Ferdinand and Williams, 2012; Berridge, 2007; 2012; Getz *et al*, 2012; Cashman, 2012; Bjorner and Berg 2012). The assumption in the literature is that this discussion is amongst events management professionals, thus the terminology and language used includes references to clients, consumers, objectives, competitive advantage and value for money.

The Event Design Process

Richards, Marques and Mein (2015) published an edited collection on social event design which brought together the ideas and research findings of various authors who have explored the event design process from a social perspective. They acknowledge that a successful event must be designed in such a way that it generates the positive outcomes sought for all stakeholders involved. Thus, in order to do this, an attempt to design event experiences must be based on a deep knowledge of how the audience participates and becomes involved (Blumer, 1969; Denzin, 1978; O'Sullivan and Spangler, 1999; Rossman, 2003; Pine and Gilmore, 2011).

Richards (2015) also asserts that the event design process is a collective and social activity as it requires the circulation of ideas to generate knowledge, thus it is too simplistic to say event design is an activity that is carried out by a lone expert working in isolation. The author advocates event designers be fully aware of the social context pertaining to the event, so that they can link the content to the context. He advocates that the event is designed 'around' stakeholders or designed 'to change' stakeholders. While this inclusive working does not necessarily have to be participatory, however, the stakeholders must be involved in spaces where trust in others exists or where it can be created and maintained.

Table 2: Social event design processes

Design Process	Authors
Ritual Focus <i>Designing events using the rituals important to a community to engage and animate the community.</i>	Richards, 2015
Service Design <i>Empowering and participatory methods are applied as users are invited to actively take part in this iterative process of visualisation, prototyping, testing and improving</i>	Miettinen, Valtonen and Markuksela, 2015;
Visitor Touchpoints <i>Focus on visitor touchpoints accepted at the core of the process that power has shifted to the customer and thus the focus is on ceding that power</i>	Gerritsen and van Olderan, 2015
Imagineering <i>Focus on business events – a process focusing on the co-creation of meaningful experiences aimed at creating value.</i>	Ouwens, 2015
Slow principles <i>Focus on participation, mindfulness and ethics. The event is organised bottom up and the community is involved in the decision making process and must benefit the community; takes time; rooted in the place; focuses on development</i>	Simons, 2015
Co-creation <i>no predefined agendas; work with participants from the beginning; democratise the event in the Imagineering process; be flexible and embrace the unpredictability- involve all stakeholders so as to get a higher level of participation</i>	Crowther, and Orefice, 2015
Technology enabled design <i>Use of advanced technologies and social media, to facilitate the co-creation event through dialogue and sharing of curated content</i>	Calvo-Soraluze and San Salvador del Valle (2015)

3.2.2 Third Sector Events and Event Design in The Third Sector

A review of the literature on how Third Sector events have been designed highlights a focus on crafting and delivering simplified, accessible messages in order to mobilise the support of the public in supporting the social aim or cause which is the main topic. Several authors have put forward terms such as ‘advotainment’, ‘entertainisation’ and ‘aestheticisation’ in their analysis (Lahusen 2001; Street *et al*, 2008; and Grant, 2015). They have also debated the efficacy of using specialised terminology and images; the presentation and showcasing of the

communities of interest in a special way; the establishment of key roles and identities to lead the cause and the appointment of celebrity representatives who speak on behalf of the communities of interest (Richey and Ponte, 2008; Rojek, 2012 and Muller, 2013). Third Sector events are sometimes created within the frameworks of the traditional 'Aid' and 'Development' initiatives of local and international NGO's. Unfortunately, at times the sector mindset is still entrenched in the colonial discourse which promoted the message that local communities needed to be developed and saved by western or developed societies bringing civilisation and aid to a people that knew no better (Chambers, 2017). There is a debate as to whether these initiatives are promoting and reinforcing truths associated with the neo-liberal discourse that invokes the colonial world views (discussed in Chapter 2) which are not helpful in supporting marginalised communities who are seeking to transform their societal structures.

Rosario (2003) argues that images perpetuated by big charities and international NGO's justify paternalistic and neo-colonial development practices and unfortunately create a regime of truth which reinforces separation and otherness (Foucault, 1991). Initiatives focusing on social change become superficial as the focus is on quick wins and the outcome of all this is that society becomes more ill-informed about the problems and injustices communities are facing. Event audiences can end up suffering from compassion fatigue or become programmed to focus on the aesthetics of the cause where they are more likely to trust and help those whom they perceive as attractive. Lahusen (2001) and Chambers (2017) do point out that the event organisers and NGO's are not the only ones to blame as they are restricted by the demands and expectations of the funding agencies who are sometimes so far removed from the problems they want to address, they have a limited understanding of the issues at hand.

3.2.3 Patronage and Coercion – Negotiating the Complex Spaces used to Create Third Sector Events

Muller (2013) notes that some NGO's have questionable track records in the public eye, the example of reports about World Vision's links with the United States Central Intelligence

Agency (CIA) implied that aid and financial support could be politically motivated. NGO's have their own agendas to play the funding game and thus the event organiser needs to be acutely aware of the societal structure that they are operating in. Sometimes the NGO or charity decides to adopt a specific message to gain access to certain resources and so it can become a trade-off. In addition, the community of interest becomes less of a priority and their presence or level of influence in the decision-making process diminishes even further (Muller, 2013; Gill 2010). There are potential sites of conflict that the event designer will encounter that cannot be ignored. At times the stakeholders who caused the problem in the first place, will be associated with the stakeholders that commission the live event project. The event organiser cannot really bring the first group of stakeholders to task as they have more power in the form of the economic resources required to produce the event. To challenge these stakeholders could result in the loss of access to privileged spaces and resources.

Lahusen (2001) states that events mobilise a wider audience of people not generally linked to the cause, they can bring the issue to new audiences by complementing existing or traditional actions. They diminish the costs of participation as people are drawn to the show thus it is possible to pursue both altruism and experience the benefits. These events allow social movements to capitalise on existing fan bases; international markets; industries and sponsorship networks as well as media networks. The societal environment has different groups, communities and sub cultures with their own narratives and identities so mobilisation strategies must be relevant and accessible to all different sub cultures. Lahusen (2001) also refers to the challenges faced by the Amnesty International team in working with the Reebok Foundation to produce the Human Rights Now! events when he warns of the zero-sum game nature as each side that gets involved in the event seeks to capitalise on the event for their own interests. This can create a great space of conflict for the stakeholders. Despite the complexities of meeting key stakeholder needs, events for social change can generate the positive impact of creating a community of belonging. For example, with the Mandela tribute events, music from Soul, Jazz and Rhythm and Blues genres was used as a bridge between

the West and African culture. The events were a platform to profile the richness of diversity as an anti – thesis to the apartheid regime through joyful multiculturalism. The organisers of the event used this strategy to explicitly defend the dignity and intrinsic value of each culture (Lahusen, 2001).

3.2.4 Manipulation and Representation – Identities Created Through Event Discourse

Othring in events was enacted from as far back as the Colonial and Imperial Fairs and Exhibitions started in the 1800's, which were a platform to showcase great strides in civilisation and progress of the European powers (Rydell, 2006). These large-scale events showed off the might, wealth and superior abilities of the European nations in contrast to their inferior colonial subjects who were paraded on stages as curiosities. The colonial curiosities were presented from a European perspective and thus their 'otherness' was more visible and explicit. This strategy of creating a spectacle has also been evident in events like Live Aid and Live 8, where the communities in need were also exhibited in the spectacle of the live music events as well as the accompanying short films. The global live broadcasts displayed the superior technology and innovation of the global North and highlighted the cost of producing the official Live Aid programme as well as technology employed (Grant, 2015).

Grant (2015) argues that the truths (implicit and explicit) that were reinforced through promotional print and song lyrics for events like Live Aid in 1985 focused on difference and presented a binary view of the world where Africa represented everything that symbolised 'the other' and was visually and lyrically portrayed as a place of misery in opposition to Europe, the world of plenty and technological advancement. The depictions per the lyrics are similar to those of colonial discourse as highlighted by Said (2003) and Fanon (1963) where the communities of interest are presented as helpless and not as advanced with regards to resources, technology or the intellectual capacity to help themselves. Grant (2015) points out that the messages developed for events like Live Aid called for global support to help the

'developing nations' of the South without acknowledging the part that the 'developed nations' of the North had played in creating the adverse situations causing the disaster or oppressive situation that required transformation. This again highlighted how certain third sector events were created to establish, reinforce and promote particular 'truths' about situations and reinforced messages on who had the legitimate authority to speak on behalf of marginalised groups. These truths became knowledge or the accepted reality (Foucault 1991). It is important to see this latent system of control because when these 'truths' are imposed as the only reality, the communities of interest are forced into internalising these truths and this 'truth' becomes part of the hegemonic structures that are established within societal structures (Mudimbe, 1988; Said, 2003; Fanon, 1963; Foucault, 1991 and Escobar 1995).

Gill (2010) refers to the example of images used in the original film for the 1985 Live Aid event, images of Ethiopians surrounded by poverty and despair in the South were placed alongside images of celebrities from the North like Phil Collins travelling via Concorde jet to perform in the UK and USA for Live Aid due to the advanced technology of the North. Gill (2010) analyses the narrative from Geldof as conveying the message that Birhan had been saved by her generous benefactors from the North and she would be forever grateful. Cameron and Haanstra (2008) also noted that the visuals in the short films created for the live music events depicted images of emaciated women and children, dressed in rags with fly-ringed eyes. This reinforced the message that the communities of interest were helpless victims who did not have the agency to solve their problems and could only rely on the more powerful developed nations to save them. Lamers (2005) analysed images used of people from the global South for fundraising campaigns and events over the period 1965 -2005 and he noted that people from the South were portrayed as hungry, ignorant, insecure, innocent, and unimportant in comparison to people from the North who were portrayed as helpers, rescuers, money givers, change agents and supporters.

The images of women and children in need that were used also focused on what Lahusen (2001) termed as aestheticisation, as the images focused on evoking sympathy. These images reinforced a 'truth' about the people in need which was consumed, accepted and internalised by both audiences in the North and the communities in need in the South. These truths enforced power systems similar to those discussed in Chapter 2 that used seduction and manipulation to establish colonial hegemonic structures that became the reality (Njoh, 2009). Davis (2010) highlights this when he discusses how the Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) conducted a survey in 2001 on the effects of Live Aid specifically the images of poverty used during the event. The findings of the survey revealed that the British public's perception of the global South was as a place of disaster and starvation with the people being helpless victims, and dependent on the North for monetary aid. Lamers (2005) notes that since the late 1990's charity organisations have been changing their narratives to avoid the traditional images that present the global south as victims requiring assistance that can only be given by the more experienced and better equipped global North, however, change has been slow.

3.2.5 Seduction through Aestheticisation, Entertainisation and Advotainment - The Role of Experts and Celebrities

Historically, Third Sector events have tended to rely on celebrities as a way to attract attention from the public. Richey and Ponte (2012) note that there is something key and strategic in the use of celebrities by Third Sector organisations, as events can play on the affective bond - the existing connection celebrities have with the fans. Lahusen (2001) analysed social movements and their use of events and popular culture to mobilise international solidarity and identified the tendency of event organisers to use strategies of aestheticisation, advotainment and entertainisation. He suggested that the use of celebrities and the media to highlight an event like the Amnesty International Human Rights Now! Concerts was to make the message palatable and accessible to the public who engaged with the events and the message primarily to listen to music they liked and then subsequently listen to the message. Lahusen (2001)

notes that these events resulted in a significant increase in support for Human Rights – as Amnesty International managed to double its membership in countries where it has low membership numbers and the organisation also managed to collect 1.2 billion signatories in support of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This event also triggered the planning of other similar social action events such as the Free Nelson Mandela concerts.

Advotainment is entertainment organised to reach a wider public and activate them to join in altruistic action – so the purchase of the merchandise is an altruistic act in itself – it makes doing something for others and oneself compatible. Advotainment also capitalises on the experiential power of public events Lahusen (2001). For example, the Free Tibet event organisers constructed a monastery on site where the audience could watch monks at work and meditate. Being able to engage in this semi authentic experience was memorable but it could also be argued that displaying experiential activities like this on site could be considered similar to creating a spectacle as with the colonial and imperial exhibitions of old.

Cameron and Haanstra (2008) discuss how the millennium has come with the trend of making development and fundraising campaigns sexy, citing the Motorola Red product strap line – ‘Saving lives is sexy’. These authors point out that where previous strategies strove to evoke pity and guilt by promoting images of helpless others (also referred to as pornography of poverty) the shift is now to focus on the profile of the good-looking celebrity supporters who are aesthetically appealing. This shift signals a reduction of focus on the pitiful ‘other’ to a focus on the more attractive self. But by doing this Third Sector events are not removing the problematic power relations, as these new strategies can still be seen as paternalistic, and separatist. Now sexualisation of social causes creates new oppressive systems and does not do anything to improve the issues of representation further. Sexifying causes by using popular celebrities or influencers moves the spectator gaze from focusing on the ‘otherness’ of the community of interest, but the focus on self of the givers does not do anything to tackle the

problem or understand it. Therefore, there is a limit to the platforms effectiveness in creating dialogue and discussion that works toward sustainable change.

Richey and Ponte (2008) note that development aid projects like Project Red² which is said to be the next step after the Live Aid concerts might be the next step to a more sexy, commercial and trendy image to development, but it is important to note that this movement is still reliant on the images of a needy beneficiary with no agency that reinforces colonial hegemonic structures. It is also important to note that using corporates brands as a stakeholder partner to fight social change is the same as working with some government stakeholders and aid organisations as discussed above. This can result in the creation of complex and sometimes conflicting multiple agendas. Again, some of these corporates have done things that have resulted in the existing power inequalities which these interventions are now trying to change and thus it is a murky value chain.

There are also problems with adopting the consumer-citizen approach. For instance, we want to continue to engage with the good/evils of consumption and consumerism but still be citizens and challenge the injustices arising from capitalist structures. This is a paradox and the challenge it poses is whether we can make a difference without being too disruptive.

Muller (2013) suggests this type of humanitarianism is not just depoliticised or anti political it is capitalist because the audience is not asked to critique the causes, they are asked to buy the merchandise and engage by consumption instead. Richey and Ponte (2011) call this compassionate consumption, the privileged are encouraged to take part in liberating the oppressed by consuming and do not have to feel bad or question their contribution, most times they are also not challenged to change, even if they might be part of the oppressive societal structure.

² a social enterprise brand created to raise awareness and money for the Global Fund by teaming with iconic brands to produce RED branded products

Muller (2013) warns that giving celebrities the spotlight in Third Sector events can inadvertently set up power systems of segregation and seduction which divides the social spaces into those with the resources to save as opposed to those without the resources to help themselves. Street *et al* (2008) also note that when there is too much of a focus on celebrities, the goal of change can be ignored or side-lined as entertainisation is the focus.

Representation - Who Speaks on Behalf of Who

Another theme arising in the literature on Third Sector events that includes further analysis of celebrity involvement is that of Representation. Planned events in the third sector have been populated with the engagement of high profile celebrities who do good in highlighting key issues but there is much debate as to whether the impact of their contribution is minimised as their celebrity can distract audiences from the cause. Muller (2013) states that we depoliticise the problem when we focus on celebrities to get public support.

Grant (2015) highlights three examples related to representation in the organisation of the Live 8 event. In the run up to Live 8, Bono and Geldof became the legitimate sources of knowledge on African debt. The media was so focused on the celebrities and their narrative that they became the experts on African debt and they also became the voice for the African voiceless. They were over legitimised. There were no conversations about the underlying causes of poverty and the contribution of the west to the crisis in regions like Ethiopia. The event messages only supported the dominant hegemonic order (Fiske 1989).

In the second example Grant (2015) points out that the communities of interest were further marginalised during Live Aid as Bob Geldof decided that only musicians with more than 4 million records sold could play at the event. In doing this Geldof automatically set up a structure that restricted access and communicated specific messages about agency. Record sales was a Eurocentric measurement, which also automatically excluded most African musicians who had large followings but could not attain those formal record sale figures to perform. This event

programming decision thus reinforced the 'truth' that African musicians were inferior and could not save their people.

In the third example, Grant describes how Birham an Ethiopian girl who featured in the iconic photos of the 1985 famine was invited onstage at the 2005 Live 8 event but was never given the chance to actually speak.

"Birham was rendered an exotic spectacle, just as the colonial exhibitions had exhibited natives as childlike and unable to make technological, agricultural, industrial and educational advances without the aid of the colonial powers. The rhetoric and images utilised at Live Aid/8 disseminated a similar message of helplessness" (Grant, 2015; p318)

The issue of representation is significant, Grant (2015) points out that the process of speaking about others must take place at the same time as speaking with others, as this is the optimum way for a true representation. It is important event organisers and their audiences understand the root of the problems they seek to address as sometimes the problems are created by the very same systems and structures that will be used to provide a solution and this reduces the efficacy of the event solutions created. Rojek (2014) analyses the example of the famine in Ethiopia and the efficacy of the Live Aid event. He argues that famine is not a natural disaster, but a crisis brought about by political actions yet early development interventions and events like Live Aid did not clearly articulate this, instead they took a very simple and superficial view. Later events and interventions like Live 8 incorporated more of a political view, but this raises the question as to whether the events industry is creating its own discourse that results in a superficial presentation of the key issues and underlying causes of the problems faced by communities of interest.

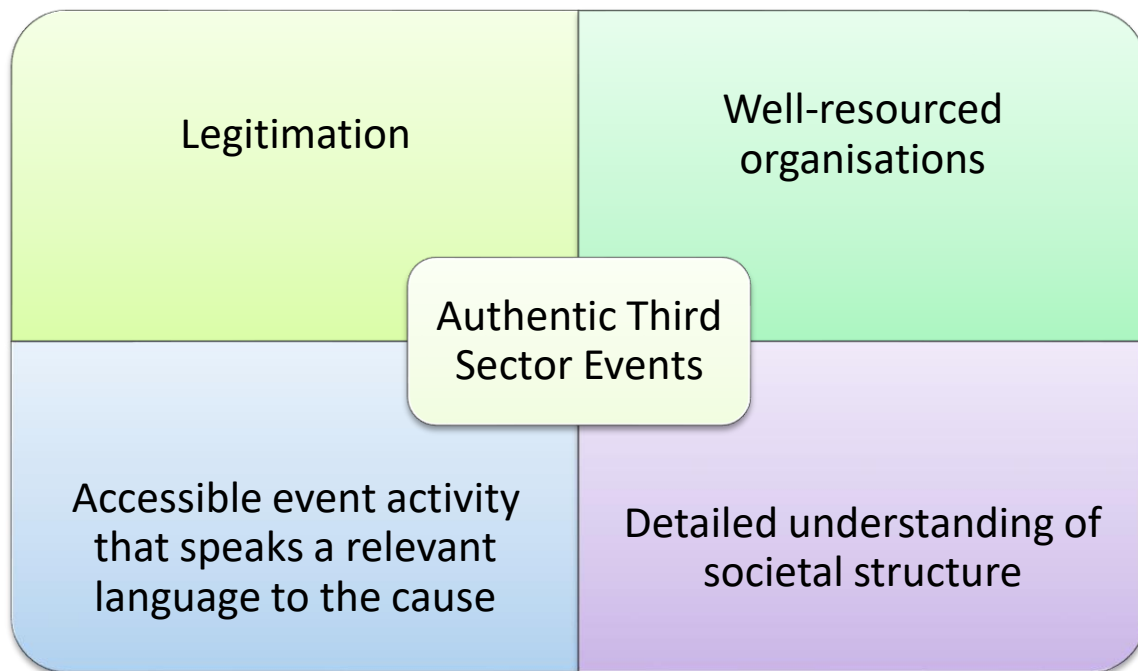
Humanist forms of representation are also popular in the third sector because they can arouse compassion and subsequently charitable donations. Humanist forms of representation have the danger of othering and promote the truth that there is only the one type of existence in

certain locations/communities. The suffering or need to feel compassion is then always associated with that community or issue. Muller (2013) points out that this strategy positions communities of interest as locations of suffering. The activities to mobilise support then call on privileged audiences to take on the role of spectator and cast their gaze at the community of interest who take on the role of the vulnerable and inferior actors. Muller (2013) describes spectators as those who look on, from afar and do not need to question or look too deeply to examine the underlying causes and thus the two groups will always be separated.

3.2.6 Considering the way forward for Third Sector Events

This thesis is not recommending that Third Sector event organisers stop collaborating with celebrities or avoid adopting a humanist approach to event creation. It is recommending that event organisers in the Third Sector take more time to critically reflect on their strategies for event creation. When the focus is limited to keeping the message simple, entertaining or emotive there is a risk at times that events professionals start to make assumptions about the consumption abilities of event audiences as well as abilities of the communities of interest to speak the truth of their realities. Event organisers start to speak on behalf of the marginalised communities and also take on the voice of audiences in making decisions on what they would want to hear. Street *et al* (2008) analysed the Rock against Racism (RAR) event to understand how Third Sector organisations could best use events and celebrities as a tool for social change. They recommended the four criteria as outlined in Figure 10 (based on the author's interpretation) and discussed below

Figure 10 - Criteria for effectively using celebrity events to mobilise change per Street et al (2008)



- *Legitimation* – In order to be legitimate or authoritative representatives of a cause, spokespersons or celebrities must not attempt or claim to be more serious than they are perceived, they need to start within their sphere of influence. For the RAR event celebrities and event organisers targeted media and press from the music industry who had existing relationships with them and would listen. They also targeted audiences from their fan bases rather than approaching governments first.
- *Well-resourced organisations* – The relevant infrastructural arrangements that enable celebrities and Third Sector organisations to work together to create the financial, social and cultural capital required must be made available (Lahusen, 2001). With RAR formal organisations were peripheral, the movement was stronger, the musicians and bands staging the events had always had an association with the cause and thus just used their networks. There was no need to formalise or mobilise the support they needed as they already had it. Unfortunately, the risk here is that the communities of interest can still be left at a disadvantage. Street et al (2008) also note the example of Live 8 where negotiations between Band Aid Charitable Trust, the Prime Minister's

Office, the Treasury Department, Department of Culture Media and Sport and the London Parks Authority resulted in an event cost of £11 million, which had to be recouped through sponsorship, rights deals, and merchandise sales. The addition of more event stakeholders who had the economic resources required meant more attention had to be paid to meet their needs than the needs of the communities of interest.

- *Accessible event activity* - This is the means by which the event activities convey the message or sentiment of the movement or cause and motivates it. In relation to RAR, the event's anti-racist message was carried through having both black and white musicians however the aim was not always clear in the individual acts.
- *Understanding of societal structure* - Street *et al* (2008) caution on needing to be careful in mobilising for social change. Those organising these events must be aware of the complexities of the societal structure and who has the power. Street notes that politicised celebrities can at times end up alienating their fans citing the example of John Lennon whose *Sometime in New York City* record, his most political record, was also one of his lowest selling records.

3.3 Participatory Design

3.3.1 Learning from Design Theory

Learning by experience in one domain can be the basis for solving problems that exist within other domains (Argote, 1999; Kolb, 1984; Weick, 1979, 1991; Kalogerakis et al, 2010). Therefore, a review of the literature on traditional design theory, specifically social and participatory design has been useful in identifying key learning points that could be applied to the events industry. Krippendorff (2011) proposes that one of the vital principles for future design is the importance of designing with the user in mind as users are often better designers of their own world than professionals. The implication here is that professional design is no longer about being the expert but must now be more about enabling others to design their own

world. These ideas are not far off from social or human centred design and participatory design theories that have been under discussion in the design sector since the 1970's.

3.3.2 Participatory Design

The concept of participatory design was first introduced in 1971 at a conference 'Design Participation', new thinking around design was prompted by the growth of community action and social movements fighting for democracy (Lee, 2008). Human centred design focuses on the narrative of the user and their context the purpose is to create products that fit into the lives of the people who will use them (Sanders and Dandavate, 1999; Bodker, 2000; Hekkert and Van Dijk, 2001; Mattelmaki and Batterbee, 2002; Grudin and Pruitt, 2002; Visser *et al*, 2005).

Participatory design is based on users and other stakeholders participating in the design process to ensure that the resulting design fits (Schuler, 1993). Traditional, participatory design involves users in evaluative research where existing products/proto-types are tested. The techniques used in participatory design have the aim of creating context awareness by eliciting emotional response from participants – examples include cultural probes (Gaver et al, 1999) and generative techniques (Sanders, 2001). The reasoning behind this is that a designer always has a view on what the context is, but this is more often a personal view based on their experiences whereas research with real users can actually provide a richer, less subjective and more dependable view on situations in which products will actually be used (Dourish, 2004). The basic generative technique used allows people to construct a view on the context – by calling up their memories of the past and eliciting their dreams of the future. The research uncovers explicit and observable knowledge about their context based on past experiences and the projective techniques gains knowledge about what people know, feel and dream to reveal future states (Sanders, 1992). These techniques can reveal tacit knowledge and expose latent needs by sensitising participants (Sanders, 2001). The discussions have evolved over the years and academics are now recommending that the current focus of design

participation should place more emphasis on the issues of 'how' rather than still only looking at the issues of 'why' (Krippendorff, 2011; Lee, 2008).

Challenges in participatory design:-

- *Preserving quality* - Lee (2008) – discusses the challenge of balancing the need for true participation while acknowledging the skills of the expert designer and queries how sustainability can be guaranteed in terms of producing better designs for future generations. The assumption here is that non-professional designers or the public do not have the necessary skill and raises the question as to what actual skills are required to design change for one's own context?
- *Design participation versus participatory design* – Lefebvre's (1972) social/spatial concept that the world is divided into 2 worlds means there is an abstract space for experts and a concrete space for people, if we are to keep the 2 worlds separate then are users just a subject for analysis or can they be active participants in the design decision-making process? Furthermore, how does this align with the values of democracy and equality as per the foundations of community action? Lee (2007) proposes the creation of an in-between space, which he calls the 'realm of collaboration' where participatory design could take place.

Sanders (2006) argued that the people-centred-era is replacing the market-driven-era and we now have the phenomenon of people without design education practicing design. Krippendorff (2011) supports this and states design of the future will be more of a democratic process, not top-down. Interactivity and participation will be key as the design process must now acknowledge 'heterarchy rather than hierarchy'. A key point in Krippendorff's discussion is the death of the expert and ultimately the loss of control, and power for the designer. Krippendorff (2011), highlights the importance of developing social networks as effective design artefacts

now have to be created within the political, economic and sociological dimension that designers are now working in.

3.3.3 Co-creation versus Participatory Design

This thesis differentiates between the terms 'co-creation' and 'participation' which are sometimes interchanged in the event studies literature. The term co-creation became central to discussions around the experience economy, Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004) noted the change in the consumer who was becoming more empowered, informed and active and proposed co-creation as solution for organisations to adapt to this shift. Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004) defined co-creation as having 4 dimensions – dialogue, access, transparency and an informed understanding of the risk-benefits. These 4 dimensions are framed in a process that gives the consumer choice regarding the levels and mode of their interaction. The 4 dimensions are challenged by Gyimóthy and Larson (2015) and Lanier and Hampton (2008) who argue that there is more complexity to the co-creation process as the customer goes through stages of co-option, co-production and co-creation. They suggest that consumer participation differs significantly in each stage and requires different resources and strategies to make the customer fully participate in and engage in the experience over time. I acknowledge that there are aspects of these dimensions that make up participatory practice as discussed in this thesis, but the one key dimension that differentiates participatory design as I present it and the existing literature on co-creation is power. Co-creation and participation differ in that co-creation does not necessarily interrogate, cede or share power whereas participation as studied in this thesis is rooted in sharing power in all decision-making, even including the allocation of resources and focus of the event project.

Discussions around how co-creation can provide a competitive advantage for experiences like community festivals and not just traditional goods and services in the commercial sector have become increasingly popular as a topic for research and within the events industry. Co-

creation has usually been approached from either a marketing perspective (van Limburgh, 2008; Gyimóthy and Larson, 2015; Corte et al, 2018) or from strategic management perspective of gaining the support of a stakeholder group that had a high level of influence in order to create value (Prebensen, 2010; Rogers and Anastasiadou, 2011). The arguments raised focus on using co-creation as a tool to enhance and sustain the existing festival brand or create value for the region rather than the political aspects of challenging the power relations that are set up when planning and producing a festival.

Co-creation has also been argued as a useful tool to help festival organisers develop programmes that are more relevant to local audiences and Jago et al (2003) noted that where the local community is alienated the event is more likely to fail. Corte *et al* (2018) looked at event co-creation as part of the integrated marketing communication process in their study of co-creation activity in 5 international festivals (Edinburgh Festival, Umbria Jazz, Ravello Festival and Singapore International Festival of the Arts). The authors noted that despite co-creation being noted as important to create value, it was difficult to practically pursue authentic co-creation with local communities. Co-creation was limited to community consultation or community engagement through employment creation in most cases. Elitist and oppressive structures were also noted as festivals with a more formal organisation structure like Umbria Jazz Festival and Edinburgh Festival focused co-creation activities with more influential stakeholders. Corte *et al* (2018) propose that all key factors that contribute to make events effective need to be identified, as well as a clear and inclusive definition of the community and the role of the community. Both van Limburgh (2008)'s study of multiday pop festivals in Europe and Prebensen (2010)'s study of value creation at a dog-sled race in Finnmark, note the importance of acknowledging the heterogeneity of event communities. This therefore makes co-creation more complex as each segment of the community has different interests and levels of influence.

In most of the studies discussed above, co-creation activity takes place in spaces at a distance from the event organisation's main operational space like community centre meetings, fan forums and social media sites. This implies that co-creation is accepted as an activity that takes place in parallel or satellite spaces. Therefore the risk of setting up oppressive structures where the communities of interest can be manipulated into agreeing to a course of action that either has already been decided or where the ultimate decision making power still exists as the management team who make the final decisions in closed spaces. Even if transparency is recognised in co-creation the spaces are not really open unlike with participatory design as presented in this thesis where the space of participation becomes the main space. Most of the studies have also focused on events that have been set up by formal organisations and thus have a management board and certain managerial structures and processes to adhere to – this is unlike the organisations with a social mission that this thesis is focusing on.

3.3.4 Application of Participatory Theories and Structures in Event Studies

The literature exploring how events can be designed applying user-led and capacity building approaches is limited. O'Sullivan (2012) states that user-led and capacity building approaches for public-sector events are already in use but the challenge for the sector is to come up with better ways to measure their impact, specifically in connection with their contribution to community practice and changing social structures.

There have been a series of key studies into participatory event production and planning in relation to community festival events in the United Kingdom and Europe (Clarke and Jepson, 2011; Jepson, Clarke and Ragsdell, 2013; 2014 and Finkel and Sang, 2016). Jepson, Clarke and Ragsdell (2014) argue that any form of community event must seek legitimacy in ensuring stakeholder equality throughout the planning process as it is the stakeholders or community members that have insight into the cultural and social context and can preserve the community's values. These authors advocate a participatory approach but point out that there

is currently no clear agreement in the literature regarding the optimum level of participation (for community events in particular).

A review of the literature has highlighted two perspectives on participation: -

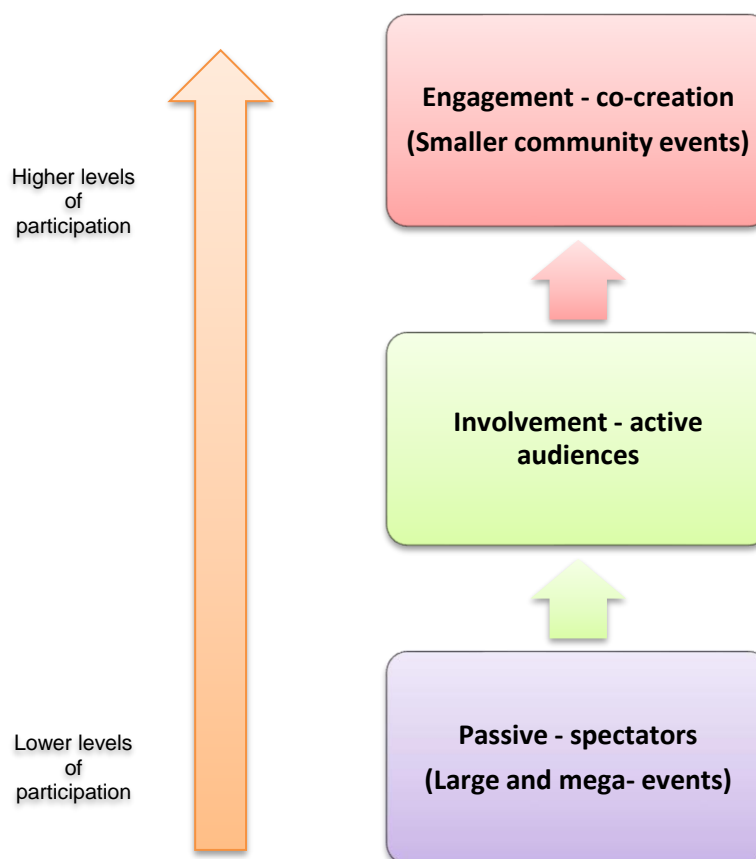
- The first group advocates for maximum participation which involves full immersion by the community in the planning process where the community have power over the decision-making process (Simmons, 1994; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Cole, 2006)
- The second group advocates for more limited/measured participation, based on the premise that effective participation in the planning process requires a level of skill and knowledge (Taylor, 1995; Yoon *et al*, 1999; Tosun, 1999; Tosun and Timothy, 2003).

Hung *et al*, (2011), supported by Jepson, Clarke and Ragsdell, (2013), point out that the societal structures of each community are complex and differ and thus the social, cultural, economic and political contexts must be taken into account in planning community participation. This appears to align more with current thinking emerging on participatory design and community development ideology around democracy. Studies have looked at processes and conditions which affect participation and the end results of participation (Hung *et al*, 2011). There is still room for further investigation into the range and levels of participation in order to establish a typology of participation within event studies.

I present an illustration of what Richards, Marques and Mein (2015) discuss as the continuum of participation below in Figure 11 they developed this scale based on the premise that the scale of the event influences the design process adopted. Smaller, community events are able to take a bottom up approach and can apply participatory process higher up the continuum as compared to the larger mega-events, which have usually had to adopt a more top-down approach for efficiency. This is starting to change more recently, as there has been a trend towards incorporating host community participation in the preliminary decision making through referendums with Budapest, withdrawing its bid for 2024 Olympics, and Vienna and Stockholm

also withdrawing bids to host the 2028 and 2022 Olympics respectively (Rodrigues and de Freixo, 2016; Byrne, 2017).

Figure 11 - The continuum of participation in the event design process - interpretation from Richards, Marques and Mein (2015)



Both the fields of product design and event studies make reference to Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (1969) which was developed in relation to Arnstein's observations in public planning in America and makes some very useful recommendations that can be applied to participatory design of Events for Social Change. This typology of participation was discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.6.2) and has been incorporated in developing the participatory action research framework for this project in Chapter 5.

3.3.5 Participation and Power in Event Studies

In Chapter 2 – section 2.2 I highlighted a number of theories on power relevant to the research context and discussed in the post-colonial theories of Fanon (1963); Thiong'o (1986); Said (2003); Dovey (2014) and Njoh (2009) to show how both coercive and normalising power structures were entrenched in the established colonial regime of truth embedded within legal and physical built environment structures. I incorporated these technologies of power in the post-colonial framework illustrated in section 2.3.5. I discussed Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1976) which is the process by which one group dominates and controls another and highlighted how seductive propaganda constructed in the colonial discourse developed hegemonic structures that helped to reinforce colonial technologies of power. I proposed that Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony could be linked to Bourdieu's theory of habitus. Bourdieu saw power as a symbolic capital that comes with an individual's social position or social capital and provided a structure for understanding the world which then established mapped structures for interpreting communications within the societal structures (Bourdieu, 1986). Symbolic capital thus set up systems of domination as individuals in the societal structure were characterised and organised into hierarchies based on their cultural and social capital. These networked structures of power or fields were facilitated by the colonial practice of segregation but also contributed to the embedding of colonial hegemonic structures. I also discussed how Michel Foucault's theory of power was relevant to this research project as Foucault proposes that apart from the more overt and repressive power based on force and coercion there is a more important normalising power which is subtle and has a greater impact. This notion of power is manipulative and forces individuals to acquiesce and become docile bodies (Foucault, 1991). In this section I analyse how power has been analysed in the event studies literature when studying participation in event creation and production.

The analysis of power relationships in the event production process has been limited over the years and there has been a call for further studies (Clarke and Jepson, 2011). There are continued calls for event organisers to avoid tokenistic practice that segregates communities or takes away the voice of the communities as this has an ultimate negative impact on the efficacy of the event (Jepson and Clarke, 2018; White and Stadler, 2018; Walters, 2018). The studies of power relationships in the events literature also allude to Foucault's approach to power as most authors see power as an everyday, socialised and embodied phenomenon.

What is clear is that the allocation of planning roles and ownership of resources has a significant influence in the construction of power structures. Clarke and Jepson (2011) noted the varied and complex claims to power that can be set up in the production of an event in their study of a festival created to celebrate a significant milestone for an English community. They observed how a specific stakeholder group (being the event Steering committee) set up a claim to power that established hegemonic structures within the event planning process which resulted in a marginalisation of other stakeholder groups in participatory activities. The authors draw on Weber and Gramsci's theories of power and hegemony to argue that community festival organisers must ensure that the community is central to all cultural production processes and that the communities' cultures are evident throughout the festival. To produce an inclusive community festival, event organisers must learn how to carefully examine existing power structures within the communities they work with. The authors' analysis of the hegemonic structures set up by the Steering Committee is relevant to the research context of art exhibition design in Zimbabwe. In Chapter 4 I describe how similar hegemonic structures were created by gatekeepers like the first director of the National Art Gallery were appointed by the colonial government and reinforced the message that only certain groups with classical training were knowledgeable on the subject. However, when considering their main argument about the community being central to cultural production, this can only work in a community that does not have to come to terms with the legacy of colonial

structures implemented using Weberian forms of coercive and authoritative power. The colonial laws of segregation compartmentalised various sections of the community (discussed in Chapter 4). There were clear distinctions between white settler communities and African communities, thus the very term community becomes complex.

Booth (2016)'s analysis of collaborative networks and power relationships in a number of festivals in New Zealand reveals that power is accumulated, it can be personal or collective and is not equally distributed, thus power affects a producer's access to the resources necessary for an event's production as well as their success in event production. She agrees with Clarke and Jepson (2011) and states that central to power relationships is the ability to exercise control over others and to access and sustain network collaborations. This is an important perspective to consider, for this research as the visual artists working in Zimbabwe are working with a very limited set of resources (discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.3). Jarman (2018)'s study of personal relationship and networks of event creators and organisers using Ego Network Analysis adds another perspective as he points out that power can also be created socially, through relationships between stakeholders, developing 'sites of power'. This perspective of power presents the opportunity that the individual can harness power as capacity from their social networks.

The discussions on power in the event studies literature also highlight how most event organisers must navigate a complex set of stakeholder relationships. They do not always have the freedom to approach event creation as they might want especially where they have a complex set of objectives to address. The event organiser is faced with the challenge of being inclusive without jeopardising the sustainability of the event organisation or destroying the positive relationships that might already exist within a community (Walters, 2018; Getz et al, 2007). Walters (2018)'s analysis of the demise of a Food Festival in rural Australia highlighted the complex set of fields of power that the organisers had to navigate, alluding to Bourdieu's discussion on symbolic power. There have been limited studies of this in the events literature

to date. Event organisers do indeed face many complex demands from the stakeholders they must work with to create an event. It is therefore important for them to understand how to navigate these complex fields as well as explore more inclusive approaches to event creation to avoid the marginalisation of key communities perceived to have less power.

Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this chapter shows that events can be a useful tool to facilitate social change, by creating festive spaces for communities to come together and generate social capital which is the currency for social change. Harnessing the potential energy created through the development of social capital and networks is useful in validating and empowering communities to improve their lives and physical environment. Discussions in event studies show that the research on social impacts needs to progress to looking at understanding how the transforming process works to produce the outcome of social change. Academics have noted that there is an opportunity to harnessing the social capital created to bring about significant change which could re-form and re-shape the existing societal structures and have called for more research in this area (Misener and Mason, 2006; Getz, 2008; Deery and Jago, 2010). Other academics have also noted that true impacts are difficult to pin down as it can be hard to assess whether, certain outputs can be directly attributed to the hosting of that event (Jackson *et al*, 2005; Litvin and Fetter, 2006; Lee and Taylor, 2005; Crompton, 1999; Lee and Kim, 1998; Tyrell and Johnston, 2001; Wood *et al*, 2006). The impact research in event studies appears to have focused on a particular perspective where measurement of impact involves taking a snapshot in time, very few longitudinal studies have been carried out (Boo and Busser, 2006; Dickson 2010) thus the whole area of assessing impacts based on the long term social change or exploring how it has been considered in the event design stages has been limited.

I have highlighted the current debates on whether the event experience can be strategically designed and presented an overview of current event design practice, looking at how the wider events sector has approached event design with a focus on performative and staging elements. I have also included an analysis of the themes presented in the literature that analyses third sector event design aspects and linked that to the postcolonial theory discussion in Chapter 2.

This chapter has also presented an overview of the research carried out in event studies that has applied participatory approaches. There has been a limited focus on Third Sector events to date. The discussions around participation in event studies have focused on the planning process for community festivals, recommending the implementation of inclusive strategies. The discussions focus on building in participation based on the traditional power structures of event organisations where there is the one main event organiser who controls the decision-making process (Jepson, Clarke and Ragsdell, 2014). This chapter has also highlighted the current debates in the industry as to whether an optimal level of participatory working can be applied in the events industry and leaves the question as to whether power can ever be truly ceded by the designer.

This chapter also highlights that the current discussions in participatory design research assume there is a certain level of skill and knowledge required to design and plan an event artefact that results in sustainable change. The inference is that community members are not experts of their contexts. This raises the question of whether ability, skill and knowledge should be considered at all in true participatory design where we take the approach that the participant is the expert in their own situation.

Hung *et al*, (2011) and Jepson, Clarke and Ragsdell (2013) have pointed out that the social, cultural, economic and political contexts of a community must be taken into account in planning participation, therefore, the next chapter, will present the research context of

Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwean cultural sector. This chapter will apply our critical lens of post-colonial theory to shed light on the existing power structures embedded within the current societal structure. Gaining an understanding of the research context, will help us to understand how a participatory approach might work as it is important to understand the research context.

CHAPTER FOUR – THE ZIMBABWEAN CONTEXT

“...humans are understood to exist only within social systems. These systems have properties and processes that condition human behaviour and are in turn conditioned by that behaviour. Social systems are not mere structures but are processes in continual motion. They are dynamic and historical. They are also interlinked, entwining the individual social structures and the larger ecology of systems into complex interacting macrosystems.”

(Greenwood and Levin, 1998, p71)

Introduction

Zimbabwe is a country in Southern Africa that has a population of 13-16 million (ZIMSTATS; 2013). The country is organised into 10 provinces and the two main provinces are Harare in the North and Bulawayo in the South. The country has 16 official languages with the main languages being English, Shona and Ndebele. Shona is mainly spoken in the northern provinces, including Harare and Ndebele is spoken in the southern provinces and mainly in Bulawayo. This research project was based in Harare and thus the focus will be on cultural sector stakeholders based in Harare. The languages used in the research project were English and Shona. When studying the phenomena of social change we must acknowledge that change is constant and that the social structures under scrutiny will continue to evolve organically. The country of Zimbabwe is also currently undergoing a series of significant transformations, notably, the recent change in the presidency at the end of 2017 where the former incumbent, Mr. Robert Mugabe, resigned after 37 years in power. The Zimbabwe situation was and still continues to remain fluid with each passing week. Thus, the volatility of the societal structure was always in the minds of all the research participants bearing a strong influence on activities, conversation topics and the design themes that emerged and are discussed in Chapter 6.

To develop a contextual picture of the creative and cultural industries in Zimbabwe, I will provide a broad overview of the country's political background and significant milestones since

its independence in 1980. Mukanga (2011) presented a comprehensive analysis of Zimbabwe's cultural sector and analysed the development of the sector in three phases, the pre – colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras. This is indeed a useful way to approach the discussion. However, in this chapter, I will develop this structure further and split the colonial era between colonial rule and White settler rule in the time of UDI as well as structure the post-colonial era into three subsections to highlight certain activities of the post- independence government (1980 -2007); the Unity government (Zanu PF- MDC) from 2008 – 2013 and the Zanu PF government (2013- to date). I will analyse the societal structure in this way for 2 reasons. First, presenting an analysis against the three eras would be too simplistic and only highlight what Mamdani (1998) points out as a racialised context of the region where we see Zimbabwe before white rule, under white control and after white rule. Given the focus on economic empowerment as the societal issue this research project was seeking to address, a more detailed overview is required. This will allow us to also track the economic factors that contributed to the makeup of the societal structure. Second, presenting an analysis of the societal structure within the context of the 5 political eras will highlight how certain power structures have remained constant despite the change in governance over the years. This shows that the lens of post-colonial theory does not limit this thesis solely to the research of colonial sites.

The cultural industries in Zimbabwe have had a limited research focus over the past 37 years. To date there are no exact figures as to the size of the sector and its contribution to GDP (Kazunga, 2006; Buhera, 2007; Culture Fund, 2009; ZIMSTAT and Nhimbe Trust 2013). The Culture Fund partnered with the Zimbabwe statistics office (ZIMSTAT) in 2013 to map several subsectors of the creative industries in Harare and the surrounding provinces. However, a full survey of the creative and cultural industries is yet to be conducted. Therefore, the contextual research carried out in this chapter has been structured around a review of the existing secondary data on the creative and cultural sector published by NGO's and government

departments as well as the data from in-depth interviews with a number of stakeholders from the sector. Specific details of the data include: -

1. The cultural statistics survey of Zimbabwe (ZIMSTAT) and Nhimbe Trust (2013)
2. The cultural policy of Zimbabwe - Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (2007)
3. Report on Zimbabwe's art and culture framework - Mukanga, F. (2011) *Report on Zimbabwe's Art and Culture Framework*. Arterial Network and Nhimbe Trust
4. The official report of the 2010 Zimbabwe Arts and Culture Indaba - National Arts Council of Zimbabwe (2010)
5. Data from 44 in-depth interviews with gallerists and members of the public

My review of the secondary data from published reports and primary data from interviews, identified 3 key themes. These will be discussed in this chapter in order to give the reader an understanding of the research context, and the significant factors that have contributed to the problem the community of visual artists want to address through their event. The themes include the following:-

- The political legacy of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras and their impact on the cultural sector
- The attitudes towards the cultural sector amongst policymakers, impact of recent government policies and the prevailing public perception of indigenous cultural products
- The lack of the necessary infrastructure to support thriving entrepreneurial activity.

The latter half of this chapter focuses on the Zimbabwean visual arts sector in order for us to start to appreciate the complex elements that make up the societal structure and the key power relationships which are remnants of colonial rule that exist. This chapter is a necessary starting point from which to develop the participatory action research methodology to be discussed in Chapter 5 as it also explains the cultural context of Zimbabwe, which values '*hunhuism*' or

'ubuntuism'; a philosophy that espouses the importance of togetherness and mutual respect. The terms *'hunhuism'* and *'ubuntuism'* are interchangeable noting that the first is from the Shona language and the second is from the Ndebele language. I will use the term *'hunhuism'* and *'hunhu'* in this thesis.

4.1 Understanding The Societal Structure - Political Legacies

The political decisions made in the past have had a significant impact on the development of Zimbabwe's cultural sector. Historically, there has been a limited understanding of local art and the infrastructure required to manage and develop the sector. At times the development of the sector and its practitioners were overlooked to focus on other economic or political priorities and we shall look at examples in this chapter. Limited commitment to and appreciation of the cultural sector has also resulted in the remit for the sector being split among various government departments. This fragmentation is also a result of the underestimated value of cultural product resulting in, for instance, a history of marginal investment by government with the majority of financial support for the development of this sector coming from international donor agencies.

4.1.1 Pre-Colonial (1300 – 1880)

Historically the region that became known as Rhodesia (1895), Southern Rhodesia (1898) and then Zimbabwe (1980) was made up of over 16 tribes who all spoke different languages. Each tribal group had its own cultural practices and the resultant cultural products were valued more for their ability to establish the specific identities of the different tribes. The tribal groups were all united in their belief in *'hunhuism'* which was described as:-

"...a philosophy that is the experience of thirty five thousand years of living in Africa. It is a philosophy that sets a premium on human relations."

(Samkange and Samkange, 1980, p34)

This indigenous philosophy focused on the dignity and humanity of all and emphasised togetherness and community which were key aspects of the local identity (Samkange and Samkange, 1980; Nziramasanga, 1999; Hapanyengwi–Chemhuru 2014). Hunhuism was the widely accepted code of conduct that permeated all levels and activities within the societal structure (Konyana, 2013). It is also important to note that hunhuism aligns closely with Freire's (1996) critical pedagogy and his emphasis on humanisation as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5.1). Samkange and Samkange (1980) also saw hunhuism as a way of generating the social capital that accumulates benefits of value to the individual and their communities through the focus on togetherness and mutual respect (see Quinn's (2013) definition in Chapter 3, section 3.1.2).

Cultural product in this era attracted the attention of traders within the region and from the east. The main goods for exchange were pottery and metalwork from precious metals produced by the various communities. Stone and wood carvings were also a popular product, but they were mainly the symbols used in the religious practices of the time. There is also evidence of paintings on rock formations to confirm the early existence of artistic activity in precolonial times (Chikukwa, 2015; Sibanda 2015). Story-telling and dance activities were also popular, and these were linked to rituals associated with affirming and celebrating the identity and culture of the different tribes. Although cultural product played its part in pre-colonial trading, agricultural activity was seen as the most valuable and useful – therefore there was no formal organisation of a creative or cultural sector.

4.1.2 Colonial Rule (1880 –1965)

The arrival of the British South Africa Company directed by Cecil John Rhodes, led to the territory in Southern Africa being claimed for the British Empire. The area was reorganised to form the country Rhodesia and then 4 years later renamed to Southern Rhodesia, resulting in significant changes to the way of life. Sections of indigenous community life, including creative

and cultural practice, were compartmentalised, controlled and carefully monitored with the aim of subduing any form of independent or creative expression that might incite a rebellion of the newly imposed societal structures (Chikukwa, 2015). From 1880 to 1965, tribal groups were restricted to their allocated spaces. These were demarcated according to the colonial strategy of manipulation which kept white settlers in urban areas and on the arable land while the indigenous groups were restricted in the Tribal Trust Lands and Native Reserves – sometimes indigenous groups were moved to areas that differed to their own cultural practices and identity. As such, the tribes were not unified, and this was not encouraged politically either (Kaarsholm, 1990). Where tribes were moved to different regions, they lost the connection with their cultural practice and did not develop a connection with the cultural practices or products of the new regions they were moved to either, this had a long-lasting impact (Pwiti and Ndoro, 1999 – discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.1).

The creative and cultural sector was also segregated with black arts and culture separate to white arts and culture, other systems of control such as surveillance were also applied thus cultural activities were closely monitored under police and legal organisations. Cultural practice was not forcefully restricted where it had cathartic or non-political purposes but any cultural activity that had disruptive purposes was discouraged. The visual arts sector was supported mainly by the missionaries who built schools in the rural areas and encouraged students in pursuing artistic practice in the 1940's and '50's. The colonial government also recruited Frank McEwen from Britain to be the Director of the newly built National Gallery of Rhodesia. He primarily centred the gallery's artistic curation around showcasing western art and culture along with artistic product from white settlers (Chikukwa, 2015; Sibanda, 2015). There was also a move to establish a formal film industry sector with the introduction of the Central African Film Unit (CAFU) after the second world war. The films produced were aimed at 'educating the Africans in good agricultural practice' Hungwe (2005). Indigenous cultural artefacts were noted more for their value as curiosities from the colonies to be paraded by the colonialists for the pleasure of the British public rather than as products of significant

commercial value. This perception of indigenous creative product started to change after the 1960's with the rising popularity of Shona sculpture in Europe and America.

Significant focus on indigenous cultural products was not promoted by the colonisers as there was a potential threat of inadvertently emphasising the identity of a particular tribal group. They feared that the result could be an increase in confidence within that tribal group who might begin to question the power of the coloniser. Most of the infrastructure to oversee cultural activity was under the legislative departments and police – implying a need to surveil, control and subdue activity. Cultural products were seen as potential threats to peace and order as the reliance on tradition and folklore might lead the local population to rebel against colonial rule as per the myth and storytelling tradition that surrounded the famous spirit medium revolutionaries Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi³ in the first and second Chimurenga wars of 1896 and 1966 (Sibanda, 2015; Chikukwa, 2015).

4.1.3 Post-Colonial White Settler Rule Unilateral Declaration Of Independence (UDI) – (1965-1980)

Following the end of World War 2, the British colonial vehicle started to change and from the late 1940's well into the 1950's many British colonies achieved their independence. The British decolonisation process left behind the Rhodesian white settlers who neither fully identified as British nor as African. They were now in the ambiguous middle space of the binary world created by colonialism. In declaring UDI, they moved further into this in-between world and into that space that Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2007) refer to as taboo, and the response from the Western community was indeed hostile as sanctions were imposed. The white settlers followed suit by breaking ties with the British who had provided them with a space of privilege in colonial society that separated them from the indigenous population and gave them

³ These were 2 renowned spirit mediums that inspired the 1896 rebellion against colonial rule and also inspired the later rebellion in the 1960's against white settler rule.

access to social and economic benefits. The white settler's sought to take control of the decolonisation process in the country by creating a hybridised version of the Apartheid system, established by the Afrikaner settlers in South Africa. This system still had the same colonial structures, separation, segregation and surveillance were key elements.

During the period of UDI (1965-1980), Shona soapstone sculptures came to prominence. Indigenous artists received informal support from a white commercial farmer, Tom Blomfield, who was looking for new activities to carry out on his tobacco farm as the Rhodesian economy was suffering from the international sanctions. He discovered the soapstone deposits on his farm and asked one of the local farm workers to teach him how to sculpt. The farm, known as Tengenenge, soon became a space for indigenous artists to work and the sculptures produced helped promote the sector significantly. These sculptures became very popular with overseas markets and became a lucrative commercial venture for the farmer (Chikukwa, 2015; Sibanda, 2015). The commercial performance of these sculptures soon attracted the attention of McEwen, director of the National Gallery, and he worked to form ties with Blomfield to control the production and sales of this product within international markets. However, they did so in a manner that marginalised the indigenous artists (Sibanda, 2015), who initially were not given access to the details of the buyers of their work until the 1970's.

The white settler government established key infrastructure that existed long after independence - right up till 2008. An example of this is the National Arts and Foundation Act which was derived from the Royal Charter of Arts Council of Great Britain of 1967, which also had a remit to operate at arm's length in its engagement with arts and cultural organisations within the country. The cultural sector therefore still maintained remnants of colonial structures, even in the post-colonial and nationalist periods. There was still a lack of public investment in developing a formal cultural sector that promoted indigenous creative products. This can be attributed to the lack of understanding or appreciation of the value of these products. It is also important to note that the move to understand the true value of cultural and

creative product and establish formal creative industry sectors globally, only started recently within the past 17 years (Higgs, Cunningham and Bhakshi, 2008).

4.1.4 Post-Colonial – Independence 1980-2008

After Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980, indigenous cultural products were recognised as having played a significant part in the struggle for independence. Samkange and Samkange (1980) wrote a brief set of recommendations on how the new nation of Zimbabwe could move forward following the 140 years of colonial and white settler rule. The authors proposed that the decolonisation process be based on the philosophy of hunhuism, with a focus on unity and good neighbourliness versus the manichean dehumanising worldview of colonisation that had been established by the British. The hope was that the new nation of Zimbabwe could generate the benefits and resources required to progress by encouraging people to develop the necessary social capital. One of the key vehicles applied to promote hunhuism in the 1980's was the establishment of co-operatives, which encouraged communities to work together to develop the critical mass required to make larger economic gains in agriculture, manufacturing and cultural activities. Moves were made to restore the imbalances in the sector by amending some of the legal structures put in place to segregate black arts and culture in colonial times, although the basic statutory and societal structures set up in colonial times largely remained. This was mainly done through the implementation of legislation such as the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe Act of 1985 and the National Library and Documentation Act of 1985 (Mukanga, 2011). At times conflicts arose between the new post-colonial structures and colonial structures, a prime example of this was the National Theatre Organisation (NTO) that remained exclusive with a primarily white membership even after independence and the newly established Zimbabwe Association of Community Based Theatre (ZACT) which focused on inclusive practice grounded in Freiran principles (Ravengai, 2014). These two organisations had to vie for the same resources and the NTO was later phased out.

The 1980's did set the stage for a 'coming out party' for the new nation of Zimbabwe. Optimism for the development of the country was high; the new leaders were popular and well supported at home and abroad; the country had a positive international reputation which inspired confidence amongst international donors and other nations that wanted to explore partnerships for cultural exchanges; and the country's economic position was strong. This decade saw the rise in international popularity of cultural products - local musicians such as the Bhundu Boys and Stella Chiweshe developed large international fan bases along with the rise in popularity of sculpture artists such as Henry Munyaradzi and writers like Dambudzo Marechera. The government also made moves to promote global investment in the local film industry. The Ministry of Information sent out invitations to Hollywood production companies, asking them to consider making films in Zimbabwe - resulting in movies such as *King Solomon's Mines*. The government also made a direct investment in the industry and put US\$5.5 million into the production of the movie *Cry Freedom* directed by Sir Richard Attenborough in 1987, unfortunately the film made a loss and the government was reluctant to pursue this strategy for economic development again (Hungwe, 2005). Strategies to develop Zimbabwe's film industry through the support of international donors were implemented in the 1990's and this resulted in the production of movies such as; *Neria* in 1991; *Jit* in 1990; and *Flame* in 1996 – all highly successful in the country. Sadly, poor marketing and distribution strategies resulted in minimal to no success when the films were distributed to neighbouring countries in the region

The development and formalisation of the cultural sector post-independence was significantly hampered by the constant shuffling of the office of culture between the various government departments. From the period of 1982 to 1994, the office of culture moved intermittently between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Youth, Sports, Culture and Recreation (Chifunyise, 2010). The problem with this was that the well-established youth and education programs developed by the two ministry departments did not leave much space, and more

importantly resources, for the development of effective culture programmes that could result in the establishment of a formal creative and cultural industries sector (Chifunyise, 2010). The culture office also found it hard to set up any centralised structures to oversee the development of the cultural sector as other government departments still had responsibilities for various aspects of the cultural sector – this included:-

1. The Museums and Monuments Commission;
2. The Ministry of Home Affairs which contained the offices for the National Archives and the Censorship board;
3. The Ministry of Education that housed an Office of Audio – visual services’
4. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting which housed other audio-visual industries and broadcasting institutions
5. The Ministry of local government that included the Chiefs Council and traditional chiefs

The office of culture initially wanted to set up district and provincial arts councils to work on the development of the sector. Unfortunately, these plans stalled quite quickly as it was difficult to secure the budget required to set up the meetings that would bring all the key decision makers from the different ministry offices in one room so that they could plan a cohesive strategy to move forward. The plight of the office of culture did not improve much from 1980 to 2000 as any new initiatives or projects that arose during that time usually ended up being side-lined. There was little investment of time and resources within government to come up with a comprehensive strategy that would focus on setting up the necessary infrastructures and policies to support the development of the creative and cultural sector (Mukanga, 2011).

This shuffling of the office of culture between the different ministries had a negative impact on the perception of culture within government. The impression gained was that cultural product could only have minimal value to the development of a strong independent Zimbabwe as it could not be given its own standing within government. Yet, several attempts to launch the development of a strong cultural sector were made. One of the strategies included recruiting

key individuals such as Stephen Chifunyise, the playwright who was appointed Permanent Secretary for Education, Sport and Culture in 1994. Unfortunately, the tension in resource allocation arose again as Zimbabwe's bid to host the All Africa Games was successful and this resulted in the programme having to take a lower position on the priority list as all resources for that government department were now focused on hosting the nation's first major event. The development initiatives for the office of culture that received attention and investment during this time were those that concentrated on the recording and preservation of culture as heritage, supported by the National Library and Archives (Mukanga, 2011). Regrettably, even these projects were not completed due to lack of funding - government funds could not be committed to these projects as there were other development priorities that were considered to be more urgent, and the office of culture had to rely on funding from international donors.

The above examples indicate the low priority that culture had within the national development plan and this appears to still be the case today. The ministry did try to keep the cultural development programmes moving forward, on a smaller scale by linking with the SADC, OAU and UNESCO culture development initiatives. The implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), also had a negative effect on the cultural development programme as the then Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture was first in line to be downsized in the bid to reduce government spending (Chifunyise, 2010). The result was the abolition of district and provincial structures for Sport and Culture, which meant that the agencies that could feed in useful data on the cultural products in the various regions did not exist anymore and cultural practitioners were, again, working in isolation. The priorities for the development of culture and sports were subsequently lost as they were all incorporated under the Division of Education Policy and Standards, which focused on education at the expense of culture and sports (Chifunyise, 2010). Prior to the change in government in 2008, a final attempt was made to look at the development of the cultural sector in 2005. At that time, the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture brought together key education officials and arts and

culture organisations and practitioners to work on the production of a cultural policy for Zimbabwe. This was seen as the first step towards developing a formal cultural sector and industry. Chifunyise, (2010) noted that this process had its limitations as several key ministries were omitted from the consultation process. These included:-

- a) Ministry of Home Affairs – offices of the heritage sector
- b) The Ministry of Local Government ,
- c) The Ministry of Rural and Urban Development
- d) The Ministry of Tourism
- e) The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting – with offices that represented the audio-visual industries
- f) The Ministry of Legal Affairs – with the office that was responsible for copyright issues
- g) The Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education – with offices responsible for teacher education and UNESCO liaison

The cultural policy produced during this exercise in 2007 is the main policy that frames the structures and set up of Zimbabwe's cultural industries to date (refer Figure 13 p.134). The cultural policy focused on three main areas. Firstly, pledging to promote, protect and preserve Zimbabwe's cultural heritage in order to establish and promote the identity of the people of Zimbabwe. Secondly, committing support to develop the capacity of the organisations that had a remit to preserve the heritage of the country. Thirdly, identifying the need to promote the development and showcasing of Zimbabwean arts at home and abroad. Discussions on a framework for the formalisation and establishment of a strong creative and cultural industries sector were limited in this document.

Zimbabwe's international reputation and economic stability changed drastically between the late 1990's and 2001 mainly due to a significant shift in policy with the take-over of white owned farms which led to a break-down in relations with the west. By the 2008, elections there had been a reduced focus on activities to support the development of the creative industries.

Government investment in the output of cultural products produced since 2001 focused on the delivery of political objectives. As political tensions started to escalate in the late 1990's with the land invasions, the government implemented a new communications strategy that moved to implement '100% local content' in mass media communications. This had a major impact on two key sections of the cultural industries in Zimbabwe – the production of music and films and that of television – as these sub-sectors of the cultural industries focused on products that only supported the ruling party ideology.

The key governance structures that were set up in this time period had the main purpose of regulating or censoring creative or cultural output rather than supporting or developing the sector – displaying key similarities to the colonial approach of suppression and segregation. Censorship stills plays a significant part in Zimbabwe's creative industries and thus stifles creativity and the production of quality creative product, which then has an impact on the earning potential of the sector.

4.1.5 Post-colonial - Government of National Unity Zanu PF and MDC (2008 – 2013) and Zanu PF Government (2013 - current)

The 2008 elections in Zimbabwe resulted in a change in the status quo as the ruling party had to negotiate a power sharing agreement with the opposition. This was a milestone event in the political history of the nation. The MDC party was given the office of culture and this meant the policies pursued between 2008 and 2013 were largely framed around MDC policy objectives on development of Zimbabwe's cultural industries. However, key challenges were to be faced. Public opinion was that the MDC had been given the culture remit as it had little strategic value while Zanu PF had in fact kept the key ministries such as defence, justice and health. In addition, even though the new minister of finance at the time was from the MDC party, the national budgets produced had very minimal resources allocated to the development of a strong creative industries sector.

In 2009 the Global Political Agreement formalised the Government of National Unity and the culture office was set up under the Ministry of Education, Sport Art and Culture. A significant step forward was the appointment of arts and culture officers at district and provincial levels and a Director of Culture was appointed. This was the first time the government had moved to set up the necessary structures that would facilitate the development of the culture sector as they were beginning to realise the importance of the creative industry sector and the potential of its contribution to the economic wellbeing of the country (Mukanga, 2011).

Although the setup of the departmental structures focused on arts and culture indicating a change in the perception of culture within government, there were certain aspects of activity that had strong similarities with the previous government policy. Any government funds that were made available focused on using cultural product to promote identity (and with the new political situation – mainly political affinities or health marketing messages in the fight against HIV). Aspects of the arts and culture remit were now fragmented within the following 11 ministries:-

1. Home Affairs (Heritage sector- Museums and Monuments, National Archives, Censorship Board)
2. Justice, Legal and parliamentary Affairs (copyright legislation),
3. Information and Publicity (audio-visual industries-broadcasting, TV, film and music recording industry),
4. Local Government (Chiefs and local authorities),
5. Medium and Small Enterprises industries (national handcrafts centre)
6. Environment and Tourism (cultural tourism),
7. Higher and Tertiary Education (UNESCO and arts teacher education),
8. Environment and Natural Resources Management (natural heritage sites),
9. Health and Child Welfare (ZINATHA, traditional midwives),
10. Agriculture (herbal medicine, Indigenous Knowledge Systems-indigenous varieties)

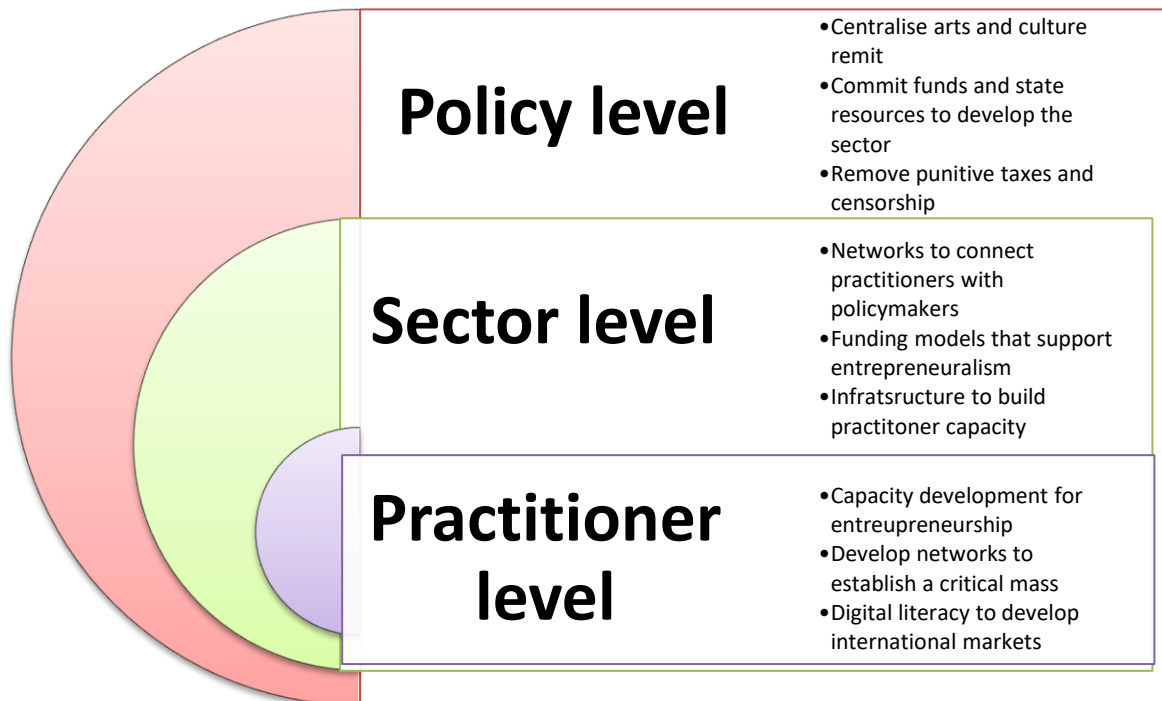
11. Foreign Affairs (Cultural Diplomacy).

The various ministries used 6 key parastatals to carry out the activity that supported the development of the arts and culture sector – these were the Censorship Board; Zimbabwe Tourism Authority; National Gallery of Zimbabwe; National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe; National Handicraft Centre and National Arts Council of Zimbabwe. An essential instrument for development of the sector that was still missing was a representative agency that would centralise activity and collect the necessary data required to help develop a clear picture of Zimbabwe's creative industry sector. The parastatals had limited resources to significantly develop the sector and their number, again, contributes to the fragmentation of the sector and thus no significant development was made towards establishing a formal creative industry sector by the end of the current government in 2013.

4.2 Key Issues Faced By The Creative And Cultural Industries In Zimbabwe

Figure 12 illustrates a summation of my research findings on the key areas for development that must be addressed to establish a sustainable cultural sector in Zimbabwe. These issues will be discussed in this section and the next.

Figure 12 - Key areas for development of the Zimbabwean cultural sector



4.2.1 Establishing a comprehensive understanding and definition of the sector that policy makers can work with

Perceptions of Zimbabwe's creative and cultural sector have been heavily influenced by discussions on the rituals and traditional practice of the many tribal groups that make up the nation of Zimbabwe. This has also had an impact on the development and growth of the cultural and creative sector as a legitimate commercial industry in its own right.

In Zimbabwe the term 'culture' is strongly linked to identity and tradition – with a focus on language and heritage. Reviews of the reports published at conferences to discuss cultural and creative industries reveal the majority of discussions in plenary sessions are still focusing on defining the term 'culture' or 'creative industries'. This has been regardless of the establishment of a definition in the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe Act 27 of 1985 (which specifies creative industries as including applied arts, fine arts, literary arts, performing arts,

visual arts and film and television) and the development and publication of a cultural policy for Zimbabwe in 2007. The term 'culture' was only effectively defined when Zimbabwe's cultural policy was written in 2007.

A key catalyst for this move was the drive by the United Nations to support developing nations and countries in Southern Africa to establish formal creative industries sectors as part of their development process. The policy developed a definition of culture based on the definition published by UNESCO in 1982 –

“The totality of a people’s way of life, the whole complex of distinctive spiritual material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group and includes not only arts and literature, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems and traditions and beliefs.”

Zimbabwe's cultural policy in 2007 presented the following definition for the term 'culture'

“The sum total of a way of life a society can offer in terms of material implements and possession; in terms of intellectual and educational level of development; in terms of standards of living and ways of life; in terms of values and value systems, and in terms of social relations between members of the society, in terms of arts and crafts and in terms of religion.”

The definitions developed by UNESCO and the Zimbabwe ministry of Education, Sport and Culture are very similar. The cultural policy of Zimbabwe (2007) then goes on to define the term 'cultural industries' as –

‘the production, whether for sale, consumption or enjoyment, of cultural products which seek to educate, inform and entertain with messages, symbols, information or moral and aesthetic values of a given people or society.’

This definition is all encompassing and gives an indication as to why there is still a tendency for discussions on the development of the sector to get hijacked or distracted by requests to clarify what is perceived as cultural product for sale versus cultural product for heritage purposes versus cultural product for political purposes. The cultural policy developed in 2007 seems to focus discussion on languages, religion and traditional beliefs and cultural practice with a limited discussion as to the production of creative or cultural products for sale. Given this skewed focus in the policy document that forms the framework for discussions on Zimbabwe's creative and cultural industries, there will always be a challenge to map or formalise this sector. Artists, crafts makers and film producers who produce cultural product (or what we should really refer to as 'creative product') to earn a livelihood are placed in the same category as local chiefs, spirit mediums and '*Nyanga*'s' (traditional healers) who produce cultural product for the purpose of giving messages of instruction or warning about the moral practices of a community as well as local artists who are commissioned to produce songs, movies or literature that is meant to communicate the ideology of a particular political party.

4.2.2 Perception of The Value Of Cultural and Creative Products

The challenges faced in establishing a definition of what Zimbabwe means by 'cultural industries sector' has highlighted the tension between realising the cultural value of the product as compared to the commercial value. This affects the general perception of cultural products and subsequently the perception of the investment potential of cultural products in commercial and public sectors. This tension might be hampering the formalisation of a clear creative economy as the blur between cultural heritage and creative product is limiting the development of the sector. As with most communities around the world, there is the usual conflict between generations where the youth tend to undervalue cultural products which have more of a historical significance and the older members of the community undervalue the more modern creative and cultural product. What is unfortunate is that the prevailing mind-set

across all generations is to underestimate the value of creative products produced by indigenous entrepreneurs. Most Zimbabweans thus take the sculptures, crafts, music, visual arts and literary works of local artists for granted as the majority of these products can usually be purchased by the side of the road or in the local flea markets and not in the more formal shops or business centres and the resulting perception is if they can be bought by the side of the road next to a tin of tomatoes for 50c then they must have similar value. This is in contrast to the creative product from other countries which is sold at a high premium and is found in the upmarket malls or has to be ordered specially from informal traders who import goods for sale. Local practitioners never seem to make as much money as their international counterparts, with the majority of well-known artists such as the Bhundu Boys – a band that achieved global success and toured the United Kingdom in the 1990's, Andy Brown – a musician and Dambudzo Marechera, the author dying in poverty. Cultural officers have discussed the negative image of Zimbabwe's creative and cultural industries - Mari (2011; p2) describes Zimbabwe's the sector being perceived nationally as:-

“... a soft sector...a consumer of public funds that produces no economic returns”

Therefore, to pursue the life of a creative or cultural entrepreneur as a career choice is not viewed as wise if one wants to earn a sustainable livelihood in Zimbabwe.

4.2.3 Infrastructure To Support Entrepreneurial Activity

There have been attempts to focus on identifying the necessary infrastructure and development activities required to support the entrepreneurial activity of cultural practitioners in Zimbabwe. The surveys conducted by Nhimbe Trust in 2009 and Zimstats in 2012 have revealed that the sector appears to be made up of individuals and small enterprises. The highest returns on trade transactions of creative product per dollar are made by middle men – this indicates weak entrepreneurial skills within the sector. The survey statistics also indicate that there is a possibility that 50 % of the sector will be aged between 25 – 34 years and the proportion of women in the sector is lower, with women probably being the lowest earners. In

2011, the Labour Force and Child Labour survey stated that, of the 5.4 million employed in the country, 22,000 were employed in the cultural industries sector. Most cultural practitioners in the country focus on local markets, Mari (2011); the current wave of capacity development initiatives that are being implemented for the sector are focusing on equipping practitioners with digital marketing and social media skills but the effectiveness of these initiatives is limited by the poor infrastructure which is not robust enough to support online entrepreneurial activity. The weaknesses in the infrastructure include limited broadband capabilities, statutory restrictions on facilities to set up debit card payments and the ongoing electricity shortages.

The Nhimbe Trust carried out a survey of cultural practitioners in 2009 and identified that the majority of respondents stated that they focus on local markets for their product, which is a challenge as there is minimal investment from local markets. Discussions on why this was the case revealed a belief among local artists that the physical experience of their product was far better and thus the opportunity in digital markets did not appear to have much appeal. This mindset along with the prohibitive taxes and fees on the export and import of creative products might be reasons as to why the diaspora market has limited access to local creative products.

Cultural practitioners are also unable to rely on their cultural products as their primary source of income and thus have to find other sources of income to eke out a living. The current commercial and financial infrastructure does not support the development of cultural products as a viable enterprise – creatives continually cite the lack of financial products such as loans, business grants or corporate sponsorship that are tailored to support small and medium scale creative entrepreneurs. In interviews conducted, one practitioner mentioned that most corporate sponsors sought out larger and well established organisations to support, such as the high profile Harare International Arts Festival (HIFA), and would not be likely to consider the smaller organisations as they were perceived to be too risky. With such limited commercial and political support, investment into the capacity development of the practitioners within the sector has been limited and fragmented. Practitioners have found it hard to justify investment

of their time in these initiatives as generating income is crucial – and a day wasted attending a workshop with nothing tangible to show for it is not seen as a useful way to spend their time.

4.2.4 Taxation and government charges

An unfortunate legacy of these governmental structures is that in order to source the revenue they required to carry out activities within the creative industries, they introduced a range of regulatory fees and taxes to be levied against promoters who wanted to import creative product from foreign artists. Mukanga (2012) identified the following fees that promoters have to pay – these fees were as of December 2012:-

1. The Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA) has to be paid tax before the artist can perform based on the contract given to the artist. They can charge up to US\$ 1000 as tax.
2. Censorship Board is paid US\$ 300 to examine and approve an act before it can come into the country.
3. Immigration authorities need US\$ 500 to process a work permit for each artist coming into the country.
4. The National Arts Council of Zimbabwe is paid US\$320 for foreign artist clearance.

ZIMRA also charges a tariff of up to US\$300 per quarter to practitioners who export their creative products. Interviews carried out with local creative practitioners reveal mixed opinions about these regulatory measures. Some argue that they help protect and support the production and distribution of indigenous creative product as it is cheaper for promoters to use local artists. Whereas, given the figures presented above, a promoter would have to pay a minimum of US\$ 2,120 to bring in a foreign artist. This leads other practitioners to argue that these taxes give off the impression that foreign creative products have more value.

4.2.5 Censorship As A Tool Of Coercion And Force

Censorship is under the remit of the Censorship board which is overseen by the Ministry of Home Affairs, this ministry is also the parent ministry of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP).

The Censorship Board's has the role of issuing public entertainment certificates under the current Censorship and Entertainment Control Act, amended in 1996, which states that all cultural product created by local and international practitioners must be vetted and approved before it can be shown to the public. The Board has the right to instruct the police to stop a show and arrest artists or confiscate product and equipment if the Board rules that the act has been contravened. Under this act all artists are required to submit scripts or plans for their shows and events so that the Board can review and approve them. Zenenga (2008) notes that not many artists do this as they are not aware they have to but the stories circulating of punitive measures taken against artists that have boldly challenged government policies serve to discourage and artists result to self-policing themselves so as to avoid punishment from the police of Central Intelligence Officers (CIO). This legitimises and reinforces state coercion structures. In early 2000, opposition to the government was increasing in civil society and also amongst cultural practitioners who were creating cultural product that was more critical of the state. The government responded by reviving 2 formerly colonial laws to control artistic product, specifically any art created with a political message. The Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA) give the police the power to prohibit or disperse public gatherings; restrict access to performance or event spaces; search any groups or vehicles attending the event where they classify the event as a political event (Zenenga, 2008). Gallerists I interviewed told me of Owen Maseko, a visual artist who staged an exhibition in 2010 at the National Gallery of Bulawayo that focused on the massacre of citizens in Matabeleland by ZANU armed forces soon after independence. Maseko's artwork was confiscated, and he was arrested under the POSA act a day after the exhibition opened. Stories like this are effective in making both gallerists and artists cautious about what they do and thus they start to censor themselves to avoid reprisal by the government.

4.3 Spotlight on the Zimbabwean Visual Arts sector

Missionaries, white settler farmers and leaders in the cultural sectors all played a significant role in developing the visual arts sector across 3 platforms in Rhodesia. I will now discuss the significant elements in the history of the societal structure that have framed the development of the visual arts sector and then explain its current state.

4.3.1 Art and Evangelism

Canon Ned Paterson of Cyrene Mission and Father Hans Groeber of Serima Mission set up mission sites that focused on art and evangelism and influenced the development of young African artists who engaged with the mission (Chikukwa, 2015). Canon Paterson used exhibition events to profile the work of the mission and establish it as a centre for arts and crafts in Southern Africa. The exhibitions he staged drew a lot of attention from both local and international audiences, and in 1947 the Queen Mother visited the mission school. In 1949 Paterson organised an exhibition event featuring the work of African artists from Southern Rhodesia at the Royal Watercolour Society in London. Chikukwa (2015) notes that this event resulted in a form of othering as Paterson became the star of the show and spoke on behalf of the artists. This exhibition event was rated more successful than other notable exhibitions of the time such as the 40 Thousand Years of Modern Art event which included the works of Picasso and Matisse attracting large audiences. Paterson's exhibition of Rhodesian art toured for 3 years in the UK, Paris and USA, giving him notoriety. However, the African artists gained little from this event and the event was never made accessible to African audiences due to the enforcement of segregation practices that informed who could enter cultural spaces at the time.

4.3.2 White Settler Farmers and Commercialisation of Art

Soapstone sculptures are the most iconic and globally renowned cultural product of the Zimbabwean visual arts sector and they owe their development to an informal community that was created at Tengenenge Art Centre. As discussed before, this space was previously a

commercial farm owned by ,Tom Blomefield, a white settler farmer who had decided to cease agricultural activities which were fast becoming unprofitable following the declaration of UDI in 1965 and the subsequent sanctions that had a negative impact on the Rhodesian economy. Blomefield's farm also had extensive soapstone deposits and he was taught how to sculpt by Crispin Chakanyuka. Chikukwa (2015) and Sibanda (2015) note that Blomefield became the spokesperson and representative of the African artists working on his farm and that he was given access to the cultural spaces to talk about the work and make the lucrative sales deals with international collectors.

4.3.3 National cultural institutions supporting the visual arts

The colonial government built the National Gallery of Rhodesia in 1955. The way this cultural space was set up and organised illustrates how the Rhodesian government used seduction and segregation as forms of power (Njoh, 2009). The national gallery was built to motivate and inspire white settlers by giving them the opportunity to gaze on the beauty and cultural superiority of western classical art (Sibanda, 2015). Frank McEwen who had been trained at the Sorbonne, was recruited from overseas to be the Director as the colonial government were clear that there was no local expertise suitable to oversee this project (Chikukwa, 2015). The National Gallery of Rhodesia opened with a ground-breaking exhibition that McEwen curated himself called 'From Rembrandt to Picasso' in 1957; the exhibition focused on western classical art and McEwen had used his contacts to borrow over 200 works from the Louvre; Museu de l'Art Modern and the Tate Gallery. McEwen proceeded to stage many events in the space, including film screenings, lectures and discussions that focused on western art and he had very little regard for local African art (Sibanda, 2015; Chikukwa, 2015).

"When I arrived here in 1956, I found no evidence of any artistic tradition among our indigenous people although the Shona people were skilled craftsmen in a number of fields, notably in bead work and wood carving." (McEwen cited by Chikukwa, 2015 p24)

Even though McEwen's statement was made in the 1950's that sentiment could still be felt in the present day. Picasso a co-researcher makes the following statement in our event design workshop discussed in Chapter 6:

Picasso: ...*These Rhodesians have led in the arts here and their belief is that we are below them. Even when it comes to pricing your work, if you go to their event with your prices they will tell you to reduce your prices but when a white artist goes they tell them to increase the prices so they will never want us to be the same level..*

McEwan only started to pay attention to African artists in the late 1960's during the liberation war when he noticed the sculptures coming from Blomefield's farm were popular with international collectors (Sibanda, 2015).

"Rhodesians should stop regarding African lard stone sculpture as 'Kaffir Art' and realise they are sitting on an aesthetic gold mine." (McEwen cited by Chikukwa, 2015 p28)

His focus on this artwork soon resulted in the breakaway of local white settler artists in 1972 who then formed their own organisation called 'The Circle' to meet their exhibition needs. Soon other galleries and exhibition spaces started to open up including Gallery Delta which was opened in 1975 by Derrick Huggins and his wife Helen Leiros (Matindike, 2015).

4.3.4 Colonial patronage and the visual arts in Zimbabwe

Blackburn (2000) notes that the Freiran/Marxist notion of power focuses on concentrated ownership on the means of production in the hands of the elite and the control by the elite of those institutions designed to protect their ownership. In this research context it is the gallerists who have fiercely guarded access to the economic resources in the visual arts sector. The system of colonial patronage was crucial for African artists to profile their work, access international markets and earn a sustainable livelihood from their art. Cyrene Mission, Serima

Mission, Tengenenge Art Centre and National Gallery of Rhodesia were the spaces that controlled the development of visual arts and reinforced the hegemonic messages that only the coloniser understood the visual arts and could speak knowledgeably on art. The missionaries would tour African art internationally and it was they who spoke on behalf of the artists. Tom Blomefield, learnt how to sculpt from an African artists and yet it was he who spoke on behalf of the Artists and negotiated sales. Later, when Frank McEwen, started to notice this artistic product he would only negotiate with Blomefield. In 1969 the relationship between Blomefield and the National Gallery started to sour as McEwen wanted more control on what the artists were producing for sale and the Arts Centre started to hold its own shows. The relationship between Tengenenge Arts Centre and the National Gallery was revived in the 1970's as the colonial government saw the economic benefits of commercialising art during the UDI sanctions. This was also the first time that African artists were able to meet the people collecting and buying their art (Sibanda, 2015).

The livelihood of the African artists was framed within the colonial power structures that had been set up in the country at the time and it was clear systems of segregation and manipulation. Most times artists did receive payment for their work, although Sibanda (2015) notes that the young artists at Cyrene Mission were not given the proceeds from sales of their work as the missionaries told them their money would go into sourcing more art supplies. Often when African artists sold their work, prices were negotiated by the white representatives who would also be quite secretive as to their contacts. The spaces for these interactions were still framed in colonial forms of control as many exhibition and art fair events were held where the artists were allowed to attend to give the appearance of racial integration at the official openings however African locals were usually denied access to these spaces. Sibanda (2015) notes that the African artists were not necessarily afraid or powerless, but would instead choose to practice a form of silent deferment where they would quietly go along with their patrons while quietly saving their earnings and seeking to become independent, so they could

distance themselves from them. Discussions with co-researchers on this project in Chapter 6 revealed the same sentiments still exist now:

Magenta82: *What will make him or her (gallerists) powerful is because he's got something you want from them and it's for them to show your work, so that's the only power they have and if he just says I don't like this you are powerless because you were thinking if I get inside there I will get to some level but if you are denied the opportunity then definitely the next thing you will be lacking is food, then you ask 'please, please can you even just put my work at the back of the gallery ...room laughs... because you need to at least be linked to that certain gallery*

Nana: *Sometimes we give them power because we are so desperate, for example when you are selling at an art fair, they will come and want to negotiate a lower price and you are so desperate you need to eat that you end up agreeing to whatever they want...*

4.3.5 Decolonising The Zimbabwean Visual Arts Sector

Following on from Independence in 1980 there have been attempts to change the colonial structures that inform the visual arts sector in Zimbabwe. Mandangu (2015) notes that there was an optimism soon after independence that soon dissipated after the first Five Year National Development Plan was announced for the country in 1986. This plan saw investment in many sectors but there was little allocation of public funding for the visual arts especially where the government saw the economic success of the soapstone sculptures and assumed the sector would be self-sustaining.

In 1987, Tapfuma Gutsa started the Utonga Project where training and mentorship was provided for local artists. Tapfuma Gutsa then went on to start the Pachipamwe Workshops with Berry Bickle in 1989. These events focused on bringing the visual arts sector together to

tackle the rising poverty and poor standard of living of artists in the country. These events allowed local artists to come together and share spaces for work and dialogue. Artists were also able to invite international artists and engage in cultural exchanges. This project resulted in several artists looking for funding and opening their own centres. The Pachipamwe workshops were unable to continue for long as the country's economic problems started to escalate (Mandangu, 2015).

The visual arts sector also suffered from harsh policies implemented by the government like Operation Murambatsvina⁴ exercise in 2005, a move by the government to remove informal settlements by demolishing over half a million houses across the country. This campaign had similar elements to the compartmentalisation and segregation tactics applied by the colonial government. This government campaign resulted in the loss of many small township studios and galleries owned by local artists who had set these spaces up as small businesses and some artists were unable to recover turning to other forms of employment to earn a living (Sibanda, 2015). This has now left a very small number of formal art spaces for artists to engage with. Most of the spaces that have survived are the ones with a colonial past such as National Gallery of Zimbabwe and Gallery Delta. The National Gallery of Zimbabwe is a public gallery and operates within the government remit while Gallery Delta is a private gallery. Opportunities for artists to profile their work and engage with collectors and dealers are increasingly limited as the political situation in Zimbabwe has negatively impacted art tourism figures in recent years, although early 2018 figures are starting to show an increase again. Currently, there are far more artists than cultural spaces, the spaces are also facing their own economic challenges as they try to survive in a hostile economic climate that is also heavily censored by the government. Most of the stakeholders I interviewed are aware of this lack of space for cultural activity and one interviewee stated:

⁴ Also known as Operation Restore Order

RP12: *Zimbabwe should have Community Art Centres in every town that are accessible to the young and old*

Often artists are so desperate they will take risks and engage with unscrupulous collectors and dealers who exploit them (Sibanda, 2015). Interviews with members of the public and gallerists revealed that even these stakeholders could see some of the challenges visual artists are facing:

RP3: *I remember many years ago seeing a shop with Zimbabwean art in a small English town, maybe Eton. I had the sense the artists themselves probably get a small fraction of the proceeds. Marketing would be good but as a buyer I would like most of my money to go to the creative person.*

RP14: *Theirs is an uphill task. The economic situation is so dire that there is only enough money for basic necessities. Art is the last thing an ordinary Zimbabwean can buy at the moment.*

Stakeholders that were interviewed were also astute enough to note that there were several issues to be addressed and the issue was not just about the economic crisis:

RP6: *It is also important to educate people in the country about ones artistic expression to gain an appreciation.*

RP29: *There needs to be an appreciation of Art as a profession. Better marketing of local artists plus also the fact that Local is valuable.*

RP40: *Advertising more especially in residential areas as we grow up being told that art is useless educating people more might get us more buyers*

Chabata (2015) notes the diminishing platforms available for Zimbabwean visual artists to showcase their work and calls for a transformation to the sector to complete the decolonisation process. He recommends local artists shake off the colonial systems of control and investigate using more unconventional spaces to actively engage with curators and members of the

public. In Chapter 6 one of the co-researchers supports this new approach and goes further to even suggest:

Marypoppins: *The curator's job has changed, an artist has now become a curator – we can curate our own work.*

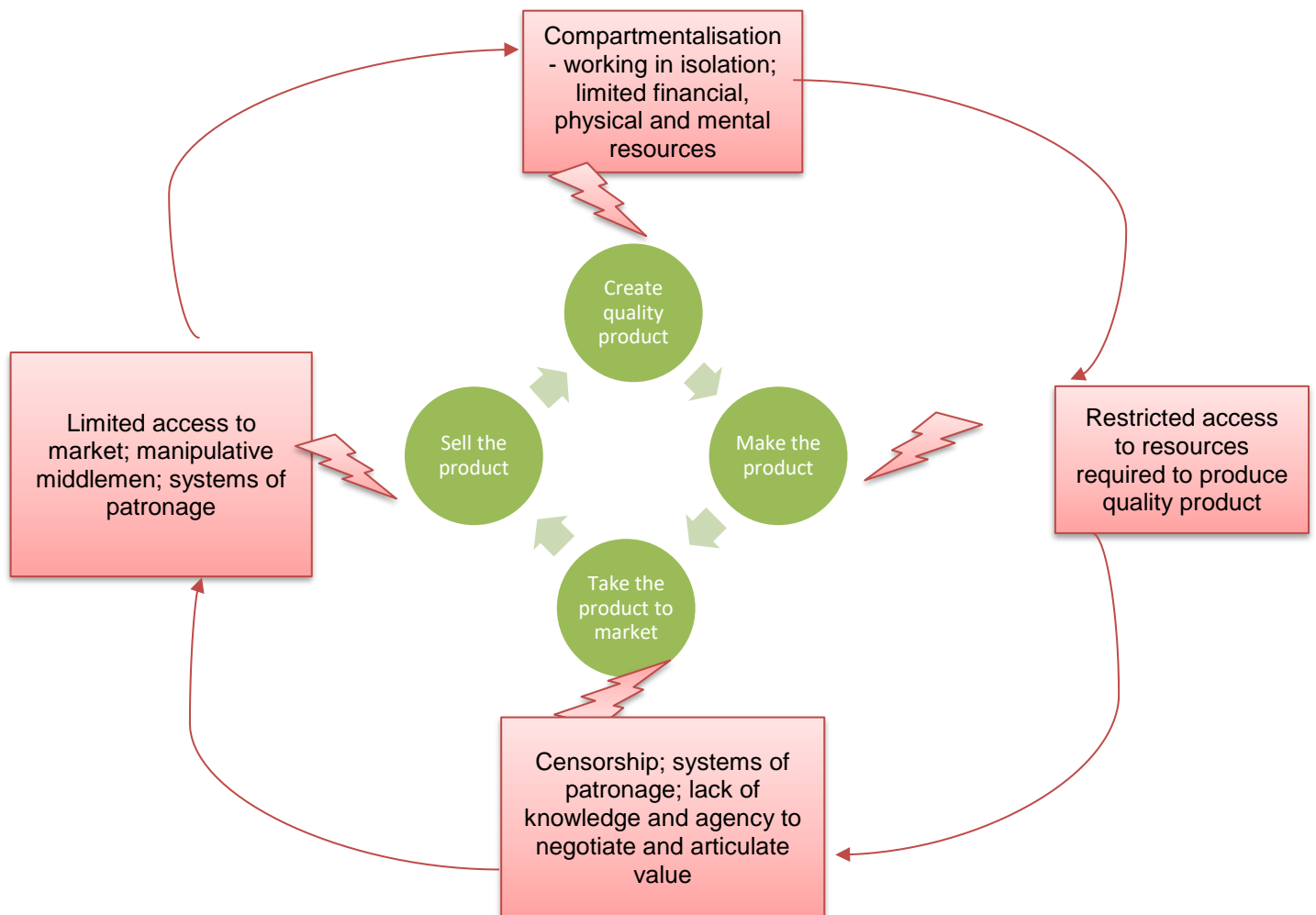
By using alternative approaches and spaces, artists might be able to give access to local audiences who have historically been excluded from formal cultural spaces and have historically been programmed to believe that they are not welcome in these spaces. Some of the stakeholders interviewed expressed these sentiments:

RP7: *They need to be more visible. Take their art to the people so to speak.*

RP8: *Have it displayed in higher footfall traffic places.*

Figure 14 outlines the resultant poverty trap that Zimbabwean visual artists are working in.

Figure 14 - The Visual Artist's Poverty Trap in Zimbabwe



There is consensus amongst visual artists, gallerists, local audiences and policymakers that one of the easiest solutions at the moment is to develop event platforms that can reach international platforms virtually:

RP1: *Advertise more and on social media and consider shipping outside of Zimbabwe. Make it more affordable*

RP22: *Better marketing and visibility. I know about its existence simply because I had a friend in the business and also from visiting Zim and seeing the vendors on the street. There is need for a niche market space and more fairs/festivals that can showcase the Zimbabwean talent not only in our home country but the world over.*

RP31: *They could potentially start running multi-cultural art shows to increase their audience size due to other cultures being present at the same show, this will help them network with other art genres to enter the public's eye*

The issue of virtual platforms to enhance visibility and access to international markets was raised in our PED workshop in Chapter 6. We went through several iterations of getting stuck and unstuck on this topic before the artists eventually decided to set up a website. The artists had seen these comments earlier on but had been reluctant to engage with them to begin with. This again highlighted the gaps between the different stakeholder groups, despite most groups within the societal structure identifying similar issues.

Conclusion

A number of key conferences have been held in Zimbabwe from 2010 to date, to discuss the state of the arts and culture sector in Zimbabwe and plan the centralisation and development of the sector. Notes from the plenary sessions held at these conferences reveal that no significant moves have been made to address the issues. Moves towards developing a strong strategy to develop the sector are hampered by the country's current definition of culture and the perception of culture in Zimbabwe and neighbouring SADC states focuses on the heritage and language aspects contributing to nation building rather than as viable commodities that can generate enough revenue to contribute significantly to the GDP of a nation.

There is also a disconnect between the practitioners, gallerists, members of the public and policymakers. Practitioners have not engaged with other stakeholders in their societal structure at the required levels for each group. Members of the public have noted a lack of visibility of visual arts and also shared their own challenges that prevent them from engaging with this cultural product. Gallerists are also facing their own challenges as they must negotiate with policymakers and foreign collectors as well as the visual artists to bring in the economic resources that will enable them to keep their spaces open. Policy makers are still grappling

with trying to establish a comprehensive picture of the cultural sector as a whole, but they are also distracted by their coercive activities of censorship and surveillance that make them focus on keeping the communities within this societal structure docile and manageable. The discussions held at the all-stakeholder conferences and consultations in 2010 and 2012 have not focused on the reality of the environment practitioners are trying to work in. Another key issue is that of the extraordinarily high taxes promoters have to pay was only discovered by policymakers in 2012 when they were made aware of the fact that importing foreign acts will cost a minimum of \$2,300. Interviews with artists carried out in 2013 revealed key issues practitioners are facing that policy makers need to be aware of such as the need for finance instruments that are designed with the awareness of an artist's business cycle and scope as most artists cannot take out the loans that other SME can due to the nature of their work. Sentiment within the sector currently is pushing for Zimbabwe to adopt the model in South Africa where businesses work with the arts but this model has been abandoned in other nations. However, the unresolved issue of businesses and banks being reluctant to invest in the creative sector due to its extremely risky nature, raised as concerns by the artists, leave doubts as to whether this is something that will happen soon.

Presenting this overview of the Zimbabwean research context through the lens of post-colonial theory has highlighted the specific power and control systems that have been and are still being used by the government and resource holders within the societal structure. The reader will now have a comprehensive understanding of the political, social and cultural factors that inform the visual arts sector in Zimbabwe. This will provide a foundation for the reader to engage with the artist's conversations and stories presented in Chapter 6.

Highlighting key cultural aspects specific to the Zimbabwean societal structure such as the philosophy of hunhuism provides supporting evidence to justify the adoption of Freirean principles and a PAR approach to this research project and this will be discussed in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER FIVE: DEVELOPING THE PAR APPROACH

“In this country the co-operative movement is as old as the rivers and rocks... even though cattle were individually owned, they were used by anyone in the village – collectively or co-operatively. The sleigh and sandanga in the village were built under the leadership of one man but were used by all.”

(Samkange and Samkange, 1980 p101)

Introduction

This chapter outlines my research approach and presents my argument as to why I thought participatory action research (PAR) was the most appropriate. I begin with an initial discussion of the epistemological foundations and research philosophy that inform my practice as a researcher. This gives insight into the assumptions that underpinned my decision to adopt PAR as the most relevant approach to explore how an event could be designed to effect social change.

PAR creates a space for researchers and research participants to undertake a collaborative analysis of real life problems (Kendon, Pain and Kesby, 2007). PAR acknowledges and respects the diverse sources of knowledge within a community. It prompts all participants involved to reflect on their findings and experiences and then decide on the most appropriate action to address the issues, thus removing the mindset that human agency is only a right of the project expert (Kesby and Gwanzura-Ottmoller, 2007).

Kendon, Pain and Kesby (2007) recommend the incorporation of the following seven themes in the design of PAR projects:

Collaboration – the processes of identifying and working with research participants, including the strategies adopted for developing a democratic way of working that empowers all

participants and equips everyone involved in the research project to take the action required to effect the change desired.

Knowledge – setting the project baseline by establishing the existing tacit knowledge within the entire research team, and the tools and processes that are to be adopted in the collection of data. This includes the research methods that will be used to get answers to the key research questions guiding the evolution of the research project.

Reflexivity to track power structures – including systems and checks to regularly reflect on the working relationships and project delivery structures in order to avoid exploiting or changing power relationships as the project progresses.

Building Theory – developing a strategy to ensure the credibility, transferability and dependability or conformability of the research project. This also includes engaging in a frank discussion of the limitations that might arise from the pragmatic realities of conducting this type of research.

Ethics – planning to maintain the rights and privacy of research participants. Setting structures within the research process to facilitate transparency, so that research participants are always clear about any potential issues that might have a negative impact on their livelihood, given the fluid political, economic and social context that they are operating in.

Action – embedding mechanisms to support and trigger action that would bring the research process to life and put the new knowledge and theories developed into action

Emotions and well-being – putting in place plans and networks that would ensure the positive emotional wellbeing of all participants over the life-span of the research project.

I developed a PAR framework that incorporated these seven themes, and as the project developed the reflexive process also kept highlighting the importance of incorporating elements of flexibility and porosity within the PAR framework.

5.1. Adopting A Decolonising Approach To The Research

It was important to develop this PAR project in a transformative way and with ethnographic sensibilities, based on the argument that if participatory inquiries are to be emancipatory, then the research methods applied must be culturally aware and engage people in a respectful way that acknowledges the complex relationships that inform the research context (Whitmore, 1998, Mertens, 2007 and Endo, Joh and Yu, 2003). Borrowing elements of this transformative paradigm in the development of a PAR framework helped me to adopt a decolonising approach which facilitated the creation of an environment that could potentially trigger social change. We were able to collaborate and work together to analyse the power differences within the societal structure we were working in and all group members had the sense of agency to critically consider how they could contribute to solving the problem which was the focus of the research project.

In order to establish a valid decolonising approach, I had to acknowledge and embrace the complexities of the Zimbabwean cultural sector that was structured around colonial systems and oppressive power structures (discussed in Chapter 4). I had to challenge my levels of trust by developing a more flexible and porous approach. I had to avoid setting up research methods which would be a mimicry of the oppressive power structures we sought to change by imposing activities that I found appealing to further my research interests. I also needed to think carefully about how I set up the research workshops and wrote up my interpretations to avoid inadvertently implementing exploitative and tokenistic techniques which would result in the silencing and further marginalisation of the participant community (Mayo and Rooke, 2008). The reflexive process was crucial to avoiding falling into this trap (Strega and Brown, 2015). I had to regularly question my default thinking and behaviour throughout the life of the project and at times I would discover I had fallen into the trap of making hegemonic assumptions about the societal structure I was working in and I would have to start again. This

made for an untidy and iterative research process, which was valuable in terms of my growth as a researcher and building a rich picture of the research context.

5.1.1. The Research Philosophies That Inform This Work

The research philosophies of interpretivism and social constructivism are rooted in the belief that individuals seek to understand the world in which they live and work based on their personal context and interaction with other people, thus developing subjective meanings of their experience (Creswell 2003). This aligns with Freire's critical pedagogy discussed in Chapter 2 which recommends the researcher start by 'reading the world' or 'making sense of the world' before 'reading the word' (Freire, 1996; Smidt, 2014). Meanings are varied and multiple and thus complex, therefore the researcher must take the opportunity to listen carefully and ask broad and general questions that enable them to build a rich picture which will give a deeper understanding of a particular situation (Creswell, 2003).

As an events manager who had worked on different projects and then turned researcher for this project, I recognise that my cultural background and work experiences have influenced the direction this project has taken. My observations from my work experiences in the cultural sector in the UK and Zimbabwe (discussed in Chapter 1) highlighted the challenges of working on numerous interventions and initiatives introduced by policy makers and funding agencies to address social issues, and the focus on quick wins when at times these projects were not yielding sustainable results by transforming the societal structures in a positive way. It was through my efforts to make meaning of these issues that the core research focus originated and I began to ask the following questions:-

- How can planned events be designed to effect social change?
- Where a participatory approach is adopted, what is the optimum and most efficient level of participation to adopt?

- How does the role of the event design expert change when a participatory approach is adopted and what new skills are required?

5.1.2. Ethnographic Sensibilities Underpinning this Research

I developed a research approach that applied elements of ethnographic sensibilities in the way I listened, witnessed, reflected and participated in the research workshops and group discussions for this project. This enabled me to situate myself in the research space and establish a rapport with the group (Geertz, 1973) and a true understanding of the world that the artists inhabited so that we could start to examine the power systems that enframed the exhibition design process in Zimbabwe (McGranahan, 2014). I unfortunately did not have the time and resources to engage in the full ethnographic process of working side by side with the artists for a long enough time to experience and witness first-hand the oppressive power systems that enframed their societal structure. This therefore situates my research a little outside of the Geertzian and Malinowskian ethnographical sense where traditional fieldwork based on extensive time spent in the field is a key requirement in order to arrive at a legitimate ethnographic understanding of the societal structure (Bhattacharya, 2017). In this research project the experimental space we created in our PED activity was closer to Marcus and Faubion (2009)'s concept of ethnographic sensibilities in the ethnographic research continuum which acknowledges a range of fieldwork models, including some that reduce the focus on lengthy immersive periods of fieldwork. Thus by physically and mentally going through the PED workshop process and committing to embed reflexivity (Bourdieu, 1990; Bath, 2009) in our activity of designing an art exhibition we engaged in an experiential and embodied way of understanding the event design process (Ortner, 2006). Ultimately for this project PAR philosophy transcended the ethnographic as my role was that of a research facilitator as well as event design expert (insider-outsider) who was seeking to improve their practice in an active partnership with research participants who were the community of interest seeking solutions to help them transform their societal structure. Instrumental to the process

of PAR is what Bourdieu calls understanding (Bourdieu 1990). The PAR process is involved in the production of social justice through knowledge production that is authentic as it reveals how the communities concerned with the research know and understand the field. What is most important is that this purposeful knowledge that is produced, I had to work with the group of visual artists to create actionable knowledge that would transform both our worlds. The post-colonial lens applied also explicitly discouraged any mindset that would result in the objectification of the research participant, the research participant could not be reduced to merely being '*the researched*' they had to be an authentic, active partner (Freire, 1996; Chambers, 2007). This allowed us to take action in a manner that was relevant to the context of the societal structure being researched making it a form of ethnographic participatory action research (Tacchi, Slater and Hearn, 2003).

5.1.3. The Knowledge Claim And Values That Inform This Work

The specific knowledge claim that frames my research project is participatory. This particular knowledge claim first arose in the 1980s and 1990s from academics who felt that existing traditional knowledge claims such as post-positivist assumptions did not fit marginalised groups or address issues of social justice based on the Freirean principles of democracy, humanisation and empowerment (Freire, 1996; Crotty, 1998; Kemmis and Wilkinson, 1998; Neuman, 2000; Creswell 2003; Mertens, 2007).

The participatory knowledge claim sees reality as subjective-objective, where the researcher interacts with the world based on four forms of knowing that develop hierarchically:-

- I. *Experiential knowing or tacit knowledge* is intuitive, it can only be gained by experience. It is highly dependent on recognition and memory and can be informed by theoretical knowledge although it does not depend on it.
- II. *Presentational knowing* is the next level up from experiential knowing and is communicated through graphic, musical, vocal and verbal artistry. The use of metaphor is key

- III. *Propositional knowing* is the next level of knowing. This knowing is usually expressed in theories and statements which come after a mastery of concepts has been developed. The propositions are ultimately grounded in our experiential articulation of a world.
- IV. *Practical knowing* the higher level of knowing is demonstrated in a skill or competence that encompasses the experiential, presentational and propositional forms of knowing (Heron and Reason, 1997).

The participatory knowledge claim thus believes that the descriptive knowledge gained through these four levels is richer and deeper, and equips the researcher with what Sexton and Lu (2009) refer to as actionable knowledge, that is, the necessary skills to change the world. It allows the researcher to acknowledge that their personally constructed knowledge is based on contextual assumptions about how the world works, and in order to carry out research that will impact communities it will be important for the researcher to appropriately embrace the rich diversity of human experiences and values of the individuals' that will be affected (Ledwith and Springett, 2010). Fay (1987) also adds that participatory or advocacy knowledge claims usually incorporate critical theory perspectives such as; postcolonial theory and critical pedagogy which were applied for this project. These perspectives are concerned with empowering human beings to transcend the constraints placed on them by race, class and gender and therefore they address specific issues such as empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression and alienation. Thus, this knowledge claim also believes that any research inquiry must have a political agenda with an aim to changing the lives of all participants.

This knowledge claim is the most appropriate for my research project as it aligns with the emancipatory objectives of the research project. The knowledge claim also aligns with my values as an events manager and researcher, which are rooted in making a difference, empowerment, self-sufficiency and democracy. When starting to develop this project I had to

critically reflect on why I thought the research would make a meaningful contribution to my practice and the sector I worked in. The reflective process highlighted the internal conflict I was going through, in chasing funding remits and designing 'quick win' event interventions that did not align with my values or worldview.

5.2. Decision And Justification Of The Research Approach

5.2.1 The Problem Vs. The Approach

The problem to be addressed for this thesis had two dimensions. First, the core question of how to design planned events that have a social mission in order to effectively bring about or trigger social change. Second, to explore this question while working on a specific real world problem – seeking the economic empowerment of a community of visual artists who were living and working in Zimbabwe. This topic had also never been addressed in Zimbabwe with this community, using this approach, and thus there was no precedent regarding research approaches to refer to or consider when developing the project.

As the research was self-funded, I had the freedom to explore options and develop the project in any way possible. I decided to conduct some preliminary primary and secondary research to frame the problem. The data I collected gave me a deeper understanding of the context and day-to-day challenges the research participants were facing – thus addressing the two key issues of my lack of exposure to the livelihood challenges that creative practitioners in Zimbabwe face day to day; and my being removed from the context as I was currently living in the diaspora. This exploratory research (included in the research context, Chapter 4, sections 4.2 and 4.3.5) was a combination of in-depth interviews with various, established cultural practitioners and policymakers, and the findings from a review of the published reports and minutes of plenary discussions. The findings were gathered from 5 main research projects and conferences (indabas) produced to convene discussions on the development of

Zimbabwe's cultural sector over the period 2007- to date. I also used the data collected and reflection points from the first action research cycle where I attempted to collaborate with 30 aspiring young artists from Chipawo youth arts charity (discussed in Chapter 8).

I sought a research approach that would be the most appropriate based on a number of key criteria. I needed an approach that would enable me to collaborate directly with research participants in a manner that did not perpetuate the micro aggressions I had noted in my practice as an arts manager and event designer when liaising with funders and communities of interest. The research approach had to enable me to produce an interpretation of the data that would not result in an othering or objectification of the research participants. I had to find an approach that would not exploit the group or leave them voiceless. The telling of their own stories would create actionable knowledge which would be useful to their real world context as well as initiating the first step to creating an agenda for change. The approach also had to be relevant to the research context, it had to be a decolonising approach that revealed the experiences and complexities of conducting research in what was once a colonial site (Greenwood and Levin, 1998; Mertens, 2007; Smith, 2012; Ledwith, 2016).

This criteria led me to decide on PAR as an appropriate approach. Greenwood and Levin (1998), posit that PAR is context bound and addresses real-life problems. Participants and researchers cogenerate knowledge through collaboration and dialogue in a process where all contributions are respected. The practical nature of this approach appealed to me as an event designer who was trying to improve my practice as well as the real-life problems faced by the communities I worked with. A PAR approach allowed me to welcome the diversity of experiences in the group. I viewed this as an opportunity for enriching my inquiry as we could work together to make sense of the emerging data and arrive at specific points for action which would add value to the process

5.2.2 A brief introduction to participatory action research

PAR draws on elements of the action research methodology. The term ‘action research’ (AR) was first introduced by J. L. Moreno, a social philosopher and poet who used the idea of co-researchers and group participation on the community development projects he worked on in Vienna in 1913 (McTaggart, 1994). AR was made popular by social psychologist Kurt Lewin in the 1940’s while conducting a series of social experiments related to the performance of labour teams in the US. The AR approach was seen as breaking away from traditional research practice at that time by creating space for dialogue, collective reflection, and deeper analysis as researchers would progress through the cyclical stages of, ‘observe – reflect – plan – act’, in order to progressively learn from experience by developing new action and improving performance (McTaggart, 1994). The Tavistock School in the UK also carried out significant work in developing the AR approach in the 1940’s and it was mainly viewed as research that would help the practitioner (Streck, 2014). In the 1950’s the Scandinavian countries progressed the development of AR theory, with a focus on projects aimed at strengthening democracy and economic and social development in the work place. This work highlighted the elements of dialogue, participation and social justice which have become central to all participatory methodologies. In the early days, the AR approach was plagued with criticisms around the lack of empirical studies and theory to validate the approach. However, this did not stop the approach growing in popularity in development studies, especially with the development of critical theory.

Supported by the significant work of Paulo Freire and Robert Chambers (discussed in Chapter 2) and Orlando Fals Borda (McTaggart, 1994), the terminology ‘Participatory Action Research’ started to emerge. Researchers in the international development sector began to advocate for the move from the traditional, paternalistic, post-World War 2 development practice, towards more emancipatory practices that respected the knowledge and contribution of local communities. The work of Robert Chambers in developing participatory rural appraisal (PRA)

started the debates around developing interventions in the third sector that incorporated authentic participation (Chambers, 1994; Escobar, 1995).

5.3 Research Design

In developing the PAR framework that would support my research project I conducted a review of the different approaches in order to identify the one that had the most similar philosophical outlook, and the one that had the closest alignment to my values. I also had to develop a PAR framework that took into account the key critiques to participatory working as analysed in Chapter 2, sections 2.5.2 and 2.6.2.

Table 3 gives an overview of the approaches that helped shape my PAR framework. Although there are aspects to be appreciated in all 3 approaches, I found Greenwood and Levin's approach to be the most appropriate, they saw the approach as relying on a holistic view of the world with a focus on achieving social change. I therefore designed this project along the key principles they refer to in their discussion of PAR.

Table 3: A review of significant action research approaches

McNiff & Whitehead, 2006	Stringer, 1999	Greenwood & Levin, 1998
A tool for practitioners to investigate and evaluate their work	A tool for practitioner researchers to move through a process of inquiry about their work	A tool that generates knowledge which increases the ability of the involved community/participants to control their own destinies more effectively and keep improving their capacity to do so
Aim of the research is to improve learning with social intent	Aim of the research is to strengthen the democratic, equitable, liberating and life-enhancing qualities of social life.	Aim of the research is to alter the initial situation of the group under study to a more 'liberated state' through knowledge.
Focus on the individual's learning as well as the community/group working	Community based action and learning with the presence of a research facilitator	Co-generative learning both the researcher and community will learn. There is a trained social researcher who acts as facilitator but it is an equal partnership.
Education sector	Community development	Inter-sector Community development - specifically social change scenarios
Action research is done by practitioners who regard themselves as agents Methodology is open-ended and developmental	Community-based research :- Develops - Relationships that are non-exploitative and sustain harmony Embraces dialogic Communication Has participation at the core of all activities Is inclusive	Participation – democracy is imperative and control over one's own life situations. Democracy must inform the entire research process. Democracy is not about majority rule it is the acceptance and acknowledgement of diversity within the social structure. Consensus based decision making comes with a high risk of coercion Insiders and outsiders are equal but different.
Observe Reflect Plan Act	Look Think Act	Problem definition Communicative action in arenas Mutual reflection and learning Solving problem through acting Creation of opportunities for learning and reflection in and on actions
Qualitative	Qualitative	Doesn't have to be qualitative All research methods are applicable as long as participants agree and are not dehumanised in the process
UK	UK and US	Main experience in USA and Europe

5.3.1 Collaboration

In order to establish the process for collaboration I started with the reflexive process of clarifying my position as the researcher so that I would remain conscious of the implications of certain aspects of my identity, and be continuously aware of how these aspects might have a positive or negative impact on the creation of relationships required for PAR. Having worked with cultural practitioners in the UK and Zimbabwe, I decided to narrow my focus on these two regions while looking for collaborators eventually settling on Zimbabwean practitioners as I am from Zimbabwe.

I understood the socio-cultural, political and economic context that the cultural practitioners were working in as I had experienced it first-hand. I also spoke the language and had a good understanding of the socio-cultural context that informed the jargon and slang used to communicate – this would be useful when interpreting data and negotiating meaning. I hoped that being Zimbabwean would help me gain access to and win the trust of participant and stakeholder communities quicker, but I was also aware that this would not be as straightforward a process as I was not currently living in the country. I also had to acknowledge that although I was Zimbabwean, I was not a cultural practitioner and this automatically limited my knowledge of the immediate challenges cultural practitioners were facing on the frontline. So as much as I was aware of the context the participants were working in, I had to always respect that they were the experts of their reality (Chambers, 1997).

In considering collaboration processes I had to ask *‘what is the best way to position myself as the researcher initiating the project if this is to be an authentic participatory project?’*, the perspectives that resonated most with me were those of Stringer (1999) and Greenwood and Levin (1998). Stringer, (1999) sees the role of the researcher as that of a resource person: –

“In community-based action research, the role of the researcher is not that of an expert who does research but that of a resource person. He or she becomes a facilitator or

consultant who acts as a catalyst to assist stakeholders in defining their problems clearly and to support them as they work toward effective solutions to the issues that concern them.” (p25)

Greenwood and Levin (1998) view the position a little differently and see the researcher's role as that of skilfully offering space and tools for democratic social change –never guiding the project from a position of power as a research expert. The researcher also has to be a participant in the change process and develops democratic processes to guide decision making for the entire team. I decided to combine both perspectives and positioned myself as a research-facilitator.

The conclusions of my exploratory study to understand the research context had identified some issues that I also needed to take into account regarding the collaboration strategy. First, it would be difficult to establish formal baseline data as there was no up to date information on the exact nature, size and value of the cultural industries sector in Zimbabwe. This sector had not been effectively mapped, even though a survey in 2011 conducted by the Nhimbe Trust and Zimstats established that there were approximately 22,000 practitioners who stated their occupation as being within the cultural industries. This survey also did not cover all areas of the country or address the issue of informal traders. The second point was that it would not be feasible for me to attempt to call together all cultural practitioners working in Zimbabwe and ask them to work with me to develop a sector wide intervention. The multiple power relationships within this societal structure would be too complex to address within this initial research project – some of these included political networks which in Zimbabwe can be a sensitive issue and there were stories within the research community of access being restricted to researchers from international institutions (regardless of nationality). This would have been discouraging for myself as well as the research participants who would be investing their time. A project with a bigger scope would have required a significant financial investment

as well as time to get around the country and set up the project – as my research was self-funded this would not be possible.

I decided to identify and approach a small existing group that represented a specific sub-set of Zimbabwe's cultural sector specifically visual arts. The collaboration aspects of the PAR framework included the following structures:-

My role as Research- facilitator – as per the recommendation of Stringer (1999) I would be the resource facilitator and catalyst to assist the research group. I would approach the group with a flexible framework for our participatory working that the group could either choose to use or adapt to suit their requirements. I would offer my skills to source the resources the group would require to design their event to address the critical issue they chose to focus on. I would also be clear about the fact that I was also a participant in the process (Greenwood and Levin, 1998). I would avoid coming in with predetermined methods for collecting and interpreting the data, but instead would offer up for negotiation a set of democratic processes to guide decision making for the entire team on how to collect and analyse data.

Research participant group's role as Co-researchers – I looked for an existing community of artists, who had a problem they were looking to address. The group would be willing to go on the journey with me for a period of 12-18 months where we would work together to design an event that would address the problem they wanted to address. Co-researchers would be free to incorporate the knowledge and skills they developed over this time into their income generation portfolios. I was prepared to discuss the issue of giving a stipend or per diem for the times we spent together designing the event as I could not guarantee any short term positive returns for participating in the project. I appreciated that the time they spent working with me on this research was time they could have been spending on other necessary income generating activities.

Research Groups approached – In the first action research of the project, I approached the board member of a national arts programme which was delivered in Zimbabwean schools called Chipawo. They put me in touch with a group of 25 young female artists who had graduated from the programme. Our first introductory workshop was in April 2012 and then we had a second meeting in August 2014 (we had to postpone our workshop in 2013 after being advised not to arrange any meetings as it would not be safe because of the general elections). At this second meeting we decided to not continue with the project as several members of the group had decided to pursue different careers and could not be involved in the project. I discuss the reflection and learning points from this initial research phase in Chapter 8.

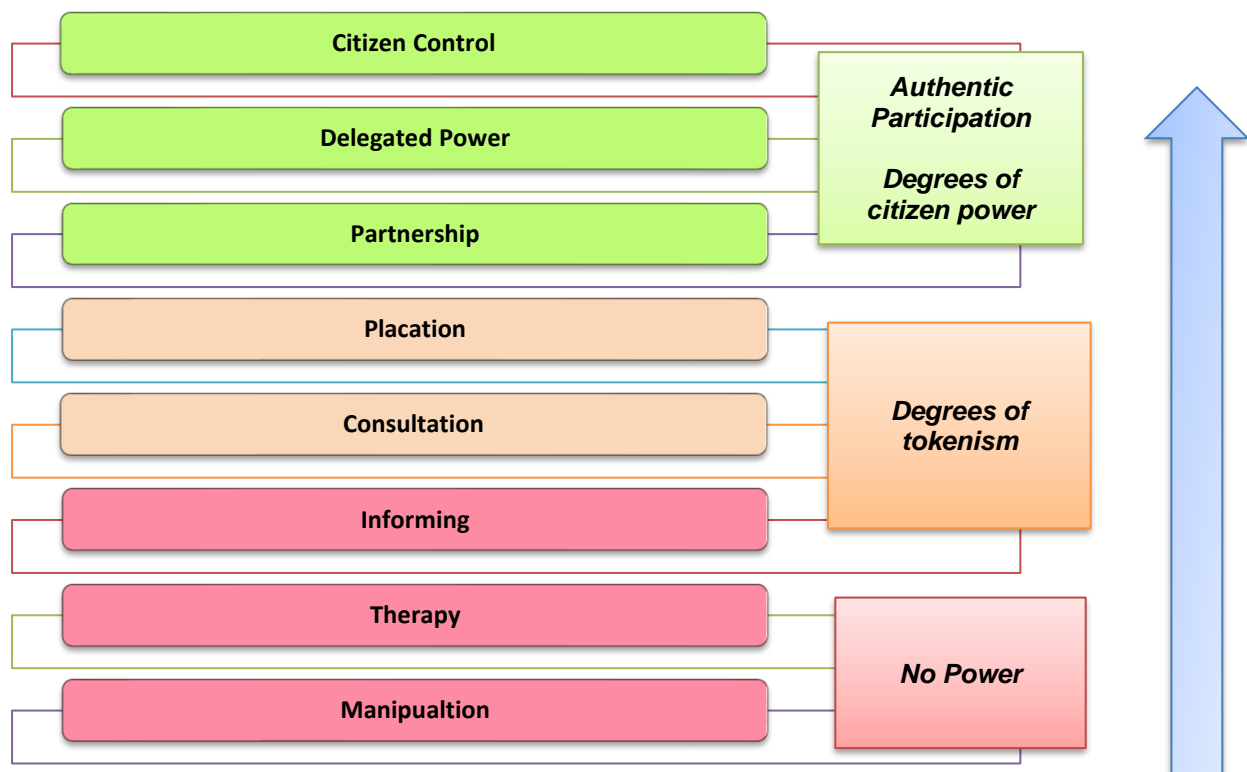
Following this action research phase, I then approached the community of visual artists through a family contact who was aware of an informal group of about 30 visual artists living and working in Harare. These artists were part of a WhatsApp group called '*Visual Artists Ready to be Heard*'. They used this social media platform to discuss the challenges they were facing in getting opportunities to showcase their work, and would also ask each other questions on key issues related to exporting their work or approaching certain gallerists. I invited the group to a meeting and pitched my idea of working together to design an event that would address one of the key problems they were facing. During this event we then talked through the participatory working structures the group wanted to have and the rules of engagement we would all sign up to. After this discussion, 17 artists out of the 30 signed consent forms and agreed to work with me. I was careful to note the arguments regarding informed consent as presented by Holder (2015). She argues that any participatory or community action research project cannot be pre-determined by one individual as that negates the participatory nature of it, therefore I emphasised the option for research participants to withdraw themselves or their data whenever they wanted to. I provide more detail in how I developed my relationship with the group in Chapter 8. Table 4 provides an overview of the research group.

Table 4: Research Participants – Visual Artists Ready To Be Heard

<i>Male</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Female</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Age</i>	
<i>18-25</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>26-30</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>31-35</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>36-40</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Average Monthly earnings</i>	
<i>Under US\$100</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>US\$101-300</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>US\$301 -600</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>US\$601 - 900</i>	<i>1</i>

We agreed to have 3 creative workshops to design the event tailored to the issue agreed on. We used Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (1969) to negotiate an agreeable participatory framework and structure for the project. The group chose citizen control, which is the highest level of participation (see Figure 15)

Figure 15 Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (1969)



The group agreed on the following rules of engagement:-

1. Everyone would be responsible for speaking up for themselves and they would commit to contributing their ideas and opinions.
2. No subject would be taboo in the initial stages of discussing the key challenges the artists were facing.
3. The group would keep the personal issues shared confidential within the group.
4. The group would be frank with feedback on the research process and their experience in order for me to learn about the efficacy of this approach.
5. When required, a vote would be taken to finalise decisions or move conversations forward so that we could stay focused and focus on actionable outcomes – each group member had 1 vote – no one would have power of veto.

6. The group decided that throughout the life of the project we would uphold a mutual respect for each other, all activities and processes would be transparent, everyone would commit to honest dialogue and we would all work together to support each other.

5.3.2 Power Relations

Going into this project I was conscious that presenting myself as an events professional who was living and working in the diaspora had the potential for setting up an unhelpful illusion of a hierarchical power relationship between myself and the research group. It was important for me to approach the group in a transparent manner that did not give off the wrong impression. In Zimbabwe, citizens who live and work in the diaspora are sometimes perceived as having more power as the assumption is that they are living in countries which are more advanced economically and thus have access to financial resources that local Zimbabweans do not have. Given this prevailing mind-set, there was still the prospect that I might be viewed as the external figure that 'parachutes in' from outside, with ample financial resources to disburse which would put me at a different power level (Smith, 2012). I had to ensure participants did not get the perception that I was just there to carry out a 'quick win' research project, which might involve 'throwing money' at their problem without considering the long term impacts. This issue was complex to navigate as I could not deny my position, and also knew that my work experience and contacts gave me access to key networks of influence that would help me liaise with other stakeholders in the multifaceted societal structure in order to mobilise the necessary support for the project in later stages. So as to avoid the illusion of hierarchical power relationship between myself and the group I was careful to craft introductory communications that clarified my position and explicitly stated that the research participants that signed up would be considered co-designers and would partner in the decision-making regarding design, data collection and analysis activities. I also set one important rule for myself, which I communicated to the group, I would endeavour to only speak 20% of the time when we were together. I did this because I was aware I could slip into the default position of

taking over discussions and planning activities as I always did in my day-to-day work, and this might establish informal power hierarchies and silence my co-researchers.

Another important point we had to be aware of as a group was that any action based social change project where participation, democracy and dialogue are key, requires, to a certain extent, that some form of power be re-distributed (Dagron, 2009). It was therefore important to have a frank discussion about the risks of engaging with the project very early on before consent forms were signed. The implications of any attempts to alter power relationships in a societal structure could result in a backlash from those who might have felt threatened by our activities. At the consent meeting, we agreed that research participants would not be placed in situations with stakeholders at different perceived power levels without preparation beforehand. Research participants would also be given the option to develop a communication process that best supported their view of democracy, transparency and dialogue. If there was a decision by the group to include different stakeholder representatives at some of the planning and meaning-making sessions, then rules of engagement as to how we would like to work with them would be drawn up and agreed by the group as a whole. These rules of engagement would be explicitly communicated to stakeholders also preparing them for these sessions as well as managing their expectations.

When the question of topics that might be taboo was raised we agreed that the context we were working in would require us to go through a process of conscientisation to confront our assumptions about power regarding age; gender, socio- economic standing, religious affiliation and political affiliation (Freire, 1996). We therefore used our initial phase of dialogue and critical reflection using the online platform, *Slack*, to do this. We also ensured that our rules of engagement would explicitly cover how disagreements and priorities would be handled.

5.3.3. Collecting The Data

In my position as a researcher and PhD student I needed to collect rich, thick (substantial) descriptions of the experience from all participants in the project as we would then use this information to generate actionable knowledge (Holloway, 1997). This meant that as a research team we would have to commit to collecting data that enabled us to confront what we thought we knew, as well as our process of knowing throughout the project. We discussed and agreed that I would collect data that would record and report the voice of the participants. Part of my role as research-facilitator would be to take the lead in arranging the collection and storage of data and I would focus on using mechanisms that were not restrictive or prohibitive to my co-researchers (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Ledwith and Springett, 2010; Smith, 2012; Strega and Brown, 2015). We agreed on the methods and platforms indicated in Table 5. These methods enabled us to collect useful data to prompt our moments of critical reflection and confront the ‘culture of silence’ that surrounded the self-limiting beliefs about the societal structure we were working to change (Freire, 1996). Table 5 below outlines the methods that were used to collect and record the data used to generate knowledge. Examples of raw data from these activities are included in the confidential Appendix.

Table 5 : Data Collection Methods

Project Phase and research activities	Research - Facilitator	Co-researchers	Other Stakeholders* (data collected by research facilitator)
Critical reflection and conscientisation	<i>Personal reflective journal Slack</i>	<i>Interviews Slack Images</i>	<i>Interviews Sector reports Survey Monkey</i>
Participatory design workshop	<i>Personal reflective journal Audio tapes Photographs Video Footage WhatsApp</i>	<i>Meeting minutes Illustrations Video footage Audio tapes Photographs WhatsApp</i>	
Evaluation of participatory design process	<i>Personal reflective journal Audio tapes Photographs Video Footage WhatsApp</i>	<i>Video footage Audio tapes Photographs WhatsApp</i>	

5.3.4 Building Theory – Making sense of the data

There were several iterations of the data analysis process using transcripts from the following activities:-

- Dialogue and critical reflection process on Slack in 2016
- Design workshop held in Harare in January 2017
- WhatsApp conversations following on from the design workshop and the project evaluation workshop meeting held in June 2017

My first meeting with the group in June 2016 included a discussion to agree how we would work regarding participatory levels. I was transparent about my motivations and declared my interest in conducting the research project as a PhD student who needed to write and submit a thesis after a period of time. I had this conversation with the group early on because we had to discuss how the findings from the research would be treated and presented. We therefore agreed that although the group would be participating at the highest participatory level, they only wanted to be involved in the analysis and reporting activities that were directed at other stakeholders in their societal structure like policymakers, funders, embassies, gallerists and the general public. The group agreed to let me conduct further analysis of the data in order to answer my thesis research questions, on condition that I presented an overview of these findings to the group who would give their feedback and provide recommendations on how to improve the PED process - this was done at the evaluation workshop in June 2017.

Data Analysis Phase 1

Phase 1 of the data analysis was conducted as a group at the June 2017 workshop. The group allocated tasks beforehand, in order to make sense of the data from the critical reflection process and the June design workshop. They agreed to go through the Slack and WhatsApp conversations held before and after the PED workshop. Each group member came to the evaluation workshop with their personal reflections on the process and the key issues they

wanted to discuss and make sense of from the PED process. The co-researchers would also give me their feedback on taking part in the PED process and their recommendations for how to improve it for future projects.

I was tasked with going through the January workshop transcript to prepare an initial set of themes and points that we would discuss and verify together as a group, a process discussed by Cahill (2010). This form of participatory data analysis was conducted without any pre-set codes, we instead relied on an emergent coding process that focused in on specific recurring words used in conversations as well as questions and suggestions that evoked reactions ranging from energetic responses to long silences among the group. We discussed these themes at the workshop and then the group gave me specific points they wanted me to incorporate in my research findings (Chapters 6, 7, and 8).

Data Analysis Phase 2

In order to answer my core research questions for this thesis I also analysed all the data on my own. I went through all the transcripts with a set of pre-set codes linked to the themes I had identified in the literature based on the lens of postcolonial theory in order to see if I could identify power technologies enframing the group and map if they were going through any form of social change in this PED process. I also developed a set of codes to track these elements in the data – see Table 6. I have presented the results and discussion from our analysis in Chapters, 6, 7 and 8. Extracts from our conversations and discussions on Slack, WhatsApp, and interviews are included as well as some pictures taken during various activities as well in the confidential Appendix section.

It is important to note that I wanted all participants to feel as comfortable as possible and thus group members were invited to use the language they felt comfortable using. As discussions developed group members fell into a pattern of using a combination of Shona and English (2 of the 3 main languages used in the country). The group also frequently used local idioms,

slang and made references to analogies specific to the Zimbabwean context. I have done my best to provide explanatory footnotes and translations that are as close to the essence of the message as possible so that readers can vicariously experience some of the depth of the discussions and challenges faced by the group during the process. This will help to develop a detailed picture of the complex levels in the social structure that we wanted to change. This form of presentation also creates a clear path to follow through our untidy and iterative process that highlights the distance we travelled. Each chapter presents key findings emerging from our initial participatory analysis workshop and then my findings from my analysis process.

Table 6: Examples of Pre-set Codes

Themes	Codes
<i>Agency</i>	Identity
	Representation
	Confidence
<i>Power</i>	Beliefs
	Segregation
	Representation
	Coercion
	Force
<i>Space</i>	Access
	Money
	Collaboration
<i>PAR</i>	Tyranny of Par (ToP)
	Levels
	Relationships
<i>Social Capital</i>	Togetherness
	New projects (NP)
	Helping

5.3.5 Validation strategies

I incorporated the following strategies as recommended by Greenwood and Levin (1998) to ensure validity of the research:-

1. *Member-checking and critical reflection*– to determine the accuracy of the qualitative findings in each action research cycle I took the specific descriptions or themes back to the research participants to determine whether the participants felt that they were accurate. This is what Greenwood and Levin, 1998 call ‘internal credibility’. I would

regularly check that the participants who owned the reality of the situation considered the themes emerging from the research to be relevant.

2. *Triangulation* – I used the evidence from the various sources outlined in Table 6 to build a coherent justification for themes which I then discussed with the co-researchers who provided their interpretation.
3. *Using 'rich, thick, description'* (Holloway, 1997) – I incorporated the use of narrative sections and anonymised extracts from our PED journey to convey findings (Chapter 6, 7, 8). My intention was to transport readers to the setting and give the discussion an element of shared experiences
4. *Clarify bias* – I am aware of the risk of subjectivity that lies with this qualitative outlook and therefore from the beginning of my PhD journey, I planned to use a reflective personal journal to 'bracket' my own experiences as recommended by Creswell *et al*, (2007) in order to understand the experiences of the participants in the study. Self-reflection would also help me to create an open and honest narrative about the project that I hope will resonate well with readers and stakeholders of this societal structure – key learning points from my periods of self-reflection have been discussed in Chapter 8.
5. *Commitment to present ALL findings* – In order to present a contribution to the academic field of critical event studies I had to commit to present all findings so that we could gain knowledge from the entire experience, including my mistakes in the research process, and the discrepant findings that ran counter to the themes I was expecting to explore - I discuss the failures I made in my first attempt at PAR in Chapter 8.
6. *Use of peer debriefing* – In order to develop external credibility as per Greenwood and Levin (1998), I regularly discussed my findings with a group of critical friends which included; fellow doctoral researchers in my department at annual post-graduate research seminars; work colleagues in our departmental Tourism Research Centre meetings; my supervisors in our monthly meetings and family. This support network regularly reviewed, questioned and challenged any stray in focus or value alignment. They were also

valuable in helping me pause to reflect and identify interesting concepts and learning points to develop in the writing of this thesis.

7. *Workability* – in order to test whether the solution resolved the initial problem – a necessary validation step for PAR as recommended by Greenwood and Levin (1998) and Johannesen (1996). I set up the project evaluation workshop with the research participants to engage them in dialogue to evaluate the process and provide recommendations on how the PED process could be improved. We were also able to assign new project roles to action our findings and ideas and have progressed at a steady pace to date.

5.4 Ethical considerations

Making a decision to use a participatory approach for this research project made it important for me to take extra time to understand the ethical considerations. I used the reflexive process in the various action research cycles to ask myself whether I had still managed to maintain the rights and privacy of research participants and maintain a sensitivity to their cultural values. Given the fact that research participants might at some point in their continuing careers need to work with some of the policymakers and stakeholders affected by this project. I spent time with the participants clarifying the potential areas of risk that they needed to carefully consider. As the PED design process progressed, group members also contributed their thoughts on potential risk areas that the event could expose them to if certain event themes presented were taken up.

I also endeavoured to keep our discussions secure, by encrypting the virtual spaces so our conversations and reflections were confidential. I also learnt the importance of finding meeting venues that were considered safe by the group, where they would not fear being discovered or having their ideas stolen by more powerful stakeholders (refer Chapter 6, section 6.3.3). The safe virtual and physical spaces enabled participants to discuss their experiences without

fear of reprisal. Research participants were also asked to come up with their own pseudonyms at the beginning of the project and these identities were then used in the extracts that are included in this thesis.

5.4.1. Trusting the Group to Take Action

I had multiple identities in this project as I was both a PhD student seeking to write a thesis and a research-facilitator. I had to ensure I was transparent about my roles right from the beginning, I also had to be transparent about how I planned to present the data. It was my aspiration that taking part in the project would inspire the research participants to continue to take action to change their situation but I was always aware from the beginning of the project that I could not force or control this, which was a big personal risk. I had to come to terms with the fact that it would be up to the research participants to decide how and when they wanted to move their issue forward – independent of my research project timelines.

5.4.2. Emotions and Well-Being

There was a risk that a focus on some of the critical issues affecting the research participants and their day-to-day existence would be emotionally draining and therefore it was important to build in moments along the research journey where research participants could stop and reflect about these feelings. These conversations also were valuable in informing the overall research project and helped to give a deeper understanding of the issues and their impact on the research participants and their experiences as creative practitioners.

As discussed in the background to research (Chapter 4), the political context of the Zimbabwean situation was often unstable, therefore I had to always be aware of potential activities or decisions that could put the risk in danger. It was also important for me to regularly review the perception of this project with the research participants. We considered how the project might be perceived by outsiders, especially as we are working in a country that was

going through political and economic upheaval. I was acutely conscious of this while working with the visual artists as this had already affected my preliminary action research cycle where a follow up meeting with the Chipawo group had to be postponed due to the elections and the need to work within the control structures of legislation such as the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA) which gave the police the power to prohibit or disperse public gatherings.

5.4.3 Flexibility and Porosity

As stated in the introduction, meanings are derived from interaction and dialogue with other people and therefore it was important to plan time to pause for critical reflection at the end of each phase. During this process we asked challenging questions so that participants could think about the topics discussed; specific words used and decisions taken to construct meaning. Creswell (2003) suggests that in order to analyse and interpret the data:-

- a) We must be aware that analysis is an ongoing process – there has to be continual reflection about the data
- b) We must get comfortable with using open-ended data
- c) We must consider all aspects of the setting and individuals, followed by analysis of the data for emerging themes and issues

Conclusion

I believe a PAR approach was the most appropriate for this research project as it enabled me to take the role of research-facilitator and group participant and then work with my co-researchers to make the knowledge claims presented in the subsequent chapters. We were able to take advantage of the rich stories emerging from the multiple meanings of our individual experiences and use these to develop a deeper understanding of what is required to work together to design an event with a social mission. There is an opportunity to learn from this project and start to explore how we might apply this approach to other sectors.

Kemmis and Wilkinson (1988) highlight the following core characteristics of PAR which make it so suitable:-

- 1) The approach allows for regular and progressive dialogue following periods of critical reflection with the aim of bringing about change in practices. Thus, at the end of a participatory project, researchers can advance an action agenda for change
- 2) The approach is focused on supporting individuals as they free themselves from limiting constraints that are inherent in the power relationships that are at play in their complex societal structures and day-to day settings. The approach encourages researchers to avoid situations where they offer what Freire (1996) terms 'false liberation'
- 3) The approach is emancipatory, as it is aimed at helping to free participants from the constraints of irrational and unjust structures that might be limiting their self-efficacy
- 4) The approach is practical and collaborative as it is inquiry that is completed with others rather than 'on' or 'to' others, with the researcher setting themselves in a higher position of power as the expert.

In presenting my arguments for applying a PAR philosophy for this research, I have also discussed the limitations of this approach in this chapter. I outlined the strategies I used to ensure credibility through validation of findings from participants, discussion of findings with supervisors and other representatives from this social structure. This PAR approach allowed me to examine and improve my own practice as an events manager as well as develop a collaborative research project where I could learn from the useful insights of the community of interest. The findings of the research discussed in the following chapters 6, 7 and 8 have enabled me to make a contribution to the sector that I work in and in Chapter 9 I offer some recommendations on future research pathways that can be undertaken to develop the PED process. The findings I discuss in the subsequent chapters will be useful to both arts and events practitioners, policymakers and supporting institutions that are working in Zimbabwe's

cultural sector or in other regions where similar systems of power and control enframe and marginalise some communities.

CHAPTER SIX: PARTICIPATORY EVENT DESIGN

“As Zimbos we have started to look to others for our breakthrough, be it galleries or individuals who make promises. Let’s take this opportunity to think of an event that will create a platform for others as well. We have the advantage of knowing better ... we know what it means to not have money to enter exhibitions, we know what it means to have work rejected without being given a reason, we know what it means to be taken advantage of in terms of excess charges so let’s take this opportunity to make a difference not just for ourselves but for other artists. I have a feeling this is the start of something bigger than ourselves if we do it right.”

(@Marypoppins, co-researcher)

Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses transcript data from the participatory event design (PED) process applied in this project and examines how this approach might be an option for designing planned events that can effect social change. This study includes assessing the possibility of developing PED as an alternative to traditional event design currently in use within the events industry as per the literature examined in Chapter 3.

The PED process was delivered in a single, full-day workshop in Harare following a preparatory period of online critical reflection via Slack. After the workshop there was another period of reflection on WhatsApp. The group had initially agreed to use Slack over Facebook, email or WhatsApp as it would allow us to upload and save documents from the project such as plans, budgets, logos and pictures. This was a trial of new technology for the group as Facebook and WhatsApp are the most popular forms of social media used in Zimbabwe. The group were interested in trying Slack as its functionality enabled us to have conversations on multiple topics at the same time and organise our conversations in separate channels, thus making it easier to track and respond to specific conversations. Slack also had a messenger app similar to Facebook and WhatsApp, which participants could download on their mobile phones and thus access easily to communicate wherever they might be as access to computers and laptops was not guaranteed.

This chapter concludes with my proposal of PED as an option for event design that can trigger social change. I outline the elements of a PED framework, and propose how this could be used as an intervention in the Third Sector. I also discuss critical issues arising that events practitioners would need to consider regarding the participatory methods, specifically, levels of participation that would be most appropriate or efficient for the event design process. I conclude with a discussion on the skills required to deliver an effective PED process for third sector events.

6.1 Preparing for The PED Process

6.1.1 Developing The PED Process

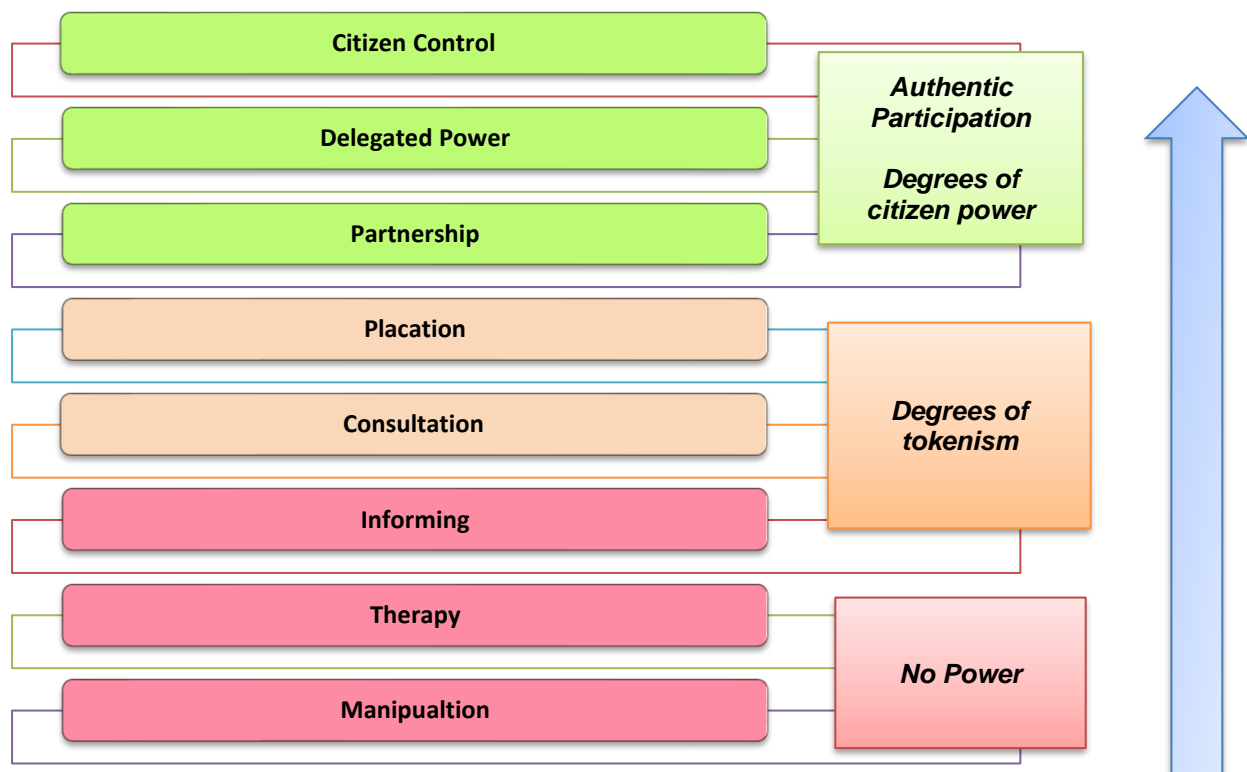
In my discussion of the literature on event design processes in Chapter 3, I noted that while there have been a number of potential options which incorporate elements of participatory working presented in the theory, there is a lack of detail on best practice applied at its different levels. My examination of the literature in the discipline of participatory design studies discussed at the end of Chapter 3, revealed some useful strategies (Sanders and Stappers, 2008; Brandt, Binder and Sanders, 2013; DiSalvo, Clement and Pipek, 2013). In the early stages of the project I adopted a very structured approach to preparations. I prepared a bank of activities that focused on visual methods such as storyboarding and proto typing, I anticipated that these methods would be the most useful. In my first action research cycle with the Chipawo alumni, I prepared a programme of Boal techniques and facilitated the day's activities using visioning games, modelling sequences and image theatre (Boal, 2002). As the research project progressed, and I spent more time reflecting on the PAR principles that the project was based on, it became clear that going into the workshops with a pre-planned agenda and set of activities would be imposing my own tyranny of the PAR process (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). Therefore, when I arranged the initial meeting and design workshop with the group of visual artists in the later action cycles I prepared very flexible agendas that would

be finalised by the group at the beginning of each session. I also travelled with a bag full of paper, post-it notes, markers and magazines so that if the group wanted to use any of these resources they could. The only firm rule I tried to adhere to and shared with the group was that I would use what I called the 80:20 rule – where I would check in with myself to only talk 20% of the time in sessions and ensure my co-researchers talked 80% of the time – this helped me to check in with my thoughts regularly and to avoid taking over sessions and talking too much.

6.1.2 Agreeing Rules of Engagement

As discussed in the research methods strategy in Chapter 5, the group discussed the rules of engagement which all members would adhere to for the project. The first phase of setting up the project was to agree on a level of participatory working that all project participants would be happy with, using Arnstein's Ladder of Participation refer Figure 16. The group deliberated over the top 3 levels and spent some time getting a clear idea of the difference between partnership, delegated power and citizen control. The group finally agreed on the highest level of Citizen Control which included active involvement in all aspects of decision making regarding the project – with myself as the research facilitator, sourcing resources and acting on decisions made.

Figure 16 - Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (1969)



While deliberating on setting participatory working at the level of 'Citizen Control', it was interesting to note that the group were more concerned about how things would work amongst themselves rather than the relationship between them and myself as the research facilitator and insider-outsider (Greenwood and Levin, 1998; Smith, 2012). A key point for discussion amongst group members at the beginning was the power to make decisions. Members shared that they had been involved in projects where some individuals would not engage until the end when they would start to offer opinions and hinder progress by challenging decisions that had previously been made. Some of the group members therefore proposed that only those who were contributing all the time should be allowed to make the final decisions. The group finally agreed that including a rule like this would set up what could potentially be an oppressive power structure – silencing some members of the group. As the group had called themselves '*Visual Artists Ready to be Heard*', this would defeat the purpose of the project. The group then went through a process to make each other accountable to being fully engaged in the

project without any prompting from myself as research-facilitator. This was not always so easy to practice, as there were regular periods in the project when silent members were confronted by their peers – the exchange below is a good example:

(23 days into the project) ...

Nana: *I think seriousness should be part of our ways of thinking because I see people joining and not saying anything just like bearer cheques⁵ not buying anything*

Marypoppins: *I think there should be a cut off time for participation as in, I get it that we have lives, but contribution (especially since funds were availed for that contribution) is necessary and we need to move forward together. So I think perhaps it should be reiterated, so that the work load is balanced because this is an indication of things to come re: the actual event when people now need to actually work.*

Zoro1: *@ nana I agree with you, but note some are facing challenges, be happy that they have joined Slack. It's a big step they've taken. There are others who are still to do so. Tomorrow they'll take another step. Relax.*

WBM: *Kikkkk⁶, it's true*

Nana: *We happy but we can't be too patient Zoro time is money*

Mrmagoo: *Nana, Nana, you have to be at least a little bit patient, you're saying that cause you are already in the Bus⁷ that's why you want to tell the driver that the bus is full. Just wait and be patient please...*

Group members also spent some time determining whether there would be any restrictions regarding conversation topics such as politics, sexual preference and religion – the group finally agreed that there would be no taboo topics.

⁵ Reference to the introduction of a parallel currency called a Bond Note by the Zimbabwean government in response to the country's cash crisis. This move was very unpopular, even though the government claimed the currency was pegged at 1:1 to the US Dollar, the currency could only be used in Zimbabwe and had no value anywhere else.

⁶ This is Zimbabwean term for laughing used on social media – similar to 'laugh out loud' – 'lol'

⁷ This refers to the commuter omnibuses that are used as public transport – passengers usually have to sit in the vehicle and wait for it to fill up to a capacity where the driver is willing to move - there are no formalised timetables for these buses.

The next step was to set boundaries and agree on what was acceptable and expected from everyone in the group and we started this process by setting the aspirational project values. All group members were keen and quick to engage in this discussion. I facilitated this process by sharing my research values and then each group members shared theirs. The word cloud I generated in Figure 17 illustrates the most popular value behaviours that group members identified. *Transparency, dialogue* and *mutual respect* were frequently referred to and these values were similar to my own. I had initially picked those values as I thought they best aligned with the PAR philosophy and critical pedagogy (Freire, 1996) but as the project progressed and the artists started reflecting on the challenges they were facing, I could see that issues relating to a lack of mutual respect and transparency were at the root of the oppressive power structures that framed the design of art exhibitions in Zimbabwe.

Figure 17 - Priority Group Value behaviours

6.2

6.2.1



Our PED

Process

Dialogue,

Critical

Reflection and Problematising

After the group had agreed on using Slack for the initial group discussions, I set up the space for our project and invited the group members who had opted in and signed consent forms.

The first phase of discussions focused on the challenges the artists were facing and their reflections on what they enjoyed about being visual artists in Zimbabwe. This initial phase of dialogue and critical reflection was an introduction to our process of conscientisation (Freire, 1996). During this phase of critical reflection and dialogue on Slack, my role was to actively listen and I would regularly summarise the discussions and prompt the group to gradually develop a key area of focus and refine their discussion. We then completed the conscientisation process at the beginning of the design workshop. The following conversation thread presents the nature of the critical reflection process which started with group members sharing their thoughts and listening to each other's contributions. We then went through several iterations of refining the issues raised to focus on the key problems.

Taft: *It is difficult at the moment in Zimbabwe to become a successful artist without struggling. First the economy right now is affecting the arts. You buy your materials at very exorbitant price against a work that the art dealers ask for a mark down or a wholesale price for my work. The other thing the bond note⁸ which is on its way it's a scary thought of how I will travel outside country, when we only have bond notes, and the guys who exchange at a high rate will use high rates for sure. When I would have sold my work at a negotiable price with the art dealer that's a challenge.*

Richone: *Hie, the thing is the bond note is inevitable it's coming so we have to see what we can do. I think if we get links to market our works internationally is the best idea, creating websites to get in touch with other artists across the world, maybe a blog would also work.*

The exchange between Taft and Richone above immediately highlighted some of the critical economic issues the country was facing and the specific impact on the artists. In June 2016

⁸ Reference to the introduction of a parallel currency called a Bond Note by the Zimbabwean government in response to the country's cash crisis. This move was very unpopular, even though the government claimed the currency was pegged at 1:1 to the US Dollar, the currency could only be used in Zimbabwe and had no value anywhere else

the country's economic crisis was worsening as a result of poor policy decisions on public spending and the impact of sanctions on the country. Artists relied on international markets to sell their work as well as to acquire the acrylic paints and canvases and thus the introduction of a parallel currency like the Bond Note which had no value outside of the country was not a viable solution for the artists who wanted earn a livelihood from their work. Richone's response showed a resignation with the situation and the pragmatic attitude among the artists who had to still find a way to survive despite the country's economic crisis.

Picasso: *Our dreams in the art industry were shattered by politicians. Policy inconsistency by policy makers to enrich themselves is a major contributing factor to our suffering as artists. Much focus by our leaders is on power, they become too greedy, no care for other people's businesses. Our collectors were mainly foreigners and few locals who values creative works. Foreigners no longer coming because of instabilities and few locals have been reduced to nothing through economic meltdown. Policy makers have taken over everything from farms to industry and they are now the wealthiest hence they do not invest in the arts, they will rather buy fleet of cars and properties just for status purposes. The list is endless but this is the root causes of our challenges. We are operating in an environment which is not conducive which does not promote creativity at all, because of lack of understanding from the leadership. All they understand is you must have gone through war⁹ in order to get it. Everyone born after the liberation war is not considered to deserve a decent life. The fact that people are born for different assignments is not respected at all. Market for our creative works has been wiped out. Apart from market, we can't afford to buy materials that we use for example paints, canvases, frames and many more. Galleries expect us to pay exhibition expenses even if we had no sale, the day you become lucky to sell even one work arrears would have been accumulated. At home rent will be waiting for you, food*

⁹ This is a reference to the second Chimurenga war or liberation war in the 1960's and 1970's

will be needed and all other family responsibilities such as taking your children to school, your transport to run around etc. After all that you need to push your work, materials are now required. We depend on imports which made our lives even harder because the cost is way too high only because they are scarce. The fact that we don't have our own currency we trade in hard currency which is the USD which is difficult to get, other artists fled the country for greener pastures which has its own risks as well.

Picasso's response above brings up some of the economic issues raised by Richone and Taft above but also includes the political factors that contributed to the current crisis. The importance of international markets for visual arts in Zimbabwe was seriously affected by political decisions which affected the country as a tourist destination. Zimbabwe lost its appeal as a tourist destination and the failing economy resulted in the deterioration of essential infrastructure required to support tourism such as good transport infra-structure, clean running water, electricity, health facilities and a reliable and trustworthy police force. Picasso's response shows how the country's wider political, economic, social and cultural activities can impact communities within the societal structure.

Panda: *The other challenges that we are facing as artists right now is the use of space (studios) and security.*

Zoro1: *Our challenges as artists is a free working studio, where you drive and work from since it is hard to find money to rent a space. I think it's best to work as a group of artists sharing the same studio space. Second challenge, artists should have an income whenever they exhibit their arts works sale, or no sales, we should be respected as individuals, in some parts of the world artist they are given income whenever they exhibit, of which is not happening*

Taft: *Yes I agree with Zoro1, if we have a working studio for visual artists, it's easy for us to work as a team and managing to solve issues together because sometimes it's not easy to even approach a ministry as an individual artist. We work in isolation of*

each other that is why even the policy/copyrights does not fully protect the visual arts, and there is nothing we can do about it as individuals. You are forced to pay duty because they do not realize that paint or laptop is part of your art. Yah

Panda, Zoro1 and Taft raise another key issue in this exchange which is the need for exhibition space and work space - this appears to be a scarce resource, especially after the destruction of informal art studios and galleries in Operation Murambatsvina (discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.3.5). Panda equates space to security, this implies that for some artists in the group this issue of space takes precedence over the prevailing economic and political issues. Zoro1 and Taft pick up the topic of space and link it to the problem of working in isolation, they suggest that the issue of space is more about finding a space where artists can work together, not necessarily on collaborative projects but to be able to create a space for artists to develop a collective voice that can address policymakers.

Realest: *The challenges we are facing right now are mainly on finance for example in order to buy material I use I have to sell a certain number of artworks and sometimes an exhibition can run without even one work being bought so in the end it becomes hard to reach my target and also as a young upcoming artist it's difficult to fit in and make a name for yourself or myself.*

Realest acknowledges the financial issues raised by Taft, Richone and Picasso above but also raises an issue specific to some members of the group being extra support and opportunities that younger and emerging artists need in Zimbabwe. There were over 5 group members who had recently finished art school and were considered emerging artists. This raised the question as to whether emerging artists might need their own event intervention that would support them to develop professionally.

Gilb: *Lack of materials, clients, exhibitions local and international money to support our families on day to day living*

Magenta82: *Apologies basically the other major challenges for us is trying to eliminate the element of the middleman when it comes at times to link up with collectors because I feel that's where we as artist are getting short changed at times. Also at times due to some of these challenges we are resorting to become Jack of all trades to try and balance the books and at times at the expense of our art and integrity at times.*

Magenta82 raises the issue of the unscrupulous middlemen (these were sometimes individuals and sometimes gallerists) that visual arts were encountering and falling prey to. The root cause again was linked to the political situation and the dwindling external markets meaning local artists were taking more and more risks to give work to middlemen who promised great profits and access to international markets but usually disappeared with the artwork or went on to make huge profits after having negotiated extremely low selling prices with the artists.

Marypoppins: *As a woman I find the art industry quite challenging as it is very male dominated and in Zimbabwe and I find that it is difficult to be taken seriously at times. I actually prefer situations or scenarios where my work goes without my representation because the immediate assumption is that I'm the sales lady, not the artist, and when it is discovered that it is indeed I that has done the work, inappropriate comments and behaviours ensue, taking away from my dignity and my work.*

Marypoppins came in with another specific issue that affected some of the group members. Issues around gender equality in Zimbabwe are still a concern. The socio-cultural make-up of the country has supported patriarchal frameworks, thus Marypoppins experiences were not challenged by anyone in the group as they all had heard similar stories or experienced the same sorts of encounters as well. We took some time to explore the issues of youth and gender equality in subsequent discussions and all group members decided to focus on an

exhibition with a theme that would enable each artists to interpret the theme in the way the best suited their current context. Sections 6.3.6 and Chapter 7 section 7.1.2 discuss the issues of gender equality and youth further.

In order to bring the discussion to a particular focus and isolate a problem to address, I would then ask a series of questions to explore the concerns raised. This helped the group to critically reflect on why the problems existed so that we could identify the systemic causes inherent in the societal structure and the individual causes that we could act on to resolve.

Edna: *In order for us to challenge ourselves and the way we think about these issues I would like to ask you all the following questions and I look forward to hearing your answers:-*

Respect:

What does being treated with respect by the middlemen and art galleries who exhibit your work look like?

Nana: *I see being treated with respect like being appreciated and not being looked down on*

Marypoppins: *Yes there are some art dealers who charge an arm and a leg, but we should remember why we go to them - they may have a premises they pay rent towards, they may market the events and our work at their own expense, they may even go as far as exporting (paying tax and shipment charges so the work, so it can be sold at higher value. So, I think it only fair to pay them a decent percentage of the value of work, so they can also continue doing what they are doing. Perhaps maybe we as artists would then need to reconsider our price ranges or perhaps if the facilitators are charging too much, perhaps we can try to do it ourselves. But I have experienced that it's less stressful to find a middleman, than to try export my work on my own, as well as actually produce the work*

Zoro1: *I think as artist we should be treated as human beings not to be harassed at exhibition openings or ridiculed of not producing an invitation of which at times you won't even have the money to print an invitation.*

Magenta82: *I mean at times the gallery will and has relevance because of artist. I mean everyone has their part like making the function of a body move. So we should acknowledge and respect each other in that aspect. The issue of the middle man is to show some degree of transparency.*

In this exchange Nana and Zoro1 bring up what became a recurring theme on respect – this was one of the key project values and one of the reasons this might have been the case was because the artists were feeling challenged on this aspect in their encounters with middlemen and gallerists. Marypoppins and Magenta82 are a voice of reason in this exchange as they remind the group that gallerists are facing their own challenges as the oppressive economic conditions also affect them as well. Their statements bring a perspective to the discussion that removes it from being a binary situation of the artists against the gallerists.

Picasso: *We might seem like we complain about everything but below are unfair treatment that we get from galleries :-*

This one is specifically pointing a finger to National Gallery of Zimbabwe which I think should be a mother of all the galleries and of all the artists in the country

a) We all understand that the economy is hitting hard on us but when they are calling for an exhibition to artists, artists are asked to pay \$50.00 to be able to participate.

The might say we have expenses to meet but where do they expect the artist to get the money from when you are not selling. It's now a known culture that for an exhibition to take place in this country there should be funding from different organizations asked in our name that we want to promote artists through an exhibition, so the reason to collect money from struggling artists I don't see it

b) Then for an artist just to view an exhibition even if your work is participating you

are required to pay \$2.00 they are actually milking artists who they know very well that they are finding it difficult to put food on the table

c) Each time you are taking your work there you are required to bring a printed C.V, biography and description of your work all these involve cash to get them printed, I suggest that they should capture the data for everyone and then start adding on as the artist grows and there is no consultation what so ever with the artist when they do it they just impose at us

d) An artwork can be rejected and honestly not every artwork can find its way into the gallery but we feel that you should be told why because honestly speaking with all the effort an artist put and resources some get demotivated or quit if there is no explanation to it. You find that if sometimes if the work depicts our challenges it will be rejected protecting their relationship with government. All they want is to make work that makes an impression that everything is rosy they are no problems here, so if you do it you risk being labelled an activist or seen as someone who is not patriotic to the country

Then with Gallery Delta the only problem I have with them is that they allow you to exhibit as long as you meet their standard but when you don't sell you are still required to pay exhibition expenses, you don't really pay upfront which is a nice thing, they will wait until the day you make a sale and they will deduct all the arrears from previous exhibitions so might as well go back with nothing or very little so here is my point I'm trying to make why not share the spoils if there is no sale no one should expect anything from both parties we are being short changed big time here. Whenever there is an exhibition it's not a secret that they are getting funding from sponsors in the name of exhibition so they shouldn't be expenses to talk about. I can only agree to commission yes every galleries survives through them

Picasso presents his detailed and passionate perspective of his experience of working with galleries – he discusses 2 significant institutions in the capital city that all visual artists want

to gain access to. Picasso's account of requirements from the first gallery highlight how economic resources can end up being a segregating factor in the sector. The financial requirements noted indicate that the fees charged are a way to regulate and control who can access what is a public exhibition space. Picasso's comment on how gallerists select work that is politically safe also highlights another power system in play in this system steeped in patronage – the gallerists feel they must self-regulate and censor the work they take in for fear of losing the approval of government. The censorship laws discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.5) have the effect of coercing gallerists to censor their activities.

Taft: *I would like to think the amount charged by these institutions is for administration fees since the galleries in Zim are not selling anything and have lost most of their donors. So they now rely on these little money. But I think they should make a half price for artist. I agree with you @piccasso, they should not ask for the same cvs, profiles, artist statement etc. they are costly to the artist. What they should do if you have exhibited there, they should collect all my data from their database and if i have something to add on my profile then that is what they ask from me because now they even threaten us and say if we haven't brought everything they require we will be disqualified. It's not fair, artists are also looking to earn some money not just shell out money. Then there is Delta, they will even say we didn't even invite you to take part in this event so please leave with your work. Okay, if a gallery says that, where would I showcase my work. Yes, there are other places out there, but National Gallery and Delta are the galleries that most artists admire. These galleries have received their funding through the work of the artists, so even newcomers should be invited and the funds they received from sales should also cater to help new artists.*

Nana: *Yah true, at Gallery Delta you get mistreated so badly that you won't want to go back there and those are the people who pull down our self-esteem, they belittle you so much you end up wanting to leave the arts.*

Richone: *It needs a lot of work when we take our works to the galleries I believe we should be respected more not to be treated like second class citizens when we both need each other for everyone to happy.*

Marypoppins: *In response to @picasso and @taft, this is why we need to do something about it. As Zimbos¹⁰ we have started to look to others for our breakthrough, be it galleries or individuals who make promises. Let's take this opportunity to think of an event that will create a platform for others as well. we have the advantage of knowing better e.g. we know what it means to not have money to enter exhibitions, we knows what it means to have work rejected without being given a reason, we know what it means to be taken advantage of in terms of excess charges. So let's take this opportunity to make a difference not just for ourselves but for other artists. I have a feeling this is the start of something bigger than ourselves if we do it right.*

This discussion above highlights the recurring themes of respect and transparency and reveal the reasons behind the groups' desire for an intervention that was rooted in respect, transparency and dialogue. The artists were facing regular microaggressions that made them feel like they were being 'othered' and dehumanised. They felt powerless in their interactions with the galleries.

I then revisited the issue of space and asked the group to critically reflect on this issue a little more.

Space:

With all the art fairs and art galleries with exhibition spaces – do we need another exhibition? - Are studio spaces really hard to find with the studio in Mbare and places like Village Unhu and Moto Republik?

¹⁰ This is a commonly used term to refer to Zimbabweans

Taft: Galleries are offering less open call exhibitions, so need for an exhibition is genuine. Because all spaces you mention they want the artist to hire the space and cater for your opening according to their regulation/policies. So its only money that fails one to get those spaces. In National Gallery they also curate it even if it's your own and they select what they want and reject what they don't want

Richone: As artists we are many and galleries are very few, I believe we need more galleries or stores.

Stool: For those who are having challenges in finding a studio...Some local authorities may have space which no longer works e.g. old council crèches¹¹.... you can liaise and come up with something concrete. ..E.g. Daves Ghuzha the theatre Guru has revamped the small stage in Harare gardens to a world class amphitheatre.

Taft: Yes you are right we need something near town. Like Moffat and his group who got the Chinembiri place and it's almost central. Because Mbare is not far so let us know of these abandoned places and maybe you can ask who is in charge of those places so we can go together and talk about our plans as a team

Edna: I love that idea @stool and @taft

Nana: Ya good idea

WBM: I also love that idea If you can give us permission to look for it, we can do that, hello everyone.

Booggie: That's a very good idea people

Mrmagoo: 'thumbs up emoji'

Dhamhofu: very good idea - 'heart emoji'

Tbx: Great idea...there are greater chances of finding some studio spaces through council coz so many community centres are no longer functioning well so I do believe

¹¹ Also known as day care centres

if they are approached nicely and professionally they can even offer these centres for free mostly if they know some of the youths of that area can benefit from us artists.

Taking the time to focus on the issue of space was useful for the group as the suggestions offered by group members like Taft and Stool gave the group some perspective and they realised that the problem of a lack of space was not a wholly systemic problem that was out of their control. The group started to realise that they could take immediate action to fix this, there would be some challenges but they were not totally helpless or without agency.

6.2.2 Negotiating Priorities and Identifying a Vision For Success

While the group was still completing the critical reflection process, we also started a conversation to negotiate priorities for the project and identify a vision for success. The contributions made to this discussion varied from; setting up a representative organisation to support and bring together all visual artists; to setting up infrastructure to access international markets.

Taft: *I would like to learn on other artists views, gain market entry that accommodate our artworks, exhibit artworks online and in galleries. Know more on intellectual property rights, become well versed in art.*

Panda: *I think we also need a better organization that looks out for the welfare of artists*

Picasso: *To find a stable market for our work and to get to a level of expressing our views freely without fear or influence from people in power. To push our works on the platforms that the world will see them and be able to purchase them. We want to be the voice of the voiceless through our creative works and to amplify the voice that is there already. I wish the group will not back down but instead solidify to accomplish our goals together standing for ourselves.*

Gilbert: *To be a free artist and a well-documented one for the future benefit of world*

Booggie: *We really need to be well documented so that we won't be forgotten. I think it will take us to a better level*

Zoro1: *To be able to publish our artworks, in magazines, brochures, and mainly online, to create an online blog*

Taft: *I agree we need writers because right now if you ask anyone do you know of Luis Meque, they will say who? where are his works has he been published? yet he was one big artist of his time before he passed on.*

The issue of documentation came up frequently and appeared to be the key priority but this was only during the initial discussions on Slack. Later, at the design workshop (section 6.2.4) when we started by confirming the priorities we had agreed on, documentation was forgotten and the group was now consumed with the issue of formal registration.

Marypoppins: *We need to look out for each other, this group is the beginning of something that could change not only our lives, but the art scene in Zim. Let's not look to outsiders to help us, let's put our minds together, then as one force, we will be able to get funding for whatever projects we desire as a team. It's easier to get group funding than individual. We also need to think about what cause we want to align ourselves with, when all is said and done, it's great to have exhibitions and make money, but we want this group¹ to be aligned with something beneficial to the community, to be seen to be unselfish and generally wanting to help those around us with our talents, that is how we will be able to make our mark- by supporting a cause bigger than ourselves. That's how we will get the attention of those far and wide*

Magenta82: *To have a better understanding of bridging the gap between the local artist and international makers. Gain fair market value for my work and product at the end of the day. To support each other in that an opportunity might come by which you know whose and who might be good and perfect for but just because of some*

circumstance you decide to hog and be a Jack of all trades that's not good though at times I know it's not our fault. We are just victims of social and economic vices.

Nana: *I would like to get international exposure as well as a good market space and meeting influential people in the art field also having scholarships and well paid artist residencies. To get these things, we need team work. It will be important and valuing each other's opinions because my point can help you and your point can help me so I would like to gain friendship from this group*

The exchange above with Marypoppins, Magenta82 and Nana covers a few issues but all three artists were clear that less working in isolation and more spaces where artists could come together were required. The artists agreed that compartmentalised working structures were not beneficial to their professional development and economic empowerment.

Many different priorities were put forward and at times it appeared that the group's discussions would continually circle around issues of "not getting a fair deal" but the group remained very clear on a vision for success. To facilitate this task, I adopted visioning tactics suggested by participatory design researchers like Sanders and Stappers (2008) and proposed group members share pictures that depicted the success they wanted to see for the project. There was one image that resonated with everyone, this was an image of an artist workspace and gallery that one of the co-researchers shared from Google images – the space was brightly coloured, filled with arts supplies and works on display, it depicted a very active and busy artist studio where art could be created and all sorts of events could take place – this image triggered the most positive reactions from the group.

6.2.3 Concept Development and Generating Themes

Once the vision for success was determined and the group had arrived at an agreed list of the key challenges they were facing, the group started generating event themes on the virtual

platform in preparation for the workshop. When contributing event themes all the group members gravitated to focusing on an art exhibition. In the run up to this ideation exercise, I had been careful to not specify any type of event as I was interested in seeing if the group might decide to focus on creating an event experience that had never been delivered in the Zimbabwean arts sector before.

Marypoppins: *Suggestion of the big event: once we decide which cause we are going to align ourselves with, be it cancer, or the fact that we have over 1 million documented orphans in Zimbabwe (the highest percentage in the world by the way considering our population is about 13 million) or whatever we decide - the reason we need to decide on something is because we need to be social commentators through our work and when we speak loudly and vividly - the world will want to hear what we have to say, as with all movements from Renaissance to the modern movement, it was artists deciding they had something to say about society and the change they wanted to see...so, to then engage NGO's relevant to that cause - for the sake of publicity, being aligned with bodies that endorse our project and possible funding, eg, hypothetically, if its orphans we decide to support, or more specifically sexually abused double orphans who are voiceless in society- we can engage UNICEF, Childline, MSF - if we want to go deeper and say those sexually abused orphans who are now infected with HIV or are left pregnant, we can go to SafAIDS etc... and a percentage of proceeds can go towards the cause, we could decide to tell a story with our work, a little booklet showcasing our artwork can then be sold and funds from that can go towards the cause...the exhibition of the original work could tour different nations, partnering with artists in other countries so we could shout with the same voice...this is just off the top of my head but the point is we need to think of which cause we want to align ourselves to and run with it.*

We could even focus more purely on our totems as Zimbabweans, and our efforts to reconscientise the youth as to who they are, where they are from - because many these days have no clue, then we can move with that, engaging the relevant ministry,

engaging schools in an art competition relevant to totems and the top 3 can exhibit with us on the night of the big event. Engage Culture Fund and relevant embassies who like that type of thing, create a little booklet on totems that can be sold internationally...the point is, we need to decide what we want to say, as a group, and say it loudly.

The night itself could have whichever musician and entertainment who is aligned with whatever cause to perform e.g. if its culture maybe Stella Chiweshe, and some mbira¹² players, maybe traditional dancers, cultural snacks and a local beer instead of wine and cheese and go hard at the event. I could go on...but I will leave for you guys to have a think and contribute as well.

Marypoppins started the concept development phase with a brainstorm of several mini concepts. She was keen to work with other stakeholders that she saw as being more open to working with the visual artists – it is interesting to note that the majority of the stakeholders she notes are NGO's. Her excitement was evident and the energy amongst the whole group really picked up in this process.

Richone: *My idea is to have an Art exhibition titled Survival of The Fittest. What does one think when they hear this or see this title, is it politically inclined, economically inclined, or socially inclined with what is in your mind?*

We need to pick how we feel from these areas of human living. The so called 'Big Fish' who show their patriotism by feeding themselves first and not worrying about who put them there in the first place, they 'Sell-Fish' by corruption and enriching themselves day in day out. How will you express this given the chance?

The Economy, what do you feel about it? Do you feel like you are being robbed in broad daylight, who do we blame the people high up?

¹² An African musical instrument also known as a thumb piano

Family, in terms of leaving you with no inheritance or 'Empire' no written Will, so They pass on leaving nothing for their children and they are left with nothing to show for and plenty become orphans. Friends who you trust but see that in good times they are with you and in hard times they are nowhere to be seen? Social settings is when you are trying to build but you are being surrounded by people who have corrupt tendencies in all sectors. No jobs, retrenchments, housing wars (mistrust in corrupt co-operative scandals). In education, private sectors and informal sectors, mining tenders, losing trust in the police etc.

Let's express US. I can go on and on artists. So what do you think? Is it really 'Survival of the Fittest' out there?

Richone's concept had strong political connotations and highlighted that some members of the group were not just 'docile bodies' that were acquiescing to the systems of force and coercion that were in play in the societal structure.

Picasso: *My plan for the big event is an extraordinary exhibition which interrogates our challenges in the industry. I would wish it to be a collective theme and my proposed title to it is "Unlocking Doors" and my explanation to this is that, since we are teaming up to find solutions to our problems, we need a title that says it all, maybe catching the attention of targeted people whom we think are blocking our way and also may attract people who will want to join this movement of emancipating ourselves from political and economic disaster. People that I wish to be there on that exhibition are diplomatic people, media and members of the public. It will be therefore a chance to warn artists to do work that is not provocative, as this will be taking a risk. We have an example of artists who got into trouble when the people in government got offended by artworks. Brochures may be printed out with description of work. The objectives of the workshop will be nicely stated out to conscientise viewers about the movement and its obligation. Then for the venue if we choose to use a gallery for instance we should not give room*

to those gallerists to dictate what and who should take part in that exhibition it should be entirely of our own making throughout. Support from organizations may be needed such as culture fund. To add some spices to that, I think before the opening we may need poems by people who are good at that to recite poem can be a song that will be expressing the theme or a short drama depicting how an artist is surviving under such harsh economic climate. It will be great if we can do the drama ourselves if we are capable if we are not then we find people who are good at that, such as people who are who do street theatre but working on our content that we would have composed, as for me I am not good at in acting at all.

Picasso proposed a concept that seemed to have a milder political tone but did not shy away from the tough issues the entire country was facing. It was interesting to note that even though the group had not come together to make a specific political statement, the concepts that they were generating all had political connotations. This indicated that the group thought their current problems were all linked to the political and economic structures of the country as a whole.

Nana: *I respect all of the above information only to add on situations like starvation which is not only affecting us Zimbabweans but the world at large how the people in power spend such funds that should have been feeding these people and not having kids on traffic lights saying please give me 2 rand¹³ and also not bribing people of power to get jobs or using our bodies to feed ourselves ...how prostitutes are multiplying more than doctors ...how the system is accepting abortion as a legal thing...drugs how even us artists are using marijuana as our source of inspiration not looking at the harm it bringsREHABILITATION is the topic I would like to explore we are looking for finance and all but the future to me is important, how are you going*

¹³ In Zimbabwe multiple currencies are used including the South African Rand

to spend the money when Ms Edna helps us ...is it going to drugs because it's of no use supporting these unjust ways of doing things

Nana raised key social issues that did not necessarily have political connotations although the local press linked these issues to the political and economic situation of the country. In the 2013 election the ZANU government had won based on making promises to stop the rising unemployment and pledged to create over 2 million jobs to help revitalise the economy. This ambitious policy plan was not successful and news reports were reporting on increasing numbers of unemployed young people along with increasing numbers of young people facing drug related problems and taking to criminal activity.

Marypoppins: *Another theme could be 'Bread Basket of Africa'¹⁴, addressing where we were, where we are now and where we want to be, or our future as Zimbabwe.*

I think perhaps if there is a deadline as to when ideas can be submitted, in terms of themes, then they can be consolidated and we can put it to a vote that will also have a deadline so that we can start working on the big event. With the nature of our work, some take longer to work than others, so the sooner we can decide on what we want to do, the better, so we can have the best possible outcome

Taft: *Bread basket I'm not sure because we have a gloomy picture of Zim right now. So sad pics might not work, I don't know with others?....*

Nana: *Ya breadbasket could have worked in 1980 not now Zim is a desert...*

Picasso: *Me too bread basket might sweep our challenges under the carpet*

Magenta82: *Bread basket for me I feel it can work. Lots of things come to mind. It just depends on how you view the bread and the basket. With what we've been saying and talking thus far it is a good starting point. I feel we must talk the now.*

Gilb: *Our country has got a lot to offer I welcome the bread and butter issue.*

¹⁴ Zimbabwe has historically been known as the breadbasket of Africa as it was at one time a major exporter of wheat, tobacco and maize.

Magenta82: *With the situation and what I am observing thus far I have also come up with 2 themes, am just going to throw them in and hear your views. I got 1. Sugar for the soul. 2 Gums and tongues!*

Marypoppins: *In light of what is happening in Zimbabwe right now, politically, we could decide to use this event to speak up as Zimbabweans looking to a brighter future. Themed 'a brighter tomorrow', or 'restoration' not so much focusing on politics but on hope that Zimbabwe will once again be all it was and more, almost like speaking into our future in a positive light. A lot of stakeholders will be interested in that one because everyone is looking forward to, more like anxious for positive change, to the extent of worldwide coverage if we do it well. That is how we can be a part of this revolution, by speaking using our craft but by being positive at the same time.*

While this discussion was going on, the political crisis in the country started to escalate as activist groups and civil society leaders called for nationwide strikes. It was also at this time that the hashtag movements #Thisflag (<http://thisflag1980.com/>) and #Tajamuka (meaning 'we are rising up') (<http://tajamuka.co.zw/>) started to gain momentum. These movements were organising members of the public to be more vocal and critical of the political injustices they were seeing and had organised a series of nationwide strikes and protest marches. This made it really clear that the event design process was not taking place in a vacuum, what was happening in the wider societal structure had an impact on the groups discussions and plans.

WBM: *I support you, it's easier to work in that path.*

Edna: *Thank you for your exciting contributions! I would then like to ask:- How do we move forward and refine our thinking and project design to ensure the big event addresses some of the key challenges we have identified and helps us achieve the priorities we have stated and will lead to the pictures of success we have proposed?*

Marypoppins: *We need to vote on what people want to move forward with*

Zoro1: *We now want everyone's contribution, maybe to set a meeting to discuss face to face and then we vote from these topics, this way we can come up with a clear focus.*

The group was very animated in this open brainstorming session and group members put forward as many themes and ideas as they could come up with. I kept my prompting to a minimum as the group wanted to conclude this dialogue at the workshop. I found that we actually generated a workshop agenda as part of this initial phase of dialogue, critical reflection and brainstorming.

6.2.4 Design Workshop – Testing Themes and Decision-Making

Deciding on the workshop date was a collaborative process, prompted by the group discussion when the group felt they had now arrived at a point in their discussion and critical reflection where they were gaining momentum. The group tasked me to find a space and I looked for a space we could afford and would be relatively similar to the spaces that group members aspired to access. Commitment to maintaining an egalitarian, participatory project structure was fluid as the group decided they wanted to appoint a chairperson. The group appointed 2 female artists (one of them the youngest member of the group) to take on the roles of co-chairs and steer the group's conversations. It was interesting to note that the group had members that had more experience of the sector and were more established but no one in the group ever used this to gain control or pull rank in the workshops. Group members were quite modest and systems of patriarchy were not overtly evident. Other members of the group would usually be the ones to point out if someone else had special knowledge or experience of an issue under discussion. The co-chairs worked together to steer the group through a preliminary revisiting of the key challenges the group was facing as well as identifying their

target audience. The group then started to develop the event theme and programme as well as assign roles and responsibilities.

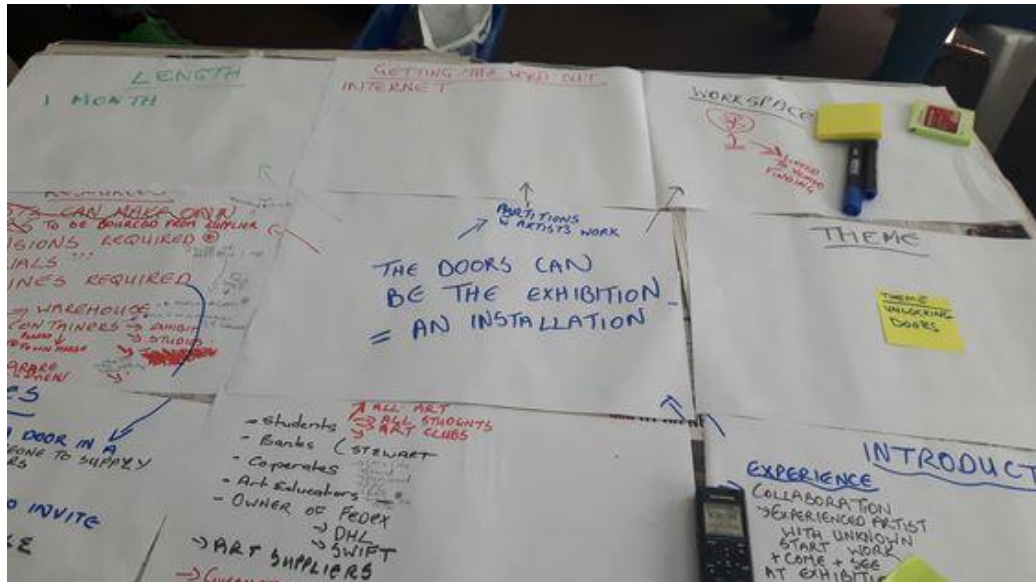


Image from the PED workshop taken by research-facilitator at design workshop

We started the design workshop by confirming our position and this involved several iterations of revisiting previous discussions and sometimes getting stuck on issues we thought we had resolved previously and discussing them again so we could get unstuck. This conversation thread illustrates our awkward and meandering start to the workshop.

Magenta82: so...ok, ok, ok....maybe ...we could er...start with er....our challenges...How have they taken our voice?....

Nana: Who are 'They'? Who is stealing our voice?

Gilb: Yah...who are they...the people... which people?

Picasso: Yah coz we need to know coz if we have to send the invitations to the event we have to know who we are sending the invitations to..so that they hear our voice

Magenta82: I think it's everyone who ...who can...who can see... who can understand...because at the end of the day we want to educate our people on how to understand and appreciate our art isn't it?

(....some 'yahs' can be heard...)

Edna: So is it just members of the public? Or...?.....

Stool: No. I think it's the politicians ...people who make policies coz that's ...what the people are crying for....coz we are saying it's not conducive for us to set...to be here...

Richone: So we've got policymakers...erm...then the people as in just members of the public ...anyone else?

Nana: I think it's the government...coz...ummm.... A few months back I was reading this course book/textbook ... it's like they set things for us right like ...we are allowing condoms in schools.... And most of us are Christians ...like umm... no sex before marriage ...right? but then allowing condoms in schools it means they are allowing us to do it before marriage but we need to protect it so the same is with our art. I went to Girls High School and after that I wanted to transfer to another school but there was no art at that school, so like low schools don't have art, art is just for high class people, and we were not educated about that, when we were in the ghetto, or when we were in those low class schools, so now I think it's the government.

Marypoppins: uhh.... Let me cut you there...

Nana: yes?...

Marypoppins: If you are saying ...it's the government...who is the government?...what's the definition of government?...we are the government ...we are the ones...

Gilb: yah....she is right...we are called the government...but...we don't have the power to suggest it...

Richone: So who are the policymakers?....

Picasso: They say we are the government but we don't have the power...

Richone: Ok...so who has the power?

Magenta82: Then who then are the policymakers?...

... (room laughs)....

Gilb: It's the politicians

Conversations like this might seem as if we wasted time in the first segment of the design workshop but we found it was very important to reconfirm our position and perspective on the issues we had discussed thoroughly on Slack.

Taft: *What Nana said is correct, we don't have a ministry solely dedicated to the arts, we are put in so many ministries so I think we should say its government which isn't working properly*

Nana: *Yes...because when they keep on changing us ...we want ministry of arts and culture...they are failing to support us. They are attaching us to something and they keep saying...let us attach them this year to this ministry... because they don't understand us...and also even the judiciary here in Zimbabwe they don't even know how to comment on copyrights...assets..*

Marypoppins: *They don't understand us ...actually they are inconsistent*

Richone: *But how do we...who's responsibility is it?...to get them to understand us ? how will they know?....*

Picasso: *....Ours!...It's the artist...us the artist...if we are together that's when they can hear us , if we are individual they cannot get it and that's the challenge of visual artists*

Nana: *Yah...we are so individualistic in everything we do*

Taft: *So how do we unite as one voice?*

Nana: *I would like to answer that, I think we need to educate the people first because if we educate our society on what is art how can we say we are a step forward? Because our parents don't even know what art is - we grew up being told art is white people, we grew up being told that art is for those people who failed the sciences so you just have to do art and then we didn't know that you could actually make a living from art because by the time some of us started in art we were told there were no more opportunities.*

***Taft:** Yah, you are right in what you are saying, they used to offer public education programmes for art a long time ago but nothing came of it. What is important is to go where the decision makers are and meet with them, because we know Africa, art has always been looked down upon, we would just be wasting our time.*

In signing up to participate and engaging in the discussions on slack to identify the problems and envision solutions of a changed future, every single participant automatically entered into the liminoid space of the project (Discussed further in Chapter 7). Our regular online and face to face discussions meant that we were in a state of awareness of the situation. We were constantly thinking about the problem and reading our worlds with a keener eye as we were trying to develop solutions to our immediate problem of our art exhibition event. The political and socio-economic situation in the country was also rapidly changing and thus our perspective on the key issues was also shifting given the fluid societal structure we were working within.

This process of getting stuck and unstuck raised new issues we had never discussed before also resulted in other issues being quickly resolved. Two specific examples are noted here:-

1. Registration of the group with Arts Council Zimbabwe (ACZ)

The issue of formally registering the group with ACZ had not come up in our initial discussions on Slack, but when group members arrived this was a critical issue. The group then had to negotiate whether registering as a formal organisation should be the first step or whether the event should be the first step.

***Taft:** So the problem is us because if we look at the first thing we said about being united, we need to be united but if we look now and ask ourselves why we are in this room it's because someone had to come from overseas. We think we are a community because we are talking on WhatsApp groups but we need to be more united, we need to put something together so we can register with ACZ, so that they know who we are*

and when we need funding for our activities. It will be easier to get funding if we are a registered organisation, if we don't this we will just be going round and round in circles.

Marypoppins: *Right! The thing is ACZ doesn't like to just register organisations anymore...that's what they are doing these days...if they know of another group doing the same thing, they will tell you to go and join that group, they don't want small groups coming every day to register. We would need to be doing something that is different to other existing groups. We might need to see how we can work with other formally registered organisations so that we can go as one big group to ACZ and then maybe they will start to listen to us.*

The group initially decided on having the event first as they realised they would need to demonstrate they were a viable organisation that could be funded. In addition, the event would help the group establish their remit and brand – 2 things which were discussed as important to ACZ recognising new arts organisations. Subsequently the group decided to set up a website and register as a Trust while they waited to confirm the venue for the exhibition.

2. Documentation

The issue of documentation which had been identified as a priority was quickly resolved early on in the meeting and the artists realised that access to documentation opportunities were not limited to the elite gallerists only. They had the power and resources to resolve that problem immediately by setting up their own website which they did in the subsequent months.

Edna: *I am seeing a road block here...the white gallery owners know everyone and keep it a secret....they are locking the door...they are the gate keepers and they are holding onto that key. They know who the collectors are...we need to find a way to talk to the collectors how do we get to talk to those people? If we don't talk to the gallerists and the art suppliers?*

Taft: *We will jump the gate*

Edna: *How?*

Taft: *Internet....*

Picasso: *yah...some of these collectors come to attend these events and if they are serious they might start with the well know spaces but they will also want to know about other places*

Mrmagoo: *yah...for example HIFA¹⁵ two years ago – one of my friends found someone on the internet who was keen to collect art in England and he said he had a group of artists with work for sale and that they would have artwork for sale during HIFA. My friend got the shock of his life when he got a phone call from the lady and she said she was in Harare at the Meikles Hotel. He had to run around and get us to bring our work and we made some good sales.*

Assessing and finalising the event concept

The process of assessing the feasibility of the event concepts was very clearly guided by considerations of risk to the artists. The group examined each event concept that had been proposed and identified the potential risks that might arise with picking an event theme that was too political. Everyone in the room decided that as much as they wanted to change their societal structure, they were not ready to take on risks that would exacerbate their current situation.

Stool: *Some of the work we would produce with these themes could end up focusing on dangerous issues, like the way we are being oppressed and human rights issues, I will tell you now, no government minister will attend that event, they would rather go and buy a painting worth 2 million in China. It's not that they don't have artwork in their houses or offices but they would rather just stick to portraits. These themes that will lead us to speak about them, they will get upset....they won't like it...because we will*

¹⁵ HIFA – Harare International Festival of the Arts is one of the country's major events that allows local artists to showcase their work along with international artists

be talking about corruption...so I think to try and give them a political message...haaa...its difficult.

Picasso: *Yes, yes we might not be allowed to show our work, this is where they limit our voices at times ... (murmurs of agreement from the room) ...we will have expressed ourselves but we will then be told that they (gallerists) don't want to take our work*

Magenta82: *We need to do something like unlocking doors where the public can see...where they can see us create the work so that they start to understand...rather than have us working in studios all hidden away only to go to a gallery and then try and get those people to come into the gallery. At the end of the day, some of them won't even know what happens in a gallery...some of them will be intimidated by the gallery.*

Taft: *I agree, we should do something where the public can see, let's make something that people see... that they can clearly see in the open that this is art. We can't always be trying to do mysterious things, because I realise that people will say oh...he is that artist who went abroad but they don't even know where he went or why he went there or what his art looks like. They won't go near the gallery themselves, they will be too scared to go in there, we can use this theme to go to our family and neighbours and we can create art for them so they can see and understand what we are doing.*

The group, concluding the feasibility testing session with a final vote, were all in agreement that the theme of 'Unlocking doors' was the most suitable and could be interpreted in many ways without being overtly confrontational. The conversation thread above pinpoints the 2 key criteria the group used to guide their decision-making. First being, avoiding risk to themselves and second, the desire to connect with their audience.

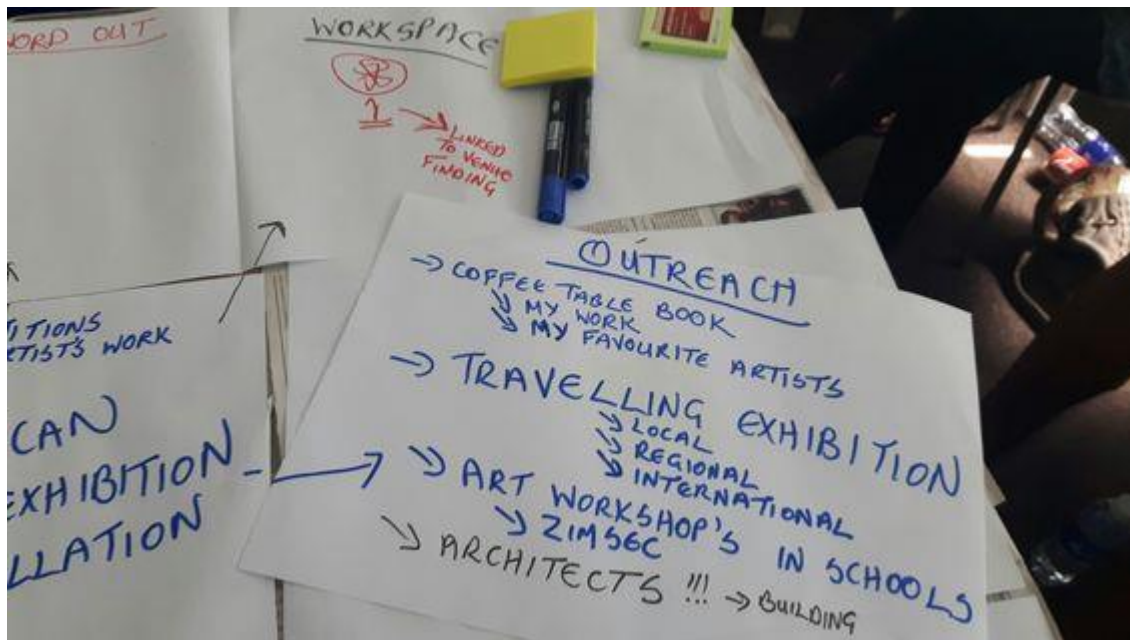


Image from the PED workshop taken by research-facilitator at design workshop

6.3 Making Sense – Participant Reflections

In seeking to establish what an effective PED intervention might look like, we identified some key themes that emerged in our conversation transcripts and prepared a loose agenda of these issues to discuss at our participatory analysis workshop. I was also keen to understand the groups' perspective on the practical elements of the PED process such as; levels of participation; the types of spaces we used (both virtual and physical); and the timings and the relationship formed between the group and myself.

6.3.1 Participation – Preference For An Interchangeable Range Of Participatory States

One of the key questions that arose from the literature review on participatory event design in Chapter 3 was;

'What level of participation is the most effective and efficient for the event design process?'

At the beginning of the project, the group were confident in making their decision to go for 'Citizen Control', the highest level of participation per Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (refer Figure 6.1.) where all decisions and actions are made by and with the community of interest

(Arnstein, 1969). This decision was easy for the group to make when discussing it as an abstract notion in the introductory meeting and in the preliminary online conversations. However, this level of participatory working became more challenging as the PED process progressed. The conversation thread below illustrates the challenges involved in arriving at a firm consensus by committee. Even though the group had taken time to establish accountability in being fully engaged while setting rules of engagement, some members were still slow to participate and some only started to fully participate halfway through the design process.

Nana: *This thing of taking time for every to participate, I think it's a disadvantage...because you need to get things done but, while we are waiting for others and giving them time, someone else is coming in and taking that opportunity. Me I can usually give people time but it's been a struggle from day 1...*

MrMagoo: *I understand your point but some of us need time I feel that I can't rush things, I need to be sure*

Richone: *it seems sometimes we take too much time as artists- we agreed deadlines but we still had to push...you get a deadline, but we artists, we seem to be in la la land....*

MrMagoo: *sometimes...the way we work...you may have heard the information, but you need to let it digest and make the decision,*

This project had a group of 17 artists and 1 research facilitator, 18 members in total. The group was not very large but significantly so as most event design teams are distinctively smaller with maybe up to 3-5 core team members – with 1 key team member with the creative remit to develop the theme and focus for the event in consultation with the rest of the core team and the client. By the end of the design process there was a distinct call for a leader to step forward and take on the role of decision-making with regards to some of the pressing issues so that progress could be quicker.

We thus found that setting one specific participatory level based on a linear and structured framework like Arnstein's ladder of participation can be problematic. The artists in our project valued transparency and respect and dialogic working greatly but were also quite clear that ultimately their first priority was to be creating their work. This highlights the fact that even in the PED process, we can never do away with certain roles. There is still the expectation for the event design expert to oversee and ensure the completion of all the necessary aspects of the design task. The literature on participatory design has not fully addressed the need for some projects to adopt what could be termed a pulsating participatory approach, however, this has been discussed in the literature in participatory development and participatory evaluation (White, 1996). At times in order to avoid the establishment of a tyranny of PAR, the participatory infrastructure must be flexible enough for the group to regularly renegotiate optimum levels of participation during certain phases of the project.

6.3.2 The Virtual Design Space

We assessed our use of virtual platforms, specifically Slack which was used for the first phase of the project. I had noted that some of the group members found Slack challenging and I was keen to hear their opinion on using a virtual platform like this for a participatory design project. We also considered whether there were implications regarding the development of social bonds, trust and the speed of working.

Nana: *I was comfortable using Slack, our generation is always looking for new things, now I am actually talking to someone who is out there on slack for another project, it's amazing that I can introduce something new to others and you could see who was talking and contributing ideas*

Edna: *Some people didn't like it or use it though*

Zoro1: *ya...it was the data, it was a bit troublesome as you had to then leave the house and go into town and find an internet cafe*

Nana: *But you could use the app...*

Edna: *Did you feel free to talk on a platform like slack – it looked like you felt more free in conversations on WhatsApp?*

Taft: *Ya but it used up too much data, and there were no data bundles you could buy to make using the app cheaper, you would log onto Slack and all your data would be finished... At least Facebook you can buy data bundles...*

Edna: *Do you prefer online or physical spaces?*

Mrmagoo: *prefer both*

Studies on the efficacy and bonding of virtual teams versus teams that meet face to face have highlighted that using online platforms can result in a loss in momentum and delays in decision making as it takes longer to develop trust amongst group members and arrive at a consensus where complex issues are involved (Bordia, 1997; Robey, Khoo and Powers, 2000; Maznevski and Chudoba, 2001; Suchan and Hayzak, 2001 and Ramesh and Dennis, 2002; Powell, Piccoli and Ives, 2004). The conversation thread above gives us a deeper understanding of the reasons why virtual teams can face challenges. Two specific factors can be identified from the conversation above - the generational context and resource availability. Nana's comment on her experience highlights that she was one of the younger members of the group. Being a millennial she was quite technologically literate and thus more likely to find the technology interesting and she proceeded to use it on other projects with little difficulty. The second factor of resource availability is a learning point for me in terms of using virtual platforms with communities that are data-poor. The participatory infrastructure that must be set up for PED needs to closely examine the resources available. I was optimistic in choosing a cloud-based application that I thought would be easily accessible but the assessment was ultimately made from my position as an insider-outsider living in the UK and not in Zimbabwe.

The group did note that our subsequent conversations and planning activities on WhatsApp have been less reserved and decisions have been made more quickly. The bonds within the group developed considerably after the second workshop – thus it is important to think carefully about when and how to use virtual spaces for participatory design as in our project virtual spaces were more effective after the group had bonded in the face-to-face sessions.

6.3.3 The Physical Design Space

The location of the physical meeting space was another a significant factor for the group, and as it turned out, an aspect of the project where I had perceived the situation differently to the group. The group tasked me to find meeting spaces for our design and evaluation sessions and the choice of location was ultimately decided by the budget. Our first meeting was held at Alliance Francaise, a French educational and cultural space in the city centre. The later design and evaluation meetings were held in a meeting room in a Methodist Church in the town centre, this meeting space was a block away from the National Gallery of Zimbabwe (NGZ.). With my event design experience and my review of the literature, I went into this project convinced that the choice of venue can have a significant influence on the individual and their engagement in the event (Nelson, 2009). If I had been making the decisions alone, I would have booked meeting spaces in the cultural spaces the artists were trying to access because I believed that using aspirational venues would de-mystify them as inaccessible spaces that were only available for the cultural elite. I thought that using these spaces would have the psychological impact of raising levels of confidence and self-efficacy amongst the group as they moved out of the margins or borderlands and entered the sacred spaces. This was not the case.

***Edna:** Do you feel if we had met in other spaces like NGZ or if we had met in art galleries, would you have felt a bit reserved as well? And why? It really worried me that I should look specifically for an arts space to talk to artists?*

Gilb: *Yah for me especially when we are at NGZ I wouldn't be that comfortable like the way I am in this space. In this space I feel we are all equal*

Nana: *Yah...because maybe the curator or someone high up who knows what we as artists are going through hears what we are talking about...okay.... For example they might get ideas...of what to do next from what we are talking about...they might be passing and they eavesdrop and they hear what we are saying and they take it to someone else ...so they leak our confidential information*

Marypoppins: *Yah...I agree with her, I think there were some people who came up with a project about connecting the former students of the national gallery and the current students to have an exhibition, so it was an idea in a class and they gave that as a proposal...but ...later on they found an announcement for an exhibition for former students from 1981 ...and we said this was our idea (shrugging....many sighs in the room)*

Taft: *And....at the start of this project we wanted this to be a project for freedom, where we could what we wanted by ourselves, without the Deltas so in here there is more of a feeling of freedom that wouldn't have been there if we had been in the galleries, here we feel we are in charge.*

Magenta82: *Yah if we had ended up in those places you would find they take over the conversation and it's only going in one direction...*

Mrmagoo: *because we are afraid to speak...what's the saying...walls have ears...and also eyes.... (room agrees)*

Stool: *Those places like Delta they start to ask too many questions about what we are doing and we don't want to give that information yet... (room agrees)...*

Picasso: *Yah...we would have had people dropping into our meetings uninvited and even visitors from other organisations and then the gallery owners would start to introduce us as if we are their projects and then they would take over, but here we are just fine*

Marypoppins: *Also, here we won't get labelled as that group of rebels who are having their funny meetings (room laughs)....because then they could say we won't take your work here next time because of your little rebel groups*

WBM: *Especially with those ideas, because I remember there was time a group of artists used to hold informal meetings they just called monthly talks or conversations ...every month...I even remember the artists who started it the project and every Thursday we would go to NGZ then all of a sudden the powers that be took over and started calling it Harare Conversations...so....*

Edna: *They will soon find out that we have been meeting and planning our event – how do you think it will impact you, going back to those spaces, what do you think will happen?*

Nana: *I think...you know they say that a parent won't help you until you start to show you have made an improvement, so in this case, after our own exhibition, it's going to shake them, so that when we go back to work with them they are going to accept and respect us because we have done something they thought we couldn't do*

Taft: *there is nothing they can say because in the art world there are many options*

Gilb: *Let's agree that those of us in here we don't steal each other's' ideas?*

This conversation thread not only highlights how wrong I was about wanting to boldly enter significant arts venues right from the beginning, but it also reveals the deep trauma and emotional scarring amongst the group from working in what they largely saw as a hostile and oppressive sector. The artists were clear that they saw some benefits to being in the margins at times.

Gaventa (2004; 2006) proposes that there are 3 main spaces for participation and that these spaces are influenced heavily by the existing power relations in the societal structure. He talks of closed spaces, for decision makers; Invited spaces which are sanctioned and created by policy makers to engage with the public and claimed spaces or informal spaces created by

the public to challenge oppressive systems. In Zimbabwe we already have claimed spaces like this. Mlenga *et al* (2015) included a much-frequented public space called the Copa Cabana in their study. This space was also mentioned by the visual artists in our PED workshop, as they planned to carry out outreach activities in this space to engage with the public to market their exhibition. The Copa Cabana, is a space close to the commuter taxi ranks at the edge of the CBD in Harare. This space is populated with commuter taxis and street vendors who operate businesses, most of which are not formally registered. Unfortunately, spaces like this are not always safe as they are not sanctioned by the lawmakers, thus they are usually the first target for punitive measures in any urban clean up exercise – this was seen in the Operation Murambatsvina/Restore Order exercise in 2005 and the more recent clashes with informal traders and vendors in 2017.

A number of authors have recommended that authentic PAR and participatory design projects should involve all stakeholders or representatives of each stakeholder group, (McTaggart, 1994; Herr and Anderson, 2005; Greenwood and Levin, 2008; Sanders and Stappers, 2008; MacDonald, 2012). This implies the use of invited spaces as defined by Gaventa (2004; 2006). This approach would not have been appropriate for this group which was operating in a context of deep seated hurt and frustration. In starting the project I had noticed the reluctance of the group to engage with other stakeholders such as funders and gallery owners early on in the project, and I knew that if we did have all stakeholders in the room, for the design workshop, the artists would find it difficult to speak and thus their voices would not be heard. I therefore opted for a compromise that would maintain the workshop as a safe space while I interviewed members of the public, gallery owners and policy makers, separately, to get their opinions on the key challenges affecting the survival of visual artists in Zimbabwe.

It was interesting to note that I was also met with suspicion and reserved responses in my interviews with other stakeholders of this societal structure. A number of my meetings with gallerists took place on the verandas of their properties and always started with some cautious and reserved questions. In one instance the atmosphere only thawed after I mentioned I had

attended the same school as one of the gallerists friend's daughters. It was only after establishing links within these social networks that I was then allowed inside the space to look at their art collection. I believe the political context specific to the country was a contributing factor to this sector-wide paranoia.

Edna: *I went to speak to the lady at First floor gallery and the owners of Delta, they were all very suspicious saying 'why are you here?' who sent you? Who's funding you?...(room laughs)...But this reaction and I'll warn you now again of risks... the reaction initially was...how come we don't hear about these projects? They should come to us first?*

Magenta82: *So that they can shut it down....*

Edna: *...and comments like Where are they getting the money from? The reaction was why didn't they work with us? We've been working in this country we know these artists we know the sector...we know who's who, so be prepared for that. When we were designing the event, we spent a lot of time worrying about upsetting government but sometimes government will not be the most upset. You are now challenging power structures in the whole system, even the curators as you are now doing everything yourselves...*

Taft: *They were probably so scared.... (room laughs) ...*

I therefore intentionally sought to create safe spaces for our PED workshop, I placed printouts of the comments and survey responses around the room before the group walked in and asked them to decide when and if they wanted to hear these outside voices. I noticed that the group only decided to engage with this material halfway through the workshop, after they had established what they wanted to achieve from the project as a group and after the group had established a comfortable working environment in the space. Having a clear idea of what they could achieve and what they wanted their event to focus on, gave the group the confidence to

look at the comments. This observation leads into the next finding regarding the nature of the relationships amongst stakeholders in this societal structure.

6.3.4 Ambivalent Relationship With Stakeholders

Throughout our conversations on Slack and in the design workshop, I noticed that the group used certain words to refer to stakeholders, specifically members of the public and gallerists. Group members frequently referred to these stakeholders as ‘*vavengi*’ which means haters or ‘*pahasha*’ which means in conflict. I asked the group why they used this terminology and whether they could find ways to get more support from the public and gallerists.

Marypoppins: *I have found people prioritising bread and butter in this season*

Taft: *No people prefer their sadza¹⁶ first. And whites say kill me softly with your price I'm local and in the same predicament.*

Zoro1: *mmm...people are focusing on eating first...*

Magenta82: *It is wishful thinking on our part, I doubt they will pick art over putting bread and butter on the table.*

Edna: *So what about the gallerists and the art suppliers?*

Marypoppins: *They aren't interested*

...Laughs – room laughs....

Edna: *Don't you want to them to also understand exactly what you are doing so that your relationship improves, and they don't charge you exorbitant prices? Are you afraid of them?*

Taft: *Well they will have their own projects and they have people they are already working with – they might even feel like we are now competing ...maybe we can just invite them they might feel we want to compete with them*

¹⁶ Sadza is a staple dish eaten in Zimbabwe , made out of maize or corn meal

Magenta82: It's like when you spoke to the gallerists...same thing because whites they believe they are the ones who can only promote the arts here...room agrees...

Picasso: you see, they will never support an idea like this where we are doing our own event like this

Edna: But aren't they the ones then we must be targeting because if we are saying we want to be heard, then they are the ones we must educate don't we want them to understand who we are and how we work?

Marypoppins: These suppliers like RC and that other lady in (residential area x) they are linked to the Art Fair, they are all linked....they are all connected they will just see our event as competition....

Edna: Yah...and those are the people we need to talk to surely?...

Stool: We will talk to them with action... in later stages ...maybe we will engage them

Edna: If we are saying 'unlocking doors' isn't this a door that is locked – access to galleries, buyers and international contacts? If you don't even knock on that door or at least show them that we are ready to negotiate at an equal level not just we are always asking, asking...

Taft: we will try.....

Edna: are you scared?

Picasso: No it's not that we are scared, we just need to do this for ourselves, because since a long time these Rhodesians have led in the arts here and their belief is that we are below them. Even when it comes to pricing your work, if you go to their event with your prices they will tell you to reduce your prices but when a white artist goes they tell them to increase the prices so they will never want us to be the same level. What I think is we just need to focus on our own project without them. We can then invite them once the train is moving because they won't help us here.

As much as group members expressed their distrust and lack of trust in public support and the gallerists, they also pointed out that they were aware that these stakeholders were experiencing some of the same economic difficulties.

Picasso: *I suppose they are also thinking in terms of business, so they take in consideration quality and standard that can meet world status.*

The group agreed that they vacillated between admiring and appreciating what other stakeholders were going through but also saw them as oppressive. This state of ambivalence also highlights the trauma an oppressed community experiences which cannot be ignored or overlooked in the PED process (Fanon, 1963; Bhabha, 1994).

6.3.5 Defining Power In The Visual Arts Societal Structure

The group also noted that their relationship with the gallerists was tied to their need to gain access to economic benefits they felt were only available with the help of the gallerists. This reflection point led our discussion to look at issues of power and patronage.

Edna: *This seems to be an issue – do they have more power because they own a gallery or is it the colour of their skin?*

Magenta82: *Well no...some of the gallery owners have skin like ours ... what will make him or her powerful is because he's got something you want from them and it's for them to show your work, so that's the only power they have and if he just says I don't like this you are powerless because you were thinking if I get inside there I will get to some level but if you are denied the opportunity then definitely the next thing you will be lacking is food, then you ask 'please, please can you even just put my work at the back of the gallery ...room laughs... because you need to at least be linked to that certain gallery*

Edna: *How many people agree? – rooms nods*

Picasso: *This is very true, I wanted to say where you see many artists look as if they have no confidence or are not sure with what they are doing its because we are used to working with the kind of people that harass us each and every time, they threaten us, so that sometimes when we come in with work they will tell us 'this is junk' and you won't ever make it to an exhibition.*

Nana: *At times you get told off...*

Taft: *Yes at times, you get told off, they tell you to go back to school*

Nana: *You are told, its rubbish....*

...everyone agrees and names of gallerists are mentioned....

Magenta82: *It's a way of intimidating you*

Mrmagoo: *You know what these gallerists do, if you are a young artist they see potential what they do is they take you and they start to clone you to be a certain artist to represent them, so when you try to go back to your roots then they are not interested...at the end of the day what the gallerists want is they want money, he doesn't even like you or whatsoever, he just pretend to like you*

WBM: *Very true*

Mrmagoo: *He wants you to create work, so he will clone you to be someone to represent their store, that's why each and every gallery shows their style of work. Even if you are good, if it's not in line with what they sell then they will just say this is bullshit*

Taft: *Yah with the telling off, it doesn't matter who they are, they are the ones with the space, sometimes they will start to intimidate*

Stool: *I agree with what he said about intimidation, if you go there for the first time with work, they won't say good, good and give you a place of honour, they think if they show they value you too much you will soon be telling Mr Derek, place my work here, they fear you will start telling them what to do in their gallery, so he intimidates you so you know your place*

Gilb: *Some of them like to control what you create, they will only want you to create work that portrays the country as being bad when you want to create work that shows the good things about the country...haaa...*

Nana: *Sometimes we give them power because we are so desperate, for example when you are selling at an art fair, they will come and want to negotiate a lower price and you are so desperate you need to eat that you end up agreeing to whatever they want... mmmm...*

Taft: *We have a problem fearing the whites and giving them power*

Stool: *It's about poverty, people need to eat... he who has money has power...*

Richone: *Sometimes its actually our fault as artists, we give them the power we need to find other ways to get money so we are not dependent on guys like Huggins*

Nana: *An artist can only be flexible when they have eaten...*

This conversation shed light on a historical trait discussed by Sibanda (2015) and Chikukwa (2015) who described the relationship between African artists and their mentors who ran the galleries in the 1970's. Segregation was still practised and African artists could only access certain cultural spaces due to the patronage of the well-known gallerists and collectors, thus they maintained their silence in dealing with mentors and patrons even in situations where they knew they were being exploited (Chikukwa, 2015).

6.3.6 The Curator

The issue of the curator was another sensitive point for the group and a point which we revisited a few times similar to the issue of registration. The first time that the need for a curator for our exhibition came up was at the beginning of the design workshop when the group confirmed they would focus on an art exhibition event. Nana, one of the group members raised the question first as to when a curator would be called in and there was a short pause from

the group and then the conversation moved on to refining the event concept. I noticed this and made a note to go back to this point at the end of the hour and this was the conversation:

Edna: *So ...are we going to have a curator?*

...silence....

Stool: *On that curating...who will be the curator?...will someone go through all the work saying that is ok...that is ok... but if you said this is a more personal space, then why?...*

Mrmagoo: *I don't think we need a curator coz sometimes those who decide...someone once said there is no junk in art...let one judge his or her own work*

Richone: *No curating*

Gilb: *Why can't we do it this way...each one has their style, maybe we could all see everyone else's work then help each other to say this is the work to choose...*

Edna: *is that not the same as curating?*

This issue of the curator was the key sticking point in our event design process, and we got stuck and unstuck a few times. I also noticed that the group would circle the issue and not want to discuss it directly. We concluded the design workshop in this state with what appeared to be an agreement that there would be no curator. It was only in our analysis workshop that I brought the point of the curator again to illustrate how I had noticed that the group would sometimes respond with silence when certain topics were raised that they were not willing to discuss at that time.

Richone: *It's about judging that this isn't art....*

Magenta82: *It needs to be constructive...*

Mrmagoo: *At the end of the day some people wont submit their work*

As the group reflected on their reaction, they identified concerns about the type of power structures that might be set up with this role. Their experiences of curating were all linked to the oppressive structures they were working in and thus they had reservations.

Magenta82: *We said we didn't want because some of them treat us badly, so we want to do this for ourselves – where the artist is curator*

Edna: *tell me for an exhibition event, what do you believe is necessary?*

WBM: *A curator is needed... (agreement in room) if we have journalists at the event, they need to know who will answer the questions, it should be someone from here who knows everything, someone we trust to represent us very well...someone who knows the story*

Taft: *We need a spokesperson ...the curator needs to understand us, someone who started the journey with us and has walked with us, that knows how the journey started*

Stool: *So where do we find them?...don't they need to have a master's degree? ... (room laughs)*

Marypoppins: *The curator's job has changed, an artist has now become a curator – we can curate our own work, we have people here who can speak for us. I know Nana can speak, she can be our spokesperson – she can speak because she knows us, we cannot have an outsider ...*

Edna: *Can I ask what does a curator do so that Nana knows exactly what you expect from her?*

Marypoppins: *She's supposed to understand the work that is there and also manage to speak to the artists individually so that you are able to see what each artist is doing and then create the flow so that even in selecting which door goes where and which colours flow so that there is a sequence, in the work and set up so that doesn't disturb the mind of the viewer. She will understand because she did it.*

Stool: *I suggest Nana and Marypoppins work together as Marypoppins knows about this*

Nana: *She taught me! ...(room laughs)....*

Nana: *So...are you allowing me to be your curator for now?*

...room agrees...

The group worked through their negative association with this key event role and were able to change their perception of it. Intergenerational and gender dynamics also came into play as the group were very comfortable to have the youngest member of the group take on the role of curator, with the help of one of the most experienced artists in the group. The group was clear that they trusted Nana and her age was not a factor to be considered for the role. Both these group members were female and there was no hesitation amongst group members to give this role to 2 females, and this was a role they attached a level of power.

Edna: *Are you feeling confident?*

Nana: *I'm 100% confident, I have been waiting a long time to have an exhibition where I am participating, I have been dreaming since school to get the chance to curate and the woman in this room is the one who taught me.*

6.3.7 Trust - Taking Time

The final point the group wanted to contribute to our analysis of their PED experience was the issue of taking time to establish trust and build relationships. Trust was an important issue for this group. Decision-making, and contributions were initially slow because the group needed time to establish the bonds of trust before they felt fully comfortable to contribute.

Nana: *I wanted to get involved but I was also cautious thinking... this might go wrong but let's see where it goes, if I had found other opportunities to do other projects I would have taken them*

Picasso: *There have been lots of projects, lots of people have come through with many projects, we've seen a lot of projects, people will come and want to take our paintings, but we rush to give because we need money, because we need to eat, then we rush. If you say Obama sent me we won't question.*

.....room laughs.....

Richone: *Last year someone came and asked for pictures and took them to market and left...*

Taft: *Yes and they said they would put them on t-shirts and said every month you will get \$100 – they paid once then they were silent, they then were even asking for more- you could see the organisation logos and website but pay day never came...*

Edna: *Why did you decide to join the project if you know you might be disappointed*

Stool: *But you see, where a per diem is offered, we need something, so if you say there is something on offer, we come for that and will engage –we are in a desert, we are in a drought so we must try and engage*

Edna: *What would it have taken for you trust me and what should I do differently next time?*

Marypoppins: *Work with us longer and see us at work, so we can establish trust – spend more time with us*

Magenta82: *Come and spend time at our studios, just spend time with us, see our lifestyles before we start business let's just spend time talking general stories*

Picasso: *Get to know us on a personal level*

Nana: *When someone has seen your troubles first hand they will find it hard to exploit you*

The group were very clear in their recommendation that a PED process would be more effective with a substantial amount of time at the beginning to just bond with the group to establish trust. This level of trust and development of close bonds started to emerge as the project progressed. The group mentioned how they appreciated a message I sent enquiring

about the safety of group members during the nationwide strikes that were planned by the #ThisFlag and #Tajamuka activist groups soon after we started the critical reflection on Slack. In starting this project I had hoped to see social bonds developed as a result of working together to design an event, yet the group were quite clear in recommending that social bonds had to be created to successfully launch the project rather than as an outcome of the design process. In this participatory event design an element of bridging social capital had to be generated first in order to establish relationships amongst group members. The design process then generated bonding social capital that enabled the group to develop the critical mass and confidence to start thinking about reaching out and generate bridging social capital with other stakeholders in the wider societal structure (Richards, 2015).

6.4 Making sense – My Reflections

My analysis of the transcripts and my reflections at each stage of the process in my journal also revealed the following findings which are key to the project.

6.4.1 Trust – Relinquishing Power and the Emotional Case

One of the key arguments advocating for participatory working is that it increases the level of expertise on a transformational project. Chambers (1997), argues that the marginalised are experts of their reality and thus a social change project can be improved by incorporating more input from the community of interest in the design process. In my experience as an events manager whose practice is based on always having a plan, and in my experience as a PhD student who had to have a research strategy to progress the project, I found it hard to relinquish control of the project. I had trust issues of my own and these were revealed in the ideation phase when the artists decided on an art exhibition and settled on the core objective of educating the public who would be their target audience. In all my aspiration to avoid projecting my ideas and opinions on what the group should do, I realised I had subconsciously decided some sort of conference event would be the best chance at starting to dismantle the oppressive structures that framed the visual arts in Zimbabwe. I believed the artists needed to

focus the event on getting key stakeholders in the same space and sharing their experience. This conversation thread illustrates my struggle to understand:

Edna: *So what about the gallerists and the art suppliers?*

Marypoppins: *They aren't interested*

Edna: *But aren't they the ones then we must be targeting because if we are saying we want to be heard, then they are the ones we must educate don't we want them to understand who we are and how we work?*

Stool: *We will talk to them with action... in later stages ...maybe we will engage them*

Edna: *If we are saying 'unlocking doors' isn't this a door that is locked – access to galleries, buyers and international contacts? If you don't even knock on that door or at least show them that we are ready to negotiate at an equal level not just we are always asking, asking...*

Taft: *We will try.....*

Edna: *Are you scared?*

Picasso: *No it's not that we are scared, we just need to do this for ourselves.... What I think is we just need to focus on our own project without them. We can then invite them once the train is moving because they won't help us here.*

When the group generated suggestions that did not follow my line of thinking I was uncomfortable. I had to go through the reflexive process to check in and assess my position. I realised that even though I was pioneering this new process of event design, trusting the PED process as an events professional was very challenging for me. My default behaviour was to automatically develop a theme and concept and target audience. When I asked the group why they picked the local market as the target audience they stated that even though they referred to them as '*pahasha*' and talked about their lack of support, they felt that this was the segment of their societal structure they wanted to change the most. The group

believed strongly that educating the public would trigger a greater understanding of their work and their struggles.

Reflecting on these design conversations, specifically what group members shared about the relationships they had with gallerists – their need for respect and their interpretation of power – I realised that the group were actually experiencing a form of trauma as a result of their work experiences in Zimbabwe. This made me more aware of my insider-outsider position as I knew about their context and the political, economic and socio-cultural situation but I could not fully understand their experience. I had wanted a more confrontational event strategy, where we would engage with stakeholders at the uppermost levels of societal structures, but the group were not ready to face the policymakers, gallerists or art suppliers. I realised I had to be careful not to lapse into the role of event design expert and force the group to do something they were not ready to do.

I therefore argue that there is an emotional case for event design. I believe that where events are being designed to challenge oppressive structures, it is very important to acknowledge that the community of interest that the event designer will be working with will have elements of psychological trauma or stress. Frantz Fanon discusses the psychological impact of colonial structures on the colonised in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963). The domination that comes with oppressive power structures has a psychological impact and the event designer approaching a project of this nature needs to take the time to assess emotional factors which will influence the design of any social change event.

6.4.2 Risk To Community Of Interest Is Key To Assessing Feasibility Of Event Concept

The literature advocates event concepts be evaluated using filters that address the 3 aspects of finance, market expectations and operational capabilities (Bowden *et al*, 2012; Bladen *et al*, 2017; Shone and Parry, 2013). I found that for our PED process the consideration of risk

to the community of interest took precedence over all other feasibility criteria. Group members were careful to consider each theme that had been proposed in light of how it could affect them in the long term. This is understandable given the experiences they shared of being mistreated by gallerists in the past. The political and economic context influenced the level of risk the artists were willing to take and made them more cautious. Fanon (1963) shares his observations of the mental trauma that can arise from the colonial experience. The visual artists in this project did not manifest extreme cases of trauma but the negative impacts of oppressive structures were evident.

6.4.3 Creativity Within A Dynamic Environment

The themes generated by the group were heavily influenced by the immediate constraints in their environment. It was very difficult for the group to see beyond these issues and the challenges they were facing, thus their vision was heavily influenced. In this instance it can be argued that there is some benefit to having an external party step into the situation as they might be able to take the necessary step back and look at the situation in its entirety, although that external party must never try to ignore these issues. I discuss the aspect of dynamic societal structures in Chapter 7 with more detail but at this point we must consider that the concepts created were based on scenarios that were constantly changing. Event designers working in the Third Sector and in volatile contexts need to be constantly alert that the status quo can change significantly during the course of the project and this highlights the need to accept that there is a porosity required to the process so that the event intervention stays relevant.

6.4.4 Flexibility Required To Get Stuck and Unstuck While Designing For Change

The 3 issues of; documentation of the groups work, formal registration of the group, and need for space were recurring themes in our group discussions. We went through several iterations of raising an issue, discussing it and then agreeing we had reached consensus only for a

group member to bring up the issue again, indicating that it had not been resolved. Often times we had to table the issue and then come back to it after stumbling across the solution we were all happy with when discussing another topic. Our experience had some elements of Reeler's (2007) transformative change process discussed in Chapter 1, section 1.4.

An example of this was the issue of documentation. The focus on documentation at the beginning of the project highlighted an aspect of mimicry discussed by Bhabha, (1994) where the artists appeared to be driven by the desire to be like the established artists and European artists they were seeing in the sector. The group mentioned how they had often seen local arts publications with prominent features on these high profile western artists. These publications were produced by the 2 main galleries – National Gallery of Zimbabwe and Gallery Delta. The artists felt excluded from the access to international markets represented in the audiences of these publications. They were focused on attaining what they saw as a seductively appealing aspect of the dominant stakeholders in their societal structures. The group was keen for documentation to be a priority but could not agree on the how. We had tabled the issue and it was only when we were reflecting on issues of power that one artist's comment about the internet being readily accessible to all made the group unanimously realise that what they had perceived as a systemic problem was actually a problem that they could immediately fix by setting up their own online space, and thus eliminating the need for the patronage of the 2 galleries.

6.5 Proposing PED as An Approach To Designing Events For Social Change

I propose that PED can be a viable option for designing events that seek to trigger social change. The decolonising approach in PED can be an effective first step to dismantling the oppressive power structures that marginalise the communities of interest we seek to work with, especially when they are operating in societal structures which are framed by colonial power tactics of seduction, manipulation, coercion and segregation.

When I refer to PED as a decolonising approach, I am not suggesting that the events industry discard all the current practice and methods used to design Third Sector events in order to revert to some precolonial state. I agree with Fanon (1963) and Thiong'o (1986) who argue that there can never be a return to the precolonial state. The options for decolonisation must focus on a new normal that does not attempt to mimic a distorted or hybridised version of the colonial structures that led to the power inequalities we are now seeking to change. Event practitioners in the Third Sector must heed this advice and through the PED process, focus on creating something that is not exploitative or oppressive but totally disrupts the existing infrastructure we have used in the past.

"...proof of success lies in a social fabric that has been changed inside out." (Fanon, 1963 p.1)

The main advantage of the PED process is that it is emancipatory. The communities of interest who have been silenced and made docile by oppressive power tactics, can find and use their voice and thus take action to address the problems they face. The goal setting thus becomes more realistic and achievable as the community of interest makes decisions having taken the time to consider the impact of their activities on the other stakeholders in their societal structure and themselves while also considering the outcomes.

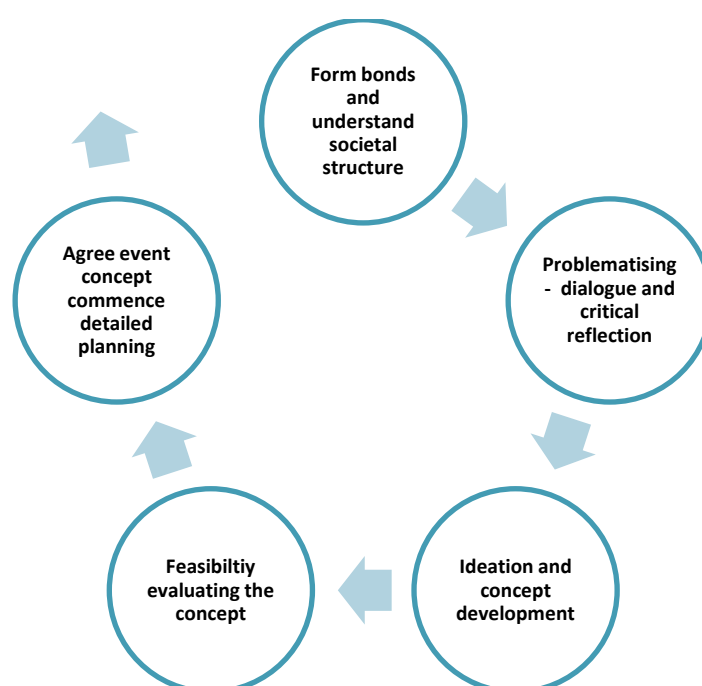
PED also removes manipulative systems that promote ignorance by setting up transparent and dialogic structures that can only work through participation. This de-mystifies the process of event design and creates an open space for marginalised communities to engage in activities that are relevant to them and that. PED helps to dismantle power systems of coercion and patronage as it requires the event designer to develop the diagnostic and empathetic skills necessary to identify and diagnose the power structures that enframe the marginalised communities they work with so that they can source safe spaces for individuals to work in without fear of reprisal.

Another feature of the PED process, which makes it particularly relevant and useful for the Third Sector, is that the process is value-driven. In the specific context of this project where the community of interest was still living and working under the legacy of Zimbabwe's colonial history which had a discourse focused on individualism and the notion of each man for himself (Fanon, 1961). The research participants appreciated working within a participatory framework that aligned with their cultural context, rooted in the philosophy of *hunhuism* (refer Chapter 4). *Hunhuism* espouses the importance of togetherness and mutual respect and this came out quite clearly in the groups' aspirational project values.

6.5.1 An Overview Of The PED PROCESS

The PED process I am proposing contains the steps outlined in Figure 18 I have presented the process as a cycle to acknowledge that at times the process might require the group to revisit certain phases where they get stuck and unstuck.

Figure 18 - The PED Process



The danger of presenting the PED process as a cycle is that it could also imply the group could be at risk of continuing in the cycle perpetually. I have therefore presented the final arrow in the cycle to indicate a flow in the process out of the cycle and onto the next phase of event production and delivery.

6.5.2 Rethinking Roles To Allow More Experts In The Design Space

The traditional event design process is largely reliant on the voice of the specialist event designer who is given the task of ideating and developing a suitable event concept based on the client brief (Brown, 2011; Berridge, 2012; Ferdinand and Kitchin, 2012; Frissen, Janssen and Luijter, 2016). The appointment of the event design expert can inadvertently set up new power relationships within the existing societal structure that can further marginalise the community of interest. The PED process does not prescribe the removal of the event designer role. Instead, it requires that the event designer approach their role differently by seeking to collaborate with other event design experts who are from the community of interest. The process focuses on setting up authentic participation structures that facilitate the event design process. Resources such as time and money allocated to the event design process, which are usually limited, would, in the PED process require greater investment in order to adequately facilitate community engagement activities between the event design team and the community of interest. These are necessary to establish trust and give the designer an in-depth picture of the societal structure that requires transformation.

6.5.3 Representation and Action

Fanon (1963) points out how oppressive power structures can silence and marginalise communities of interest. In this research project my historical analysis of the visual arts sector in Chapter 4 revealed how African artists were placed in a form of what Fanon calls petrification. This reinforced messages that the community of interest did not have the agency

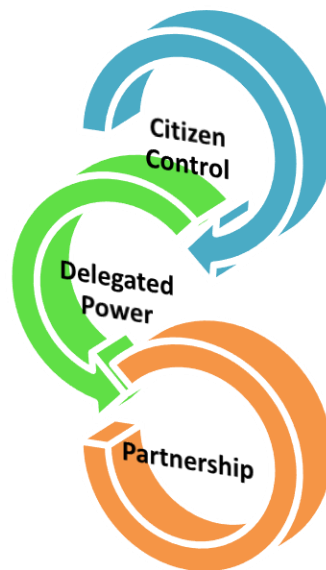
to resolve their own problems. Decolonisation requires action from everyone involved and PED is a practical way to ensure and or trigger community action. My analysis of the traditional third sector event design initiatives in Chapter 3, indicate that the community that is at the centre of the event design intervention sometimes has no say in the event decision making process or creative structures and thus can easily become marginalised or totally invisible. Where a community of interest feels they have no platform to establish or validate their identity in the event process and have no space or responsibilities in the event space, they cannot ever see it as their space. Thus they are not represented and cannot ensure the correct stories – their stories - are being told on their behalf at the event. If communities of interest feel the space is not really theirs then they begin to question why they should engage or feel committed to the transformation intervention and apathy sets in. There is no motivation to see through the change required. This leads to what Freire (1996) calls a culture of silence.

The complexities within the issue of representation were first presented by Spivak (1988) and Ellsworth (1989). Their analysis of real life situations involving individuals who would have the role of the subaltern in their societal structures highlighted the intricate multi-layers within colonised societal structures. Spivak (1988) and Ellsworth (1989) challenged the simplistic or binary view of colonised societies where there was just one homogenous group and in their practical investigations found that within the wider oppressed group some subgroups did not have as much of a voice as others within the group. Some groups would always be silenced even if the colonial structures silencing the colonised were removed because there was still a subtext to the existing infrastructure that would silence the subaltern and prevent them from adequately representing themselves. Ellsworth (1989) points out that this type of silence did not always mean a lost voice, at times it was actually a choice to speak within a certain situation or in front of a certain audience.

I therefore propose that the PED process would work best with a flexible framework, which would allow the community of interest to decide how they are represented and how they

engage with the project. The PED framework would move between the 3 optimum and authentic levels of participation that embody the value-based intervention throughout the different stages of the project. See Figure 19.

Figure 19 Participation scaffolding for the PED Process



The movement between these 3 levels would not necessarily be linear or based on the timeline of the design activities but it would be necessary to always start the process at the level of Citizen Control. Communities of interest would need to be able to work with the event designer more closely at times and then where the event designer needs to act on decisions made and mobilise resources the level of participation would drop down to partnership levels. Effective PED projects would require the communities of interest to be involved in the negotiation of project objectives and in the most significant parts of decision-making regarding how the project funds are spent.

6.5.4 Use Of Flexible and Porous Spaces and Structures For Dialogic Encounters

Event design takes place in remote office locations that are not always accessible to the communities of interest. Thus, the process of event design appears to be mystical and

intimidating for the community of interest who then believe they have nothing of value to contribute to the process of transforming their societal structure. Fanon (1963) recommends the removal of compartmentalised structures and Thiong'o (1986) proposes the creation of open spaces where people can come together so that there is freedom to engage with each other in a way that builds unity and community cohesion. The activities are relevant to the cultural context and history of the local community and the open spaces allow for dialogue and interaction.

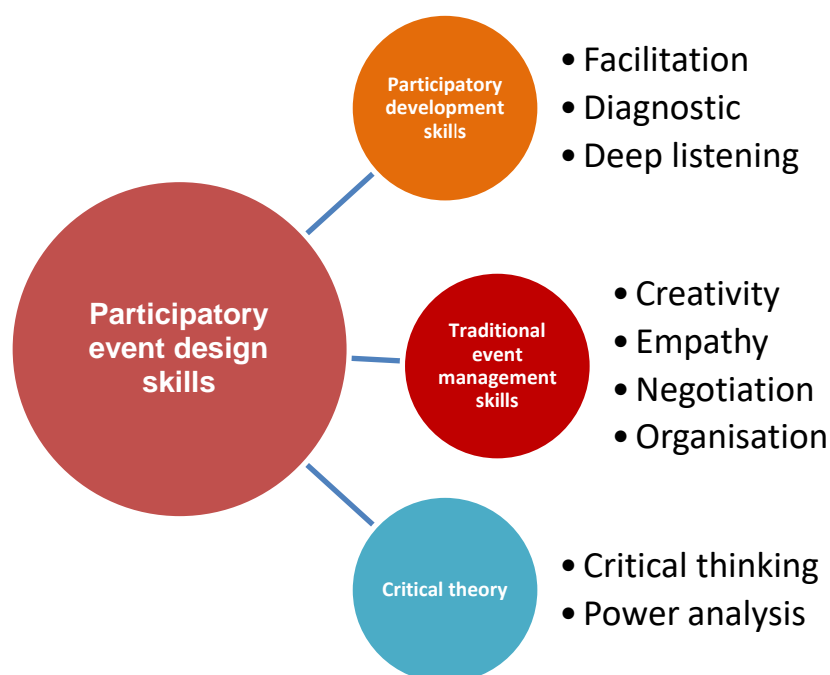
For the PED process to be effective, it is important that it is based on valuing dialogic rather than monologic encounters. Chapter 2 outlined the power strategies used by colonisers which embedded segregation and manipulative power systems. Fanon (1963) suggested that colonisers applied monologic systems as they did not want to cede control in any way. Monologic systems also enabled the dominant individuals to embed their truth within the colonial discourse (Thiong'o, 1986). Decolonisation must then focus on establishing transparent processes and structures that nurture trust. The PED process must take place in spaces that are open and accessible, be they virtual or physical – the design process cannot be hidden from the community of interest. Practitioners who use the PED approach must be careful to avoid using language that alienates communities of interest or silences them by not being relevant to their context. At times the language traditionally used in the design and funding sectors can also segregate communities and establish manipulative power systems that focus on controlling groups of people (Foucault, 1991).

6.5.5 Skills

The PED will require event professionals to develop some new skills. The client relationship will be different in this process as event designers will need more time to establish a bond with the communities of interest and to understand the nuances of societal structures they are working to change. There are some crucial aspects to the decision-making process,

specifically decision making in the allocation or movement of money and resources to move the project forward. Thus the events practitioner who is taking on the role of research facilitator has to apply strategies that are truly emancipatory and do not manipulate or marginalise communities of interest (Blackburn, 2000). Event designers will also need to regularly check in and remap power structures as the societal structure is always dynamic. The events industry will need to consider whether certain sectors like the third sector will require event designers to apply a different set of skills. Traditionally the field of events management has focused on the development of business-based capabilities and skills such as project management; organisation; time management; negotiation and creative problem solving (Bowdin *et al*, 2012; Bladen *et al*, 2017; Pielichaty *et al*, 2017). The PED process still requires some of these skills but it also requires more application of empathy to support the emotional contexts of the communities of interest, strong facilitation, diagnostic and negotiation skills from the event designer. Figure 20 outlines the focus of skills required for event designers seeking to work with a process like PED.

Figure 20 - Skills required of the Event Designer



Conclusion

The data presented and analysed in this chapter highlights the key issues to be considered in designing events for social change. The community of artists who engaged with this process illustrated the importance of developing a transparent and relevant, value-based framework that does not dehumanise or silence participants. The extensive quotes from co-researchers sharing their experiences in the beginning of this chapter present their experiences in their voice in a direct manner for the reader to engage with and understand the themes that have been highlighted.

The event design process presented in this chapter differs from traditional event design processes discussed in Chapter 3. Traditional event design takes place in remote office locations that are not always accessible to the communities of interest. Thus, the process of event design appears to be mystical and intimidating for the community of interest who then believe they have nothing of value to contribute to the process of transforming their societal structure. The discussions of co-researchers in this chapter confirm that their previous experience of exhibition design was similar to that discussed in Chapter 3 on event design and Chapter 4 – gallerists and curators who were deemed to be experts would create their events in their private spaces and thus process appeared to be mystical to the artists as well as members of the public who would not engage with the events. Fanon (1963) recommends the removal of compartmentalised structures and Thiong'o (1986) proposes the creation of open spaces where people can come together so that there is freedom to engage with each other in a way that builds unity and community cohesion. The activities must be relevant to the cultural context and history of the local community and the open spaces allow for dialogue and interaction. The PED process presented in this chapter as a potential approach to adopt

when designing events that trigger social change. It is rooted in dialogic systems it must be a transparent and flexible process.

It is important to note that when I refer to PED as a decolonising approach, I am not suggesting that the events industry discard all the current practice and methods used to design Third Sector events in order to revert to some precolonial state. I agree with Fanon (1963) and Thiong'o (1986) who argue that there can never be a return to the precolonial state. The options for decolonisation must focus on a new normal that does not attempt to mimic a distorted or hybridised version of the colonial structures that led to the power inequalities we are now seeking to change. Event practitioners in the Third Sector must heed this advice and through the PED process, focus on creating something that is not exploitative or oppressive but totally disrupts the existing infrastructure we have used in the past.

"...proof of success lies in a social fabric that has been changed inside out." (Fanon, 1963 p.1)

Event designers will also need to regularly check in and remap power structures as the societal structure is always dynamic. The events industry will need to consider whether certain sectors like the third sector will require event designers to apply a different set of skills. Traditionally the field of events management has focused on the development of business-based capabilities and skills. The PED process requires empathy, strong facilitation, diagnostic and negotiation skills from the event designer – periods of reflection during this project have allowed me to stop and think about the skills I needed to use at each stage of the project. The following two chapters (Chapters 7 and 8) provide more of a focus on key discussion points coming out of my reflexive process. In Chapter 7 I reflect on our experiences in the event design phases, as this was our in-between time where we worked in the margins. I refer to the theory on liminoid zones presented by Turner (1969) and developed by Yang (2000) to analyse the experience of social movements. The reflections in Chapter 7 add another useful dimension to the empirical discussions presented in this chapter. Chapter 8 presents my

reflections on using the PAR approach for research, this again adds another level of practical implications to the research.

CHAPTER SEVEN: REFLECTIONS FROM THE VERANDA: MAKING SENSE OF THE PED EXPERIENCE

"I sat on the veranda talking to the gallery owners and their friends and for a moment I stopped and thought 'this is like being back in Rhodesia!'"

(Research- Facilitator reflecting on interview experience with family
Image below taken by researcher on a friend's veranda)



Introduction

The veranda, a key symbol of colonial architecture became a recurring image and symbol of this research project as it started to build momentum. I realised the importance of this image while sitting on the veranda with family and friends following a discussion on my experiences of conducting interviews with a number of gallerists in Harare. I described a particular experience with a well-known gallerist where I had been received with a considerable amount of reservation and suspicion when I arrived for the interview. The gallerist spent the first hour of the interview interrogating me on who I was, who had sent me and why I was doing the project. They refused to let me record the interview and it was only after we had identified a mutual acquaintance from the high school I attended, that the atmosphere then mellowed

somewhat, and I was invited inside the gallery to view the current exhibition. While reflecting on these experiences with my family, I laughed and remarked how I felt like I had travelled back in time to colonial Rhodesia. I spent more time reflecting on this and realised that most of my interviews with gallerists had taken place on verandas and in-between spaces.

The review of post-colonial theory in Chapter 2 touched on the use of colonial architecture as a physical manifestation of the power systems and colonial discourse that prevailed. The veranda was one such structure referred to in the literature; it symbolised a structure that facilitated surveillance of the colonised and also represented access or patronage. Spencer (2006) and Hudson (1993) noted that the veranda allowed the coloniser to observe the labourers through a colonial panoptic gaze, without themselves necessarily being seen. The veranda was a place of protection for the colonial master as it provided security and safety from the country's natural environment as well as the natives. This space-controlled access into the house, some individuals were never given access into the house and only travelled as far as the veranda. The veranda became a platform that allowed the coloniser to display their difference and sophistication which seduced the colonised into believing they were superior. Fanon (1961) and Hooks (1992) point out that as the colonised gazed back at the coloniser's activities they viewed them as mysterious, impenetrable and invincible.

The veranda was also seen as a boundary or a symbol of what post-colonial theorists called the 'borderlands' (Ashcroft, 2001). These borderlands were constructed boundaries between peoples, nations and individuals or spaces adjacent to the 'frontier' where the coloniser settled. Spencer (2006) and Fox (2012) point out that there could be a risk of focusing on the one sidedness of the colonial gaze, without considering the fact that the colonised were also able to look back and surveil the coloniser as well, indicating that the colonised were not totally powerless in this structure. These authors challenged that the colonial veranda could also be considered a space of openness and engagement and thus a liminoid space. A space of

energy that could release the energy for transformation as it had the potential of dismantling the colonial binary systems (Ashcroft, 2001).

I therefore invite the reader to consider the PED process as our experience of stepping onto the veranda and entering the mystified and impenetrable space of exhibition design in Zimbabwe. As discussed in the research context in Chapter 4, visual artists in Zimbabwe had historically not been involved in the design and set up of art exhibition events. The gallerists that organised these events had a strategic power position of being the gate keepers who controlled access to the planning of events like this. They controlled access to the networks of arts collectors, venue spaces, media and funding organisations who determined the fortunes of the artists. African artists had to rely on the patronage of white mentors who would give them restricted access into this world. Sibanda (2015) and Chikukwa (2015) note that even though African artists were working in this reality they were not totally powerless. They would choose to work within the systems set up by their patrons while quietly collecting the resources they needed for their economic independence.

Chapter 6 presented my reflections and those of the group on the participatory event design process as well as an analysis of our project design process in light of current traditional event design practice. This chapter now looks at the second half of the question and discusses some specific elements of our experience in the liminoid space as we mobilised for social change. The project set out to understand the event design process over the space of 18 months, thus the timing of the project does not allow us to track any form of long term impact regarding social change. I therefore focus on the key aspects of the early stages of social change and take a look at the specific phenomena of our liminal experience in order to make sense of the complex nature of the social change process. Yang (2000) notes that participating in a social change intervention results in a transformation of identities of all individuals involved. In this context it is important for me to assess how my identity has been transformed as well. The second half of this chapter includes my reflection on the distance I have travelled in this social

change journey. I reflect on my initial thoughts and perspective of the project and compare my current perspective of the issues addressed in this project. I am aware that as we continue in the final stages of event production and delivery as a group our identities will continue to evolve.

7.1 Stepping onto The Veranda and Unlocking Doors - The Liminoid Space of Participatory Event Design

Yang (2000) and Wels *et al* (2011) describe liminality as the spatial, temporal or social separation of individuals from what they consider to be their norm. Participation in the liminoid space of social change initiatives can transform identities and the level of transformation is related to the depth of the liminoid experience (Whittier, 1997; Yang, 2000). I propose that the participants in this project experienced a version of the liminoid through the PED process as illustrated in Figure 21. We used both physical and virtual spaces in this PED project and therefore I propose that our design experience was our journey through a liminoid space which resulted in the first stage of a change to our identities. I include the virtual space in our liminoid experience because Madge and O'Connor (2004) have discussed virtual platforms as liminoid spaces as well.

Figure 21 - The Liminoid Space Of Participatory Event Design

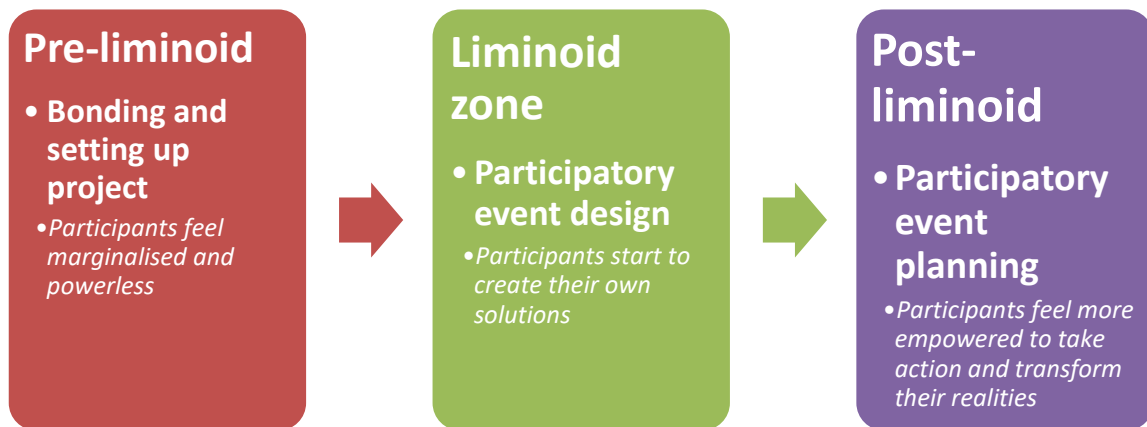


Figure 21 provides an overview of our experience. The process of critically reflecting on many issues that had long been seen as systemic problems, gave the chance for artists to review their perspective. While the artists were in the liminoid zone they knew they were in a space that had the potential to create something new (Turner, 1969). They also were quite clear in that they wanted to be invisible and ambiguous in this space. The group saw themselves as being in the borderlands (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2007). The artists instinctively knew that this space would be viewed with hostility by those who were on the opposing binary position as they had much to lose in the form of control over the economic systems that linked to the visual arts sector.

Yang (2000) studied the liminoid effects of social movements and postulates that Turner's description of liminoid experiences includes the 4 characteristics of freedom, egalitarianism, community and creativity. He argues that looking for evidence of these 4 criteria confirms that a social change project is in a liminoid state. I map our experiences on this project along these 4 criteria in Table 7 and use key quotes from participants during the project as evidence.

Table 7: Our Liminoid Experience

<p>Freedom - the freedom of the group to develop their own solution without restrictions or fear</p>	<p>Taft: <i>And....at the start of this project we wanted this to be a project for freedom, where we could do what we wanted by ourselves, without the Deltas so in here there is more of a feeling of freedom that wouldn't have been there if we had been in the galleries, here we feel we are in charge.</i></p>
<p>Egalitarianism - everyone feeling united.</p>	<p>Gilb: <i>Yah for me especially when we are at NGZ I wouldn't be that comfortable like the way I am in this space. In this space I feel we are all equal.</i></p>
<p>Community - the spontaneous communitas exhibited at different points in the project</p>	<p>Magenta82: <i>yah we are very confident now. If anyone asks for help, we can now tell them how to go about doing this for themselves. We are sharpening each other, we are all progressing. What is great about this group is that we are all artists of different ages so we can all learn from each other. That means we will get stronger and stronger.</i></p>
<p>Creativity – Developing the concept for our own exhibition concept and develop the programme</p>	<p>Picasso: <i>My plan for the big event is an extraordinary exhibition which interrogates our challenges in the industry. I would wish it to be a collective theme and my proposed title to it is "Unlocking Doors" and my explanation to this is that, since we are teaming up to find solutions to our problems, we need a title that says it all, maybe catching the attention of targeted people whom we think are blocking our way and also may attract people who will want to join this movement of emancipating ourselves from political and economic disaster.</i></p>

Having provided this evidence as to our liminoid experience based on Yang's criteria, I was also aware of some peculiarities specific to our context which I discuss now.

7.1.2 Despite Being Equal There Were Multiple Layers In Our Liminoid Space

Turner (1974) describes the liminoid space as being an equaliser where rank and file is suspended and all individuals in the space become equal. The liminoid space is an unstructured egalitarian world which is said to seek to be inclusive by developing a community rather than othering and isolating individuals – this is how *Communitas* is produced. Our group members had different entry points to access the liminoid space and I was keen to track how members would interact with each other.

Marypoppins: *As a woman I find the art industry quite challenging as it is very male dominated and in Zimbabwe, I find that it is difficult to be taken seriously at times. I actually prefer situations or scenarios where my work goes without my representation because the immediate assumption is that I'm the sales lady, not the artist, and when it is discovered that it is indeed I that has done the work, inappropriate comments and behaviours ensue, taking away from my dignity and my work.*

Panda: *As young artists the problem that we are facing, it's a little bit challenging comparing with the already established ones. For us to exhibit they ask a lot of questions and these gallery owners they are not giving us that room to express ourselves, they want us to create work that they want.*

Throughout the workshops no one ever pulled rank or claimed they knew more than the others so in this way we were all like Turner's initiates, but we did not fully shake off the norms and structures of the outside world. The sense of egalitarianism was more evident in the intergenerational relationships, especially as the group was quite comfortable letting one of the youngest members of the group take on the role of curator – a role that many of the artists had found problematic. Tracking the sense of egalitarianism across the genders revealed something different:

Edna: *This is something you have to decide. How do you want things to work? Who will do that day to day admin?*

Stool: *haaa....Nana and Richone can make it work...*

Edna: *But they can't do that they have their own artwork to be creating*

Clive: *haaa they can do the admin at night...*

This flippant comment made by one of the male artists that the female artists could take on the administration roles in a new communal space for the artists' highlighted there were still some issues to be dealt with in determining gender equality.

The different entry points were also due to different levels of access to resources.

Tbx: *Hie I was struggling to access this slack but finally I'm on, so tomorrow I will be in full force*

Stool: *Now I am a slack man....Well I am now doin it on ma 4n...*

WBM: *Hello everyone I'm on slack now my idea is that what about if we all use slack and Facebook for those who have no access to slack can use Facebook, that's my opinion.*

The messages from these 3 artists highlighted that some members of the group were experiencing their own challenges engaging with the activities but were not willing to share them with the group, especially where they might have felt that the other members of the group were far advanced. Within the community of artists there were different levels of access to resources; different life challenges; different goals and experiences. Some artists were struggling in silence and not speaking as they had promised to do when the rules of engagement were established resulting in exchanges like this:-

Nana: *I think seriousness should be part of our ways of thinking because I see people joining and not saying anything...*

Zoro1: *@ nana I agree with you, but note some are facing challenges, be happy that they have joined Slack. It's a big step they've taken. There are others who are still to do so. Tomorrow they'll take another step. Relax.*

Nana: *We happy but we can't be too patient Zoro time is money*

Mrmagoo: *Nana, Nana, you have to be at least a little bit patient, you're saying that cause you are already in the Bus that's why you want to tell the driver that the bus is full. Just wait and be patient please...*

The artists were in a space that was supposed to unify and democratise them but they still had their own specific challenges they were facing in other aspects of their lives. The process of navigating the space meant negotiating the priorities but not necessarily abandoning the issues that were still prevalent in their lives.

Marypoppins: *I have found people prioritising bread and butter in this season*

Taft: *No people prefer their sadza first...*

There was an element of being strategic about engagement with the project so as to take advantage of the project rather than opt out and miss out on any subsequent rewards. The commitment to the group's agreed priorities was not always consistent and at times group members would revert to a default mindset of seeking relief from their immediate personal challenges.

7.1.3 Freedom In The Liminoid Space To Undergo The Conscientisation Process

Freire (1996) recommends that the first step to transformation is to read the world and critically reflect on the existing structures that result in oppression as part of the conscientisation

process. Being in the liminoid space of the PED process, the artists had to reflect on the key issues affecting their need to earn a sustainable livelihood from their art.

Zoro1: *Our challenges as artists is a free working studio, where you drive and work from since it is hard to find money to rent a space . I think it's best to work as a group of artists sharing the same studio space. Second challenge, artists should have an income whenever they exhibit their arts works sale or no sales, we should be respected as individuals. In some parts of the world artists are given income whenever they exhibit, of which this is not happening*

Taft: *Yes I agree with zoro1. If we have a working studio for visual artists, it's easy for us to work as a team and managing to solve issues together. Because sometimes it's not easy to even approach a ministry as an individual artist. We work in isolation of each other that is why even the policy/copyrights does not fully protect the visual arts, and there is nothing we can do about it as individuals. You are forced to pay duty because they do not realize that paint or laptop is part of your art. Yah...*

The time spent in critical reflection and dialogue about the key issues helped the group challenge their assumptions about what was wrong so that we could get to grips with the key issues. The dialogue within the group evolved from looking at the superficial causes affecting their livelihood to identifying key underlying issues. These included the importance of having access to or owning a space to create and show work; having a space that the community of artists could use to meet and mobilise a critical mass so that they could then approach the individuals with more economic resources and power to address some of the other issues that were affecting their attaining a sustainable livelihood. This highlights the point that pursuing social change is a noble and commendable mission but the oppressed must have the space and sympathetic infrastructure to do so, otherwise it's challenging to break out of the poverty cycle (Sen 2001). The artists discussed having to take on commercial work or what they termed 'craft' to make ends meet, and in this way they were imprisoned by their lack of

economic resources. The artists came up with their own terminology – a key example being; ‘bicycles’ which referred to the commercial work they needed to produce regularly as it sold quickly and was able to keep them going financially.

***Taft:** Myself I also make art for commercial market a few. But sometimes it's very hard to balance the two, commercial is so uninspiring.*

7.1.4 The Liminoid Space is Not Surrounded By a Vacuum

While we were in the liminoid space of the PED process we found that the societal structure we were focusing on was changing daily. The Zimbabwe context was quite specific but it did highlight the fact that no societal structure is ever static. Thus when entering the liminoid space all participants must find a way to keep abreast of current affairs as the prevailing circumstances may enter states of flux resulting in the new identities developed becoming null or void in the proposed transformation of the societal structure. I propose that teams entering liminoid spaces of social change projects need to be very aware of the fact that social change does not happen in a vacuum. The societal structure is a living organism that is evolving and changing as well, even throughout the life of the social change project.

7.1.6 Experts In the Societal Structure

Blackburn (2001) and Spivak (2010) discuss that the illiterate do not have the intellectual capacity to read their world without help. I found the artists were more the experts of their reality. In fact, for this project the community of artists were able to read their world quite well.

***Taft:** Zimra would want a bank statement and is it an rt¹⁷ form from the bank. This is to say you sending work outside for a while and returning work by such a date, if u do*

¹⁷ Registered transaction

not bring by such day they consider it sold and would want commission. I don't know some have more correct information...

Stool: *For those who are having challenges in finding a studio...Some local authorities may have space which no longer works eg old council crèches.... you can liaise and come up with something concrete. ..E.g. Daves Ghuzha the theatre Guru has revamped the small stage in Harare gardens to a world class amphitheatre.*

Taft: *So let us know of these abandoned places and maybe you can ask who is in charge of those places so we can go together and talk about our plans as a team*

Tbx: *Great idea there are greater chances of finding some studio spaces through council coz so many community centres are no longer functioning well so I do believe if they are approached nicely and professionally they can even offer these centres for free mostly if they know some of the youths of that area can benefit from you artist*

The artists were also quick to show their shrewd understanding of how their world worked and their awareness of the interlinked societal structure they were operating within:

Magenta82: *I feel you are forced at times to dance to the tune that is playing even though at times it might not be your song.*

Marypoppins: *I buy my materials from framing centre and they are having importation challenges so now that affects me and my access to materials and yes there are some art dealers who charge an arm and a leg, but we should remember why we go to them- they may have a premises they pay rent towards, they may market the events and our work at their own expense, they may even go as far as exporting (paying tax and shipment cha the work so it can be sold at higher value). So i think it only fair to pay them a decent percentage of the value of work, so they can also continue doing what they are doing. perhaps maybe we as artists would then need to reconsider our price ranges or perhaps if the facilitators are charging too much, perhaps we can try to do it*

ourselves but I have experienced that its less stressful to find a middleman, than to try export my work on my own, as well as actually produce the work

Understanding of issues with local market

Marypoppins: *I have found people prioritising bread and butter in this season*

Taft: *People prefer their sadza first. And whites say kill me softly with your price im Local and in the same predicament. Kikk*

Magenta82: *It is wishful thinking on our part kkkk.it is a good investment though. I doubt they will pick art over putting bread and butter on the table.*

This exchange highlights the internal or moral struggle within the group – as much as they would want to mobilise more economic support from the local market they are very much aware that all stakeholders in the societal structure are facing similar economic challenges. There is a tension here in pushing for a transformation within a societal structure that is economically and creatively oppressive but realising those other levels or segments of the societal structure are also facing their own challenges.

7.1.7 Our Feeling of Communitas

Turner (1974) describes the phenomena of being in the liminoid space as a time where the initiates or group members start to establish a unity and generate communitas. He states there are three types of communitas. Spontaneous communitas which is a feeling of endless power, the group reaches points of mutual understanding where they feel all problems could be resolved because they are united in vision. Turner notes it is not always a permanent feeling, it can be fleeting. Then there is ideological communitas which is the state of being together based on group beliefs and normative communitas which looks to maintaining communitas on a permanent level.

Turner (1974) points out that since the very nature of spontaneous *communitas* is ethereal trying to hold on to it and make it permanent so as to continuously derive its benefits can turn it and the group into exactly what they are trying to transform or overcome. Turner suggests that *communitas* is at its most effective when it is not stifled or forcedly sustained as the system will find a way to repeat itself – where the elements the groups moves to transform are returned in later cycles. Our group experienced spontaneous *communitas*. All the peers in the liminoid space become equal, and rank or hierarchy are levelled out. The process of becoming unified generated the feeling of *communitas* and in that new space, social bonds were created and the door to transformation was opened. In the lifespan of this project we observed a gradual increase in confidence noted amongst all group members from the start of the project and the nature and tone of conversations and interactions highlighted the group was getting closer and growing together in the process.

7.1.8 Tracking Social Capital Generated

In establishing the participatory process as the research philosophy and method of choice for this project, I was curious to establish if we would be able to identify any evidence of social capital arising as an outcome of the project. I then planned to track and note any signs of what might be social capital being produced as the group started to bond. The group were quick to start to bond and, in that mind-set, started thinking about helping themselves and looking for the power within to change their situation.

Marypoppins: *we need to look out for each other, this group is the beginning of something that could change not only our lives, but the art scene in Zim. Let's not look to outsiders to help us, let's put our minds together, then as one force, we will be able to get funding for whatever projects we desire as a team. It's easier to get group funding than individual.*

Edna: Many thanks to @booggie , @taft , @nana , @piccasso , @magenta82 , @zoro1 for starting this useful conversation - this is how we get to long term success of the project. There are many challenges we face but we already have so many resources amongst ourselves that we can start with before we take on the established galleries, venues and funders - and I have always found that these organisations are more keen to support us when they see us working on our own. The conversations we have here can be really useful for the emerging or younger artists in the group who can learn from the more experienced artists.

Stool: Lets also have artists collectively contributing something at the end of the month for a helping hand eg funeral and parties and even where materials is shot..

The self-confidence amongst group members also started to increase and artists were looking within for the power to change their situations.

Marypoppins: In Zimbabwe we have such a rich culture we can easily tap into for inspiration. Yes we may have our issues, but I find that allows for greater depth in our artwork, turning lemons into lemonade. I also like the fact that we are still to have a huge revolution in the art industry, so we have the opportunity within this group, to instigate a movement of the arts in Zim that will make history, its entirely up to us and how we decide to push ourselves but it is definitely something we can do and it will be a legacy that we can leave for generations to come

Magenta82: Yes we need to support each other in that an opportunity might come by which you know who might be good and perfect for it but just because of some circumstance you decide to hog it all and be a Jack of all trades that's not good though at times I know it's not our fault. We just victims of social and economic vices.

Booggie: We have people who can write among us so I was thinking of doing it ourselves if those who do that are not interested in artists. We have designers in this

group and photographers. Others have laptops and cameras that help us to take a step forward on the issue of documentation.

Apart from the moves to work together as a group, members started to share opportunities to participate in other arts projects and exhibiting opportunities. The group adopted the philosophy of hunhuism in the way they were working together to help each other move forward. The group was also keen to celebrate each other and each other's' successes as the community became closer.

WBM: **insert image-caption of news clipping: Artists raise environmental awareness**

Check out my news story

Richone: **thumbs up emoji x3**

WBM: *Thanks.*

MrMagoo: *Well done bro *clapping emoji x3**

WBM: *Thanks guys*

Taft: **laughing emojis x3* you are doing some amazing stuff! *hammer emoji x4* this is for you!*

Stool: *You are doing even better than Sauro*

Tbx: *The people don't realise they haven't heard the last of him yet you are on fire*
WBM

Stool: *Well done WBM*

7.2 The Distance Travelled By The Researcher

7.2.1 The Researcher's Journey Through Multiple Liminoid Spaces

Although I was also in the liminoid space discussed above, I have separated my personal reflections so as to scrutinise my experience on its own. The visual artists entered their liminoid space in the second action research cycle of the project in June 2016 but I started the project

in September 2011. In a sense the entire journey of the PhD was the wider liminoid space that I was in and the action research cycles with the artist communities I interacted with in 2012 -2014 and 2016-2017 were sub-levels of the liminoid space. Reflecting on my journey through the multiple spaces helps me look back and assess my distance travelled over the life span of the project. Czarniawska and Mazza (2003) and Johnsen and Sorensen (2015) have proposed that individuals who take on the role of a consultant or in my case event designer and research facilitator can end up in a permanent state of liminality. I entered the liminoid space as a research practitioner who wanted to effect social change and my experience involved moving through specific periods of separation from the pre- liminoid to the post- liminoid. I was the insider-outsider in the research group and as much as I wanted to create strong bonds with the group I could never fully understand or take on the issues a Zimbabwean visual artists experiences in their day to day reality. Johnsen and Sorensen (2015) suggest that as I moved on or between different aspects of the project between my experience as a PhD student and as a design researcher I was in a permanent state of liminality.

I was also aware that while I had multiple layers of the liminoid space to move between, the research participants also had their multiple spaces. As the project developed I found I would still get messages from a representative of the group who would make a request on behalf of the group on Slack. The request usually noted that the group had already had a discussion about the matter. This indicated that the group were communicating about the project on another space which I did not have access to. This might indicate that we did not achieve a level of egalitarianism and thus we were not in a liminoid space but I would like to propose that this indicates that contemporary liminoid spaces are more complex and sometimes have multiple layers like ours. The PED process was a time-bound activity and we set up our design activities in multiple spaces, both virtual and physical. So even though we did separate ourselves the project was porous and had to be as all participants needed to continue with their day to day activities. The very nature of this project meant our liminoid space had to allow for participants to engage with other communication platforms and they found that the one

they had developed as Visual Artists Ready to Be Heard was a safe space where they could discuss issues relating to the PED process before reaching a point where they were ready to discuss these issues with me as research-facilitator (I discuss this further in Chapter 8, section 8.2.1).

7.2.2 The Research Facilitator is Also Part Of a Complex Societal Structure

Tracking my movement in-between these different levels of the liminoid space caused me to reflect on the fact that the event designer is not as free as everyone assumes. When developing an intervention aimed at social change, it is important to first be aware of the existing societal structure and then also the studies on this process which have focused on documenting the understanding of the position of the oppressed or community of interest within the societal structure. I have also learnt that there is also a need to scrutinise the position of the researcher or change agent within this societal structure so as to understand their position in relation to the power structures. The cautious responses from stakeholders who asked why I was doing the research and who had sent me highlighted that it is also important to assess how the mere introduction of a new actor who is working as a change agent or animator might trigger a change in the system right from the beginning. For close knit societal structures like the Zimbabwean cultural sector, where most agents know each other even if they do not necessarily interact with each other, the entrance of a new agent is like a ripple in the pond – and the ripple can start to alter the societal structure already, thus making the societal structure even more fluid.

Spending time analysing this societal structure for the project increased my ability to read my own world a little better as well and I became more aware of the existing power relationships in the societal structure I am a part of. One of the very obvious power relationships I had to re-examine was that of my interaction with funders. Funders have access to key economic resources and thus have a certain degree of power. This allows them to dictate project actions

and outcomes and this ultimately has an impact on the social change project. I was able to scrutinise the funding power relationships quite comfortably in this project as it was self-funded, but I was always aware of how things would change were a funder to be approached, as they would automatically have their demands for reports and evaluation data that might influence the direction and focus on the project.

My perceptions on the requirements of a social change intervention definitely changed over time. There was a notable change in my perception and aims from when I started and through the different action research cycles. At the start of the project I placed a huge emphasis on time. In fact, part of the reason I asked how can events be designed to effect social change – came from my assumption that a simple toolkit could be developed to set up event based interventions which could be implemented in a timely manner and rapidly transform a societal structure. Looking back on this, I realise my focus was on meeting funder objectives.

Conclusion

This chapter started with an invitation to the reader to consider the analogy of the colonial veranda when thinking about the event design experience. The concept of the colonial veranda as a physical symbol of access was first introduced in Chapter 2 when discussing segregation of space as a technology of power in colonial societal structures. This discussion also noted how the literature alluded to the liminoid properties of the veranda space, which was seen as an in-between space. Some groups would have access to this space and the superior comfort of the colonial home beyond and other groups did not. The veranda as a liminoid space could at times become a borderland or boundary between the world of the coloniser and the world of the colonised (Glover, 2004; Spencer 2006; Ashcroft, Griffin and Tiffin, 2007; Njoh 2009). Starting the chapter with this discussion comparing the PED process to the characteristics of liminality as presented by Yang (2000) allowed me to present a more nuanced description of our journey and experience on this social change project. The liminoid

space displayed most of the aspects discussed by Turner (1974) and the evidence from the workshop transcripts illustrated our experience and the spontaneous *communitas* generated in the PED process. These criteria include the freedom of the group to develop their own solution without restrictions or fear; the feeling of egalitarianism which makes everyone feel united; the spontaneous feeling of *communitas* exhibited at different points in the project and creativity which results in the creation of something new.

This chapter also highlights my observations that the liminoid space can still be heterogeneous. I discussed how I noticed different levels of engagement with the project and different expectations from members. This revealed that even with the egalitarianism displayed by all participants, they could never fully escape the external societal issues that would affect their engagement with the project at times. This indicated that our liminoid space wasn't just one layer, there were in fact several layers to the liminoid space. I was also aware that I had multiple layers of the liminoid space to move between as a research- facilitator and PhD student. This might indicate that we did not achieve a level of egalitarianism and thus we were not in a liminoid space but I would like to propose that this indicates that contemporary liminoid spaces are more complex and sometimes have multiple layers like ours. The PED process was for a distinct period of time and we set up our design activities in multiple spaces, both virtual and physical. So even though we did separate ourselves the project was porous and had to be as all participants needed to continue with their day to day activities. The very nature of this project meant our liminoid space had to allow for participants to engage with other communication platforms and they found that the one they had developed as Visual Artists Ready to Be Heard was a safe space where they could take a step back and discuss issues relating to the PED process.

This chapter also reviews the issue of social capital generated in this project and concludes that directly attributing the generation of social capital to the research project would be overly ambitious, as the group members were already part of other artist networks and were

maintaining other communications on other platforms. It is also important to note that the visual arts community in Zimbabwe is small and though there is no formal organisation that brings together the community and they are working in isolation, they all know each other. It would be interesting to continue to track this phenomenon as the group emerges from the liminoid space of event design to see whether the bonds created will be long lasting as well as whether they will continue to support the artists as they mobilise to further challenge or at least find ways to navigate their way around the existing oppressive structures that enframe them.

This chapter concludes with a personal reflection on my experiences as a researcher in this liminoid space. I discuss whether my role as a research-facilitator and event design expert meant that I would be in a permanent liminoid state moving from one job to the next. These reflections allowed me to look at the distance I had travelled as a researcher. I develop this reflection on my distance travelled even further in Chapter 8 where I share some of the details of my PAR activities and take the time to focus on some key failures in my initial attempts as part of the validation strategy I set out in Chapter 5 in which I committed to presenting all findings including my mistakes in the research process, so as to gain knowledge from the entire experience.

CHAPTER EIGHT: LEARNING FROM THE PAR PROCESS

"I think we should tell this story as one voice as our culture includes unity. One voice is actually more powerful than the commotion of a number of different voices."

(@nana, co-researcher)

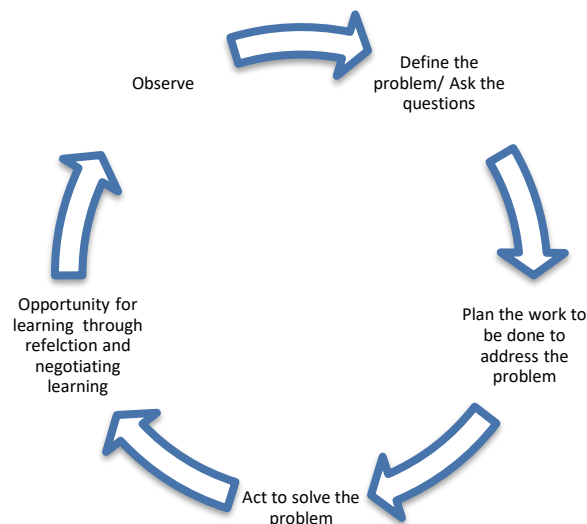
Introduction

Schon (1996) recommends reflective practice as the best way for professionals to improve and refine their practice. It is therefore important that I include a chapter where I consider my experiences of putting the PAR theories I had learned about into practice for this project. This chapter presents some of my key learning points as a researcher who was applying a PAR methodology for the first time. I started the research in 2011 but only went into the field to start applying PAR methods in 2012. I went through several iterations of the PAR cycle shown in Figure 22 below. I encountered many challenges in establishing my research project and made some mistakes along the way. I include my reflections on some of these activities as they were significant learning points and can contribute to our understanding of PAR and how it can be applied in research. I was also able to apply what I had learnt into later iterations of the PAR project and in this way I was able to continue improving and refining my practice.

The first half of this chapter focuses on my first attempt at establishing a PAR project with a group of young artists from an arts programme called Chipawo. I reflect on the strategies I used to gain access to the group and work with them and discuss the outcomes of this first attempt. In the second half of the chapter I reflect on some of my actions and the strategies I applied while working with the community of visual artists, *Visual Artists Ready to Be Heard*. Having come to the end of this PED phase of my PAR project I agree with Robert Chambers (2006) who states that a practitioner working on participatory development projects will always

be learning and refining their knowledge with each project. I am clear that there is still much more for me to learn in applying the PAR philosophy.

Figure 22 - The PAR Process



8.1 Action Cycle 1 - Relationships And Project Set Up

The first action research cycle of this research project was in 2012. I had identified Zimbabwe as the location for the research and proceeded to carry out initial secondary and primary research to establish an understanding of the historical, political and socio-economic framework surrounding artists working in the creative industries in Zimbabwe. My next step was to identify a group of artists or creative professionals who would be willing to partner with me to explore a new process of creating a special event that would support transformation within their working environment and make a significant contribution in supporting the artists to identify the key challenges they faced in the pursuit of earning a sustainable livelihood.

There were several creative groups in Zimbabwe but few formalised groups. The main options for registered groups at the time were Arts Jam and Chipawo Girl Power. Arts Jam was created

in 2001 with the aim of working with female creatives aged 16-25 who wanted to develop careers in the creative industries (This project was subsequently closed in 2012). The Chipawo Girl Power group is a group of young females aged 16 to 21 who have either graduated from the Chipawo youth programmes or joined Chipawo at a later stage to pursue creative and cultural activities. Chipawo is an arts education for development and employment organisation established in 1989. The organisation works mainly with children aged 6-13 but has now introduced a range of projects for an older demographic, mainly graduates of the Chipawo schools programmes and one of these programmes is the Girl Power group.

8.1.1 Gaining Access

My initial intention was to begin working on the main event as soon as possible. Applying the traditional organisational skills required in the field of events management, I had already planned a potential event in my mind and developed an idea of the activities I believed the participating group should engage with. I contacted Stephen Chifunyise, one of the founders of Chipawo to ask if I would be able to work with the organisation in my research. The inherent weaknesses in my plan became evident after my preliminary conversation with the Program Manager who explained how the group worked and also later on as I began to immerse myself in the work of Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy. I realised that I could not impose a set of activities based on facilitation and training exercises I had delivered previously in the course of my work with artists in the United Kingdom. The girls were confident, resourceful, very innovative and proactive. I realised at this time that I would have to plan a workshop that was truly participatory or risk forfeiting the necessary rapport and trust with the group very early on in the research.

I therefore, focused on establishing the theoretical foundations that would support the development of a more authentic participatory approach. I applied 3 clear themes from Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy:

- 1) Liberation must be attained by the oppressed. Only the oppressed have the power to free themselves and not anyone who might be perceived as the oppressor even if they are in solidarity with the oppressed.
 - 2) Liberation and transformation comes from a critical interrogation of the current reality, a conscientisation process is required to avoid achieving a false freedom – or temporary change.
 - 3) Dialogue is an essential requirement. It must be based on the reality of those seeking liberation, the dialogue must be relevant and owned by the oppressed.
- (Freire, 1996).

I decided that I could only develop a very loose outline for the day's workshop in order to be able to incorporate these principles – a rigid structure and detailed plan would defeat the purpose. I also realised the importance of being upfront about my position as an insider-outsider at the start of the process (discussed in Chapter 5). I decided to develop a workshop that would focus on a dialogic process where the group would get to know me and I would get to know the group. This would also enable us to establish and discuss relevant issues for us.

I set up the workshop as an opt-in process. I had asked the permission of the organisation leadership but I did not want the group to feel that this was compulsory activity. I designed a briefing message outlining the broad aspirations of the project and inviting those who might be interested in taking part in this journey to fill in the attached application form. As this was to be an exploratory day, I developed a loose program for the day with three themes that would enable me to get to know the group and get the group get to know me better as well. We could then all critically reflect on whether this was a project we would be interested in developing and what we would focus on. The three main elements of the workshop focused on:-

- a) Getting to know each other – I asked the girls to spend the morning talking to me about who they were; their aspirations; what was important to them; and presenting their creative skills. I also shared the same about myself.
- b) Understanding default contexts – I applied gaming techniques as a way to relax the group. Through the process of play, they were encouraged to lose their inhibitions and in the state of play and the time pressure elements reverted to default states. I designed a game that simulated their economic environment where individuals had to work in teams that they set up themselves to generate revenue using their creative skills.
- c) Visioning success – the afternoon focused on dialogue around what success looked like for the group and what the group saw as limiting factors. This dialogue session was facilitated using Image Theatre techniques (Boal, 2002) as the group was well versed in using these techniques.

8.1.2 Outcome of Action Cycle

30 girls turned up on the day of the workshop and we proceeded to have a lively and engaging day with useful discussions around the three themes but unfortunately the majority of the group members were too young. This really became evident in my conversations with the girls who I discovered had assumed the project was a short-term training course. Most of the girls also shared that they had decided to not pursue the arts as a profession and were applying to go to secretarial college or were still to take their final A' Level school exams.

My relationship with the Program Manager also never improved and trust was not established. The Program Manager was always reserved in conversations and other staff members took me aside at one point during the workshop to ask if the board had sent me in to change the way the organisation was run. This strained the working relationship and thus the Program Manager did not question my decision to close down the project. Following these

conversations, I spent some time thinking carefully about the next group to approach and the process of making contact.

8.1.3 The Importance Of Setting Up Project Relationships That Must Be Neutral In Appearance And In Form

Reflecting on this first action research cycle, my approach was wrong. My understanding of power relationships and hierarchies was limited at the time. Stephen Chifunyise was the founder and chair of Chipawo, he is also a well-known playwright, arts and culture consultant for UNESCO and had previously been the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Sport and culture from 1997-2000. I also knew Stephen Chifunyise as we had attended the same church, where he took on a role of parent mentor to the youth group, which I was a part of and I was also friends with his children. My initial efforts at contacting Chipawo and other local youth arts organisations to gain access were not successful and thus I decided to reach out to Stephen Chifunyise after a few unsuccessful attempts at trying to cold call the organisation. Mr Chifunyise remembered me and responded immediately, copying me into an email with the Program Manager. This method of gaining access to organisations is frequently used in Zimbabwe, but this was a mistake for this type of participatory project. Especially where the project was going to apply post-colonial theory to analyse the existing power systems in place that contributed to some of the systemic problems the creative community were facing.

By using my social networks in this way and gaining access to the organisation via the topmost leadership level, I put the manager of the organisation who ran the day to day operations and who would be my first point of contact for the project on the back foot. Introducing myself and the project through the chair made it harder to deliver the message that I was doing my own independent research and it was not compulsory to participate. I had not taken the time to fully understand the social structures that made up Chipawo. There might have been issues in the running of the organisation and inter-staff relationships that I was not aware of – by

gaining access through a particular party that had a higher power position it would make it difficult or awkward for the manager to challenge or refuse to take part in the project if they thought the project was not appropriate or relevant (Finkel and Sang, 2016 have discussed similar challenges in their PAR project to plan a community festival). I had created my own negative and oppressive power relationship and thus the PAR project was already flawed from the start. Despite my efforts to spend time with the manager and the children, the subsequent activities were thus overshadowed by my specific relationships with key people in the societal structure and this had an impact on the openness to discuss the merits or weaknesses of the project. The project became something that had to be done for the board members and specifically the chair.

I learnt that informal power relationships are constructed at the earliest stages of a PAR project, in the initial communications and use of one's network of influence. Thus oppressive structures can be inherently built into a project simply by the appearance of an existing social or professional relationship. It is therefore important for social innovators to be careful about how they use their social networks and contacts to set up working relationships. Inherent power structures are also reinforced in the early planning stages when communications are designed and the methods of communication are chosen – if the social innovator does not take the time to critically evaluate these actions they might inadvertently build project foundations that are already defeating the emancipatory goals of a PAR project.

8.2 Action Cycle 2 – Establishing Trust

Having reflected on this and how it had a negative impact on my attempts at setting up a PAR project, I went into the second action research cycle with more caution. I approached the community of 17 visual artists living and working in Harare who called themselves *Visual Artists Ready to Be Heard*. The details of how I negotiated access to the group are recorded in Chapter 5. In reflecting on the time I spent with the visual artists I learnt that there were

complex aspects related to establishing trust in the PAR setting that I needed to understand as a researcher.

8.2.1 Establishing Transparent Communications While Accepting The Inevitability of Shadow Structures In PAR

In order to set up a transparent communication base for the project, I used the WhatsApp platform to forward group messages so that everyone received the same message at the same time. I needed to gain access to the group and connect with them and establish trust but I knew I could not force my way or be intrusive in their communication space which was their safe space to communicate. I had to wait for them to invite me in the space or, as what eventually happened, gain their permission to set up a new communication space to discuss the project as it progressed. In the initial contact phase, I was also keen to include my personal contact details regularly so that if any group members had questions they could ask me directly and get the answers they needed direct from the source instead of an answer that had been distilled or decoded via an intermediary who might decode and interpret my message using their personal frame of reference.

I learnt that this process of gaining trust and establishing neutral/transparent foundations takes time and must be carefully thought through. The approach to the group must be through connections or social networks that are neutral. The communication method and platform must also be neutral – the use of WhatsApp was good for relaying my messages verbatim to the group as they could not be doctored. My contact details and offer to discuss any queries or concerns on a one to one basis helped each group member have access to me, thus there was no-one in the group who could say from the beginning that they knew more about the project than the others. Each person could get an explanation for the specific issues that they were concerned about direct from the person proposing the idea without having to go through a middleman.

Even though I applied the strategies discussed above to establish a system of transparent communications I still encountered an interesting phenomenon in our PAR activities. I had been careful to avoid setting up informal power structures by dictating or setting a rigid communication framework where I would insist all project issues be discussed on the platforms I set up. As mentioned in the previous chapter, I found that throughout the course of the design activities I would still get messages from a representative of the group who would make a request on behalf of the group on Slack. The request usually noted that the group had already had a discussion about the matter. This indicated that although everyone had agreed to speak about the project on Slack and contact me directly with any questions, which they also did every now and again, the group of visual artists were still having communications about the project on another platform which I did not have access to. I initially struggled with challenging the group on this issue so that we could discuss why there still needed to be a parallel space where I was excluded, especially where the group had identified transparency as one of their aspirational project values, in the end I decided not to. I made this decision because I realised that no individual can ever have full control over all communications about a PAR project that might be taking place unless they monitor each participant's activities day and night – trying to control this would also be contradictory to the PAR philosophy. I learnt that despite any project structures I might set up or insist on, there would always be a 'shadow side' to a PAR project, it was important that I be aware of it but not be obsessed about it. Embracing this position at the margins of their societal structure could be beneficial in the long-run by giving the group an independence or autonomy that would not be affected by my departure at a later stage.

8.2.2 Realistic Assessment of Resources Required to Develop The Trust Base

In the early stages of the project, I immersed myself in the existing societal structures that made up the visual arts scene in Harare. I spent time at the artist studios and galleries and

spoke to the individuals that were a part of the societal structure in which the participants were working. Participants later mentioned how they appreciated this – hearing from their peers that I had been spending time at an artist studio or local gallery helped to validate my sincerity and boost the levels of trust. The participants were extremely pleased to see my attendance and engagement with them and their work outside of the project. Taking the time to cement these relationships was key. The artists discussed how they were suffering ‘outsider fatigue’ where people would come from the diaspora with big ideas or offers to carry out projects which did not come to fruition. Thus, although they were friendly at the initial meeting to sign their consent and develop the project, the participants were also reserved with the level of commitment and initial input in the early stages which then slowed down the initial stages of the PAR project.

Participants advised that in future iterations of this PAR process and in new projects it would be better for me to spend even more time with participants in social settings and not just within their professional context as I did at the beginning. This naturally started to happen as the project developed, but it took longer to build the trust. I learnt that there is a resourcing element to PAR projects that must be fully considered. I was self-funding my research, so I needed to work in my full-time post as a lecturer in the UK and then spend my vacation time in Zimbabwe developing the project. Spending more time at a personal level with a group costs money and requires a greater time investment, which can be challenging when there are other tasks to be done at the same time as well and thus more thought needs to go into counting the cost to applying a PAR approach to research.

8.2.3 Appreciating Different Rates of Participation And Learning on The Project

Freire (1996) recommends the need for dialogic structures in developing emancipatory projects like PAR and authors like Kemmis and Wilkinson (1998) and Kindon, Pain and Kesby (2007) also propose that authentic PAR approaches need to adopt democratic and transparent

structures as well. I was therefore keen to put this into practice at the start of the project with the visual artists. Upon obtaining consent, we all took time to agree how we would work together and the participation levels to which we would aspire. I facilitated the discussion on participation levels using Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (1969). The group agreed to aim for the highest level – Citizen Control. This had some adverse repercussions, as every single aspect of the project and decision-making processes had to be handled by the group. There were some crucial aspects to the decision making process, specifically decision making in the allocation or movement of resources to move the project forward, but this was sometimes delayed as each member of the group developed trust and confidence in the project at their own rate. I learnt that the theory can be misleading – making PAR scenarios quite simplistic – thus the researcher can make the mistake of assuming that all participants in the group will develop trust and participate at the same rate, and that their levels of engagement will remain consistent throughout the life time of the project.

8.2.4 The Importance of Regularly Checking in to Avoid Tyranny of PAR

Developing a project from an interpretivist and transformational paradigm is challenging as the experiences and beliefs of myself as the researcher are acknowledged in the research process. This also raises some significant challenges in the need for regular reflection to critically examine my thinking, decisions and actions. I was candid in declaring my position as the researcher when discussing my chosen research strategy but I found throughout this project that my personal values and understanding of democracy can be quite different to the next person. I found that I had to stop and think about what I was doing several times to avoid insisting on my way as the best way and subconsciously imposing my own tyranny of PAR (Cooke and Kothari, 2001).

In the first phase of the project while we conversed on Slack, I led the setup of this virtual space by choosing an avatar. I instinctively chose one of my favourite cartoon characters -

Edna Mode from the *Incredibles* movie. The character of Edna is the outfitter of the superheroes; she equips, advises and counsels superheroes, and is in fact the super hero for the super heroes. While I was reflecting on the way I had set up various aspects of the project I took some time to think about my choice of avatar. I realised that there were a couple of ways this might have been interpreted. It could be seen that the choice of this specific superhero supported the view that the research participants were the experts of their reality are thus superheroes with the power to liberate themselves. The other interpretation was that my choice of Edna could imply that I still saw myself at an elevated level in the relationship – I was the expert of the experts. While we were on slack – I chose the channels and led the activities – it was only upon reflecting on these activities I realised that it was very easy for me to slip into default behaviours of taking charge and organising the group instead of letting the group take control.

Another instance of my slipping into a default role which affected our decision making was in establishing our project values. When we established the project values I led the process by sharing my values.

Edna: *This channel is for us to contribute our ideas on what we think our project values should be - each team member will need to suggest 5 values they think our group should adopt by 20 June 2016 - when every team member has contributed their values, we will then vote on the 5 values we should adopt for the project.*

The values I would like to suggest are - transparency, mutual respect; dialogue; democracy; honesty

The values group members subsequently shared were very close to mine (Refer Table 8) and upon reflection I wonder whether we would have had a different list of project values if I had not shared mine first but let the group start the conversation.

Table 8: Project values

My Values	Group Values
Transparency	<i>Transparency</i>
Mutual respect	<i>Mutual respect / Respect each other's opinion</i>
Dialogue	<i>Dialogue</i>
Honesty	<i>Honesty</i>
Democracy	<i>Human rights</i>
	<i>Support and productivity</i>

We set the project values as one of our first tasks and the group were more likely trying to give what they thought might be the right answers. We had only begun to establish trust and become comfortable with each other. I learnt that it would have been a good idea to revisit the project values once stronger bonds had been formed between the group and myself. I also learnt that it was more important for me to live out these values as compared to the co-researchers. When discussing the challenges the artists were facing the trauma they were facing became clearer (refer Chapter 6). I therefore realised that my transgression of the project values or rules of engagement would have a far more serious impact on the group despite us all having an equal status.

Having to check in with myself and analyse my default actions in choice of images and language used highlights how easy it is to fall into being a false liberator (Freire, 1996). I am also more keenly aware of how Freire's critical pedagogy can be abused too by those who implement it. In Zimbabwe, as cultural practitioners have become more vocal about their ideas and their work, they have also become more discerning about the development initiatives that they engage with – and will work to create their own platforms to speak about their realities and design the interventions or solutions they feel will be most appropriate. Platforms such as the 'Arts Indaba' have been created where cultural practitioners can meet with policymakers; international funders, media and members of the public to discuss the legal, financial and

cultural challenges they face and the need for a change in perception about the value of their work.

8.2.5 Speaking The Participants' Language in PAR

A recurring theme in my engagement with the visual arts group was 'silence does not mean consent'. We had regular encounters where I or another group member would suggest something and the suggestion would be met by silence. This silence would take the form of either a pause in the conversation where no one would respond to the suggestion or a pause followed by a quick change of topic. In our participatory evaluation workshop I asked the group about this so as to better understand why some topics elicited that response. I discuss their responses in Chapter 6 when we reflected on issues such as the question of appointing a curator and the groups' attitude towards the gallerists and arts suppliers. In my later reflection on the evaluation workshop, I realised how important it is for a PAR researcher to understand all the ways in which participants communicate – and sometimes some of these aspects are linked to the complexities of the societal structure they inhabit. I had gone into the project quite confident about knowing the vernacular languages, local slang and idioms participants might use but I only learnt this new non-verbal language after spending time with the group and regularly reflecting on the group's experiences as visual artists in Zimbabwe. Ellsworth (1989) published her experience of undertaking an emancipatory approach to developing a course and she makes a note of having the same experience where participants were sometimes silent. She points out that silence does not mean acquiescence, consent or a lost voice, it is in fact a choice to speak in a certain situation or to a specific audience.

8.2.6 Participatory Decision-Making – Resourcing For PAR

This project was mainly self-funded and thus there was no official budget. It was therefore important to ensure all participants getting involved were aware of this to dispel any illusions of the research facilitator having access to a large pool of funds from a donor or grant-making

organisation. This helped to manage expectations but also then provided another challenge to participatory budgeting as the group had to consider budgeting decisions in the design of the event with the knowledge of no existing pot of money. Zero budgeting had its challenges as it is limiting. There were also still moments when comments from the group on expectations to have their work funded showed that the emancipatory outcomes anticipated were not in full effect – some artists still had not fully grasped that they were now in charge of their own destiny in this project and would also have to look into their social, capital and economic capital to contribute to the project.

Two attempts were made to seek funding for the project from grant making organisations. This prompted a personal reflection on the issues related to expanding resources and mobilising support and highlighted the fact that there are implicit and explicit power structures in the funding process. All funders come with their own power structures and all funding and grants come with strings attached. I learnt that it is extremely difficult for small collectives to obtain funding that is neutral without strings attached. This is a significant issue that hampers social projects such as this one and also ultimately has an impact on collective groups like this community of visual artists who started off as an informal organisation and were trying to establish a credible platform to enable them to register formally with the local Arts Council.

Conclusion

This chapter has shared some of the key findings from the iterations of PAR cycles, where I evaluated my experiences and reflected on what I had learnt. I adopted a Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach for this project as I believe it to be the most appropriate and relevant to this research project and would resonate with my aspiration to effect social change by embarking on a process of critical enquiry. Having worked for a number of years in the Third Sector, I wanted to apply a practical research approach that would allow me to develop new and useful knowledge for my practice. Being Zimbabwean I chose to focus on the Zimbabwean

context, thus I was careful to draw on the recommendations of Mertens (2010) and Smith (2012) regarding indigenous research. I sought to apply research methods that were respectful and emancipatory for my co-researchers. I applied the principles put forward by Freire (1996); Chambers (1997); Greenwood and Levin (1998); Kindon, Pain and Kesby (2007) to develop a PAR approach that supported transformation of a societal structure while also revealing and dismantling aspects of colonial power that might be hidden within the societal structure. The use of PAR methods enabled me to track the research journey and provide a clear trail of evidence to support my argument on the opportunity to use participatory event design to trigger the transformation of social structures.

The reflections in this chapter note that taking the step from reading and writing about PAR to actually living the PAR philosophy in its most authentic form has been challenging. The incidents discussed in this chapter highlight how I regularly made mistakes by lapsing into my default organisational and hierarchical approach to the project, even where I thought I had learnt the lesson in a prior research cycle. This illustrates the importance of reflexivity for the practitioner working on a PAR project. It allows the researcher time to stop and take stock of what they have done in light of what they have read and understood. The reflexive process creates space within the project for the PAR researcher to analyse their actions and challenge their mind-sets so as to improve their understanding of the situation and thus refine their practice. In reflecting on the participatory journey one of the important things I have learnt is to carefully consider the appearance as well as reality of the existing relationship – as this can derail a project. Where appearances imply an existing hierarchical relationship, assumptions can be made that are contrary. This is an issue in societal structures where steeped in patronage, as well as societal structures still living within remnants of colonial power tactics like seduction and manipulation.

One of the important things I learnt in Chapter 6 was that oppressive societal structures like the one that enframes the Zimbabwean visual arts sector can leave stakeholders feeling

cautious and traumatised, thus participants will always hold back a portion of themselves in the PAR relationship. The second half of this chapter discussed my observation of the existence of a parallel shadow community, which played out on social media platforms that I was excluded from. I discussed how I had to reflect and accept that these 'dark social' spaces had a legitimate role to play in the participatory journey and it would not be appropriate for me to coerce the group to share their conversations on this space, I was aware that trying to restrict the spaces for conversations would again be establishing a tyranny of PAR (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). Thus in terms of participatory working at the highest level we were all equal and wanted a democratic process but there were still some spaces that I, as the research-facilitator, could not access.

The reflections in this chapter have highlighted that as much as PAR has some clear benefits as a research method, it is very important that the true cost of applying this approach be determined as well. PAR requires significant time resources – especially where the researcher is working within a societal structure that is highly complex or fluid such as was the case in Zimbabwe. The researcher must also have a solid understanding of the emotional context of the research participants as it will also frame their actions and decision-making.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

*“Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery,
none but ourselves can free our minds”*

(Bob Marley; Redemption Song)

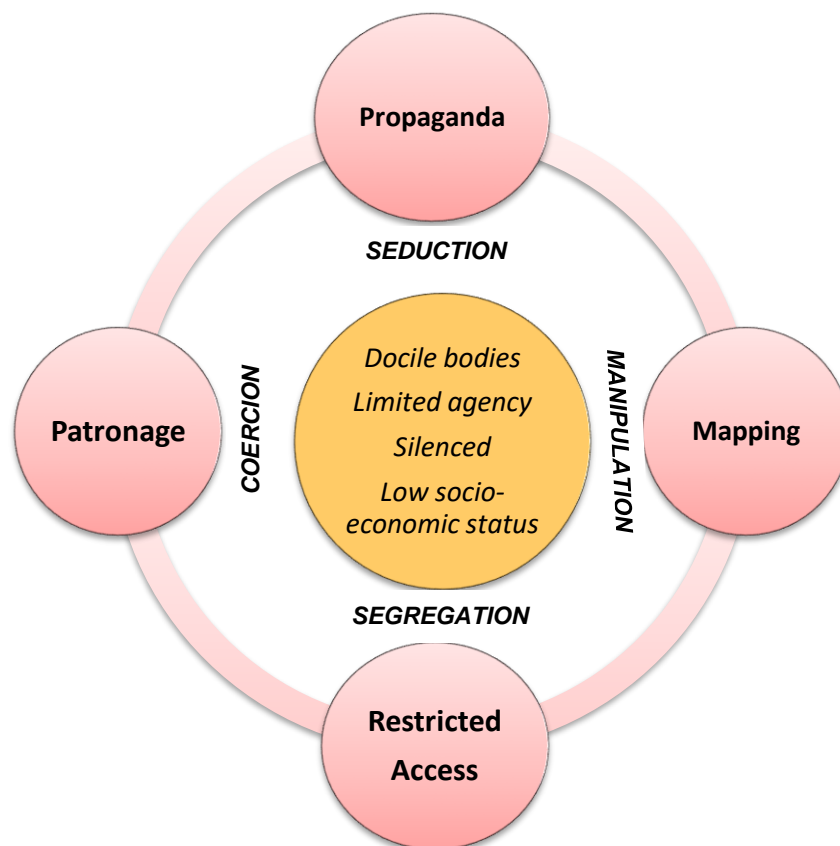
This aim of my study was to explore how planned events with a social mission can be designed to effect social change with Participatory Event Design (PED) presented as a potential option. The research project was designed to create actionable knowledge that would be of use to both event design practitioners and the marginalised communities they work with. Analysis of systems of state coercion, patronage and segregation of spaces in the Zimbabwean visual arts sector highlight the need for a decolonisation of the event design process. If event designers want to develop projects that will trigger a transformation of the societal structure they must understand how these power systems play out. More is required than simply moving event design from the closed spaces to the claimed spaces (Gaventa, 2004). Claimed spaces can become problematic when viewed negatively as spaces of revolution and invited spaces are also problematic given the reduced levels of trust between the government and the public. I propose that event designers working in societal structure like the Zimbabwe visual arts sector which is still influenced by the oppressive impacts of colonial, settler and nationalist government decisions must create a fourth space through PED. This is an open space where different groups within the societal structure can enter to either work alone for a while or collaborate with another stakeholder group from the societal structure without automatically establishing some form of binarism. Most importantly, this space needs to be a safe space and the event designer must carefully read the status of the societal structure to decide what is feasible. I would like to clarify that by proposing the event design process needs to be decolonised I am not recommending that event designers revert to the methods of creating and delivering events used prior to the formalisation of events management as a discipline or to some pre-colonial method of showcasing cultural product in Zimbabwe. I am suggesting

that the field of CES applies the same argument offered in post-colonial debates which state that there is no way to revert to a pre-colonial state. Like Lamond and Platt (2016) I do believe events practitioners need to scrutinise their practice closely and consider that the process of PED (discussed in the next section) might be one of the many steps towards this.

9.1 Assessing the research in light of the post-colonial literature

The lens of post-colonial theory (Fig. 23 below) in this study revealed a societal structure still enframed in the legacy of power systems and ideologies established by the colonial government from the 1890's to the 1960's and reinforced by the post-colonial governments in the era of UDI and Nationalist rule from 1965 to date. Over 3 decades after independence and following on from a period of coalition government rule, not much has changed. Systems of coercion and force are still applied in the way the government censors artistic activity and closely surveils cultural practitioners in the country. As discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.2.5, the Censorship Board has the remit to vet all international and local cultural product before it can be shown to the public, this state office also has the power to instruct the police to arrest any individuals the Board identifies as contravening the Censorship and Entertainment Control Act. The government also uses other key legislation such as the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Law and Order Maintenance Act

Figure 23 Power Systems in Colonial Structures and Their Impacts



(LOMA), which give the police the power to prohibit or disperse public gatherings; restrict access to performance or event spaces classified as a political event (Zenenga, 2008; Chikukwa, 2015; Mukanga, 2011). Stories of cultural practitioners being silenced by these laws are circulated in the sector. When stories like this are prevalent they can influence the level of risk artists like those in this project are willing to take. In our project I observed how the group was self-policing and responding to the systems of coercion and force that are currently enforced by government in the way they conducted their feasibility study. Systems of coercion and force are problematic to address, especially where they are legitimised by legislation (Raftopoulos and Phimister, 2003). This does not necessarily mean that oppressed communities will not challenge these systems. Zenenga (2008) notes that many arts practitioners find alternative ways to use cultural products to present political messages,

including the use of Boal theatre techniques or abstract techniques that were open to multiple interpretations. Strategies like this were also evident in this research project. Co-researchers suggested themes like '*Rehabilitation*' and '*Survival of the Fittest*' which did not sound overtly political but could be interpreted as a focus on the economic challenges citizens were facing in the country and the corrupt activities in government and commerce that were causing the crisis. The group eventually decided on the theme of '*Unlocking Doors*' which could be interpreted in many ways on the political spectrum but was not overtly political.

This study illustrates how Bourdieu's theory of habitus works in the Zimbabwean context. In the complexity of this societal structure each set of stakeholders is enframed within fields of power and control that are unique to their position in the societal structure (Bourdieu, 1986). Systems of patronage are still highly prevalent in the Zimbabwean visual arts sector in the relationships between private gallerists and artists, as well as in relationships between art buyers and gallerists. There is one publicly funded gallery in Harare, unfortunately due to the economic crisis, the government has limited funds to support this space. A small number of private gallerists have overall control of the few legitimate gallery spaces in the capital city of Harare because they have the economic capital to acquire these spaces. Of these private galleries there are very few indigenous owned spaces following the removal of informal art studios and galleries by the Government in Operation Murambatsvina/ Restore Order, which was a clean-up exercise to remove informal settlements (Refer Chapter 4, section 4.3.5). The gallerists act as gatekeepers and guard these relationships jealously to the point of not giving the artists access to their client lists for fear they might lose a commission if the artists circumvent them and go direct to the collectors. We also observed systems of patronage operating between the government and gallerists and artists and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Decision making regarding the acceptance of artwork for exhibitions is mainly motivated by commercial objectives and personal curatorial preferences in the private gallery spaces as they need to meet their obligations towards their overheads. The co-researchers had a pragmatic view of this power relationship, which is similar to what was noted

about African artists in colonial times. Sibanda (2015) observes that the artists did not necessarily feel powerless about this situation but would instead choose to practice a form of silent deferment where they would quietly go along with their patrons while saving their earnings and seeking to become independent, so they could distance themselves from them. In the course of this research I found that artists were not ignorant in the work required to run these spaces or make the commercial contact. In our design workshop, Picasso and Marypoppins commented on they felt they were placed in what appeared to be less powerful positions because they desperately needed to access the official gallery spaces which in turn gave them access to buyers. They also acknowledged that they saw the gallerists were caught up in their own fields of oppression and thus they were not in a necessarily better or enviable position.

The colonial legacy of establishing racially compartmentalised spaces for cultural production still influences how artists and the public engage with cultural spaces in Zimbabwe. In our preliminary discussions, the artists reflected that one of the reasons why the public did not engage with them and their work was because even after independence, they did not feel confident to access spaces of cultural production. These sentiments support the findings presented by Mlenga *et al* (2015) who studied the behaviour of cultural audiences in colonial spaces and spaces not identified as such in the cities of Harare and Bulawayo. The authors noted a difference in audience behaviour in the different spaces, suggesting that past experiences shape new spaces. Gaventa (2004; 2006) also argues that spaces are not passive containers of life, they are influenced heavily by the existing power relations in the societal structure. He proposes that there are 3 main spaces for participation. These are closed spaces for policy makers and resource holders; claimed or informal spaces created by the public to challenge oppressive systems and invited spaces which are sanctioned and created by policy makers to engage with the public. If we are to apply Gaventa's argument to this study we can see versions of these spaces. First, there are multiple levels of closed spaces where policy makers work away from the communities of interest to create restrictive

censorship and taxation laws that affect creative output and economic status of both gallerists and artists. Private gallerists, exhibition designers and curators also work in their own closed spaces to decide on the cultural product they will place value on and the artists they will support. This has resulted in the ambivalent attitude towards curators and gallerists discussed in Chapter 6, sections 6.3.4 and 6.3.6. Second there are a decimated number of claimed spaces which indigenous artists have tried to create their own claimed spaces, by setting up galleries and studios in informal settlements to challenge the restrictive and segregatory power systems that enframe the sector but the government has destroyed these spaces in city clean-up exercises like Operation Murambatsvina/ Restore Order in 2005 and the more recent action against street vendors and informal traders in 2017. Finally, there are some invited spaces with limited credibility created by policy makers. These are sanctioned spaces like the National Gallery of Zimbabwe who organise events like the annual Arts and Culture Indaba, these invited spaces are created for policy makers to engage with the public but given the existence of oppressive laws such as the Censorship and Entertainment Control Act; the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA) – artists are cynical of any true change arising from these spaces.

My initial research question was: *‘How can planned events be designed to bring about social change?’* - What I found was a potential option in Participatory Event Design (PED). The main advantage of the PED process is that it is emancipatory. The communities of interest who have experienced the oppressive power structures, take control of the intervention and choose their point of focus. Therefore, the goal setting phase becomes more realistic and achievable as the community of interest makes decisions having taken the time to consider the impact of their activities on the other stakeholders in their societal structure as well as themselves while also considering the outcomes. The focus on participation gives the marginalised communities of interest a voice as well as agency to resolve their problems at a rate and level they can live with.

Another feature of the PED process, which makes it particularly relevant and useful for the Third Sector, is that the process is value-driven. In establishing those bonds at the beginning of the process, the group must agree on the values they want the project to embody. In the specific context of this project where the community of interest was still living and working under the legacy of Zimbabwe's colonial history which had a discourse focused on individualism and the notion of each man for himself (Fanon, 1961). The research participants appreciated working within a participatory framework that aligned with their cultural context, rooted in the philosophy of *hunhuism* which espouses the importance of togetherness and mutual respect and this came out quite clearly in the groups' aspirational project values (discussed in Chapter 2). The PED process is based on dialogic rather than monologic encounters. Monologic systems make it easier for dominant individuals to construct their truth as part of the colonial discourse (Fanon, 1961; Thiong'o, 1986). Transparent structures that nurture trust amongst stakeholders and most importantly between the event designer and community of interest are critical for participatory design. The PED process takes place in spaces that are open and accessible. The design process cannot be in closed spaces or separate spaces that are hidden from the community of interest. Practitioners who use the PED approach must be careful to avoid using language that alienates communities of interest or silences them by not being relevant to their context. At times the language traditionally used in the design and funding sectors can also segregate communities and establish manipulative power systems that focus on controlling groups of people (Foucault, 1991).

The second research question that arose in my study following on from the literature review on participatory event design in Chapter 3 was:

'What level of participation is the most effective and efficient for the event design process?'

In this study I found that the answer lay in agreeing on a pulsating framework of participation that allowed for movement between different levels at different times of the project. At the beginning of the project, the group were confident in deciding to go for 'Citizen Control', the

highest level of participation per Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969). At this level all decisions and actions are made by and with the community of interest. This decision was easy for the group to make when discussing it as an abstract notion in the introductory meeting and in the preliminary online conversations. However, this level of participatory working became more challenging as the project progressed. In the literature on participatory development and participatory evaluation, White (1996) notes that there is a tendency for participatory levels to start high and then decline over time. In this research project I found that levels of participation fluctuated over time. Some members were slow to participate at the beginning and some only started to fully participate halfway through the design process, while others participated more enthusiastically at times they were most confident about the proceedings. I therefore argue that setting one specific participatory level in PED based on a linear and structured framework like Arnstein's ladder of participation can be problematic. The literature on participatory event design has not addressed the need for some projects to adopt what I term a '*pulsating participatory approach*'. This term is adapted from Alvin Toffler's proposal that the future would see the development of pulsating organisations that expand and contract in the course of their activities (Toffler, 1990). The concept of pulsating organisations has been applied to investigate how producers of major events can induct personnel in a more efficient manner (Hanlon and Cuskelly, 2002). I also found that participatory working can still be multi-layered. When we were working at the highest levels of participation there were still some spaces that I, as the research-facilitator, did not have access to. In this project I observed the development of a parallel shadow community on a separate social media platform that I was excluded from. I believe that these 'dark social' spaces have a legitimate role to play in the participatory journey and it would not be appropriate for the researcher or project facilitator to coerce the group to share their conversations on this space. Restricting the spaces for conversations would again be establishing a tyranny of PAR (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), therefore I propose that the same flexible approach could be applied on PED projects. The participatory infrastructure must be flexible enough for the group to regularly renegotiate optimum levels of participation during certain phases of the project.

The third research question I set out to answer was:

'How does the role of the event design expert change when a participatory approach is adopted and what new skills are required?'

I had initially wondered whether a process like PED would imply that the role of the designer was obsolete. What I found was that the event designer is still required as there is an expectation for them to oversee the momentum of the project and ensure the completion of all the necessary aspects of the design task. The artists in this project valued transparency, respect and dialogic working greatly but were also quite clear that ultimately their first priority was to be in their studios creating their work. This highlights the fact that even in the PED process, we can never do away with certain roles. The event design expert, however, will need to develop new skills to effectively engage in transformative practice. Stronger facilitation, diagnostic and negotiation skills are required and most importantly event designers will need to strengthen their reflexive skills so as to avoid slipping into practices that manipulate or marginalise communities of interest (Blackburn, 2000). Periods of reflexivity will enable event designers to regularly check in and remap power structures as the societal structure is always dynamic, they will also need to develop their application of empathy to support the emotional contexts of the communities of interest they work with. All of this will require a greater time investment so that thick trust can be established as bonding social capital is created (Putnam, 2000). I also found that in establishing the necessary thick trust required for the first phase of PED the onus on committing to the ethos of participation was more on me as the research facilitator rather than the research participants. Chambers (1997) argues that the marginalised are experts of their reality and thus a social change project can be improved by incorporating more input from the community of interest in the design process. I had to navigate the conflicting position of being a PhD student and an event designer embarking on a PAR project. One role required pre-planning and structured research frameworks while the other role

required me to stay true to the open-ended, flexible nature of participatory working. I had to step out of my comfort zone, relinquish control and trust the group more.

9.2 Transformation through event design

In this study I observed how the PED process created a space for the artists to stop and take the time to examine the oppressive societal structure that enframed them. What had looked like a massive wall of oppression that was insurmountable at the beginning of the conscientisation discussion started to change as the artists started to see their situation from a different perspective. Examples of this include the discussions around access to markets – at the beginning of our critical reflection the group was convinced the only way they could access the market was to have the spaces and contacts occupied by the gallerists. When group members offered alternative options of setting up online platforms and reflected on how their peers had successfully done this their perspective changed. It was small, regular consistent changes in perceptions of the problems like this throughout the PED process that triggered what I see as the necessary first steps towards transformation. Scholars like Sharpe (2008) and Mair (2003) have highlighted how events can facilitate the struggle for liberation by creating a space for civic activity so that communities can challenge and critically question the status quo. This reveals the potential for using events as an intervention to effect social change and highlights why planned events with a social mission were considered as the focus of this research.

The possibilities for PED as a tool for social change that I discuss above are a positive step forward but I would also like to discuss the limitations. It is true that social bonds created in the liminoid space of PED, can lead to what Chalip (2006) describes as a heightened sense of community but sometimes these strong bonds make it harder for outsiders or other members within the wider societal structure to join in the process. I observed that our group was not ready to engage with other stakeholders during the PED workshops and there is a

risk that the time they have spent working on a solution amongst themselves will make it harder when they eventually have to reach out to other stakeholders in their societal structures. I also observed that transformation does not occur in a vacuum, sometimes what can potentially be a positive outcome can be altered negatively due to other external or historical factors that are in play in that societal structure. Another limitation to remember is that even within the Third Sector, the process of event design is still situated within the traditional business management and operational formats (Olberding, 2017). This can automatically set up an environment that reinforces inequalities, thus limiting the potential for transformation from the start.

9.3 Negotiating authentic participatory processes in outcome focused sectors

This research project was self-funded and thus there were no external objectives to be met but it is important to acknowledge that when event designers set up event projects with a primary focus of meeting the funding objectives or priorities they restrict their freedom to design authentic participatory processes for transformation. Funding remits and requirements restrict what can be done as the event designer must ultimately answer to the funder first. Usually the need to design a project that produces enough quick wins in light of the timing stipulations takes precedence at the expense of the community of interest. In pursuit of governmentality (Foucault, 1991) stakeholders are compartmentalised and given labels to establish their identities and manage their development. Event studies scholars advocating for consideration of all stakeholders when creating events make a valid point (Clarke and Jepson, 2011; Jepson and Clarke, 2018; White and Stadler, 2018; Walters, 2018; Olberding, 2017; Pielichaty *et al*, 2017). Unfortunately, this still comes with a risk that some communities are marginalised when attention is focused on one group over another and the message that some are not as important because they do not have access to the same levels of economic, social, and intellectual resources as others. I support Richards, Marques and Mein (2015)'s recommendation that event designers who focus on social design principles need to develop strong negotiation skills so that they can facilitate effective interactions

between the different stakeholders that develop bridging social capital across the different relational networks.

This project also revealed the importance of establishing relational bonds prior to the start of the project rather than planning for bonds to be established as an outcome of the project. I propose that effective working in the Third Sector and with marginalised groups will require event designers to plan for even more time and resources in order to make allowances for establishing what is initially bridging social capital as new connections are formed so as to understand the nuances of the societal structures they are working to change and then bonding social capital as the project begins and progresses and relationships are embedded. This supports the recommendations made by Chambers (2017) who advocates for mechanisms that foster closer ties between project leads and funders and communities they work with. There are some crucial aspects to the decision-making process, specifically decision making in the allocation or movement of money and resources to move the project forward. Thus, the events practitioner who is taking on the role of research facilitator has to apply strategies that do not manipulate or manoeuvre communities of interest (Blackburn, 2000).

9.4 Application of PED to other sectors

Although this thesis has focused on applying PED to analyse the visual arts sector and design an art exhibition in Zimbabwe, I am of the opinion that PED can be used in many other contexts. The PED process I have presented which includes the phases of conscientisation, ideation and feasibility assessment can be applied to the design of any type of event be it cultural, sporting or corporate. The application of the critical lens of post-colonial theory illuminates power technologies that could be prevalent in any society not just societies with a colonial legacy. In Chapter 4 I showed how the power systems of seduction, manipulation, segregation and patriarchy were not specifically linked to the racialized history of Zimbabwe

as they were applied by both colonial and nationalist governments. This means this lens can be used to examine societal structures where communities of interest are othered, silenced or infantilised or where they find their access restricted to important spaces of event design or where access to resources is based on systems of patronage. The PED process could be used to rethink existing events that some Third Sector organisations have been producing in order to increase their efficacy in advocacy and community mobilisation. I plan to develop partnerships in the international development sector with NGO's that are willing to explore this. PED can also be used with organisations that are not currently producing specific events but might want to consider producing an event as part of their campaign. Following on from this research study I plan to discuss PED with other communities who are looking for alternative ways to transform their societal structures. A community group in London that supports young people in care has expressed an interest in trying the PED process. I also hope to use the PED process on a BAME attainment project I am working on in my department as PED would be a useful first step for the students who are marginalised to illuminate the oppressive structures that are enframing them in higher education. In considering this future work, I am committed to maintaining the openness and flexibility required to live out the participatory ethos, thus any of these projects would start from a position where I have established relationships with the communities and where they have heard the stories of success, considered the possibilities for their context and initiate the PED project.

9.5 Limitations of Study

Although this study has produced some new discussion points for the field of critical event studies to consider, it is important to acknowledge and discuss the limitations of the research and the transferability of the research findings. This study looked at the specific process of designing an art exhibition event in Zimbabwe and it is important to note that art exhibition events have their own characteristics as an event type. The research context of Zimbabwe has its own peculiarities as the socio-economic and political context of the country has been

very fluid over the past 3 years. The societal structure under review in this research project was extremely fluid over the lifetime of the participatory design process. Significant changes were made to the local currency due to the cash crisis and the economic situation deteriorated further, this was one of the contributing factors to arise in political activity and the emergence of new social movements that were agitating to change the societal structure. Actions made by other groups within the wider societal structure would in turn have an impact on our project and thus the dialogue and activity throughout the design process was constantly impacted by these external goings on. It is therefore important to note that the complexity of this societal structure will not be readily replicated in other locations.

Art exhibition events focus in on the aspects of spaces used for these events and the application of specialist skills. The prevailing discourse deems curators and gallerists to be the specialists. These individuals have the specialist skills and knowledge required to create these events, selecting the right pieces of work and putting them together in such a way as to craft the right message and create the desired experiences. It is important to note that some Third Sector events do not necessarily operate in this way, but there are usually similar specialist skill requirements for creative and artistic directors who take on the role of experts.

This participatory process had a fairly short time frame as this design process was completed in 18 months and in that time the researcher moved between Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom. This was due to the project being self-funded which on one hand was an advantage as it allowed for a freedom in the research process that could not be hampered by the demands or expectations of funders. The disadvantage to a self-funded project was that the time spent with the research participants had to be limited. This had the resultant impact of also limiting the nature of the bonds created between the research-facilitator and the co-researchers. The findings of the process might have been quite different if there had been more resources available to the group.

9.6 Suggestions for Future Research

The research question sought to understand how planned events in the third sector can be designed to effect social change. A choice was made to focus on a research strategy based on participatory working and critical pedagogy. It would be too premature to state that this question has been answered fully as a specific case study scenario and a PAR approach was adopted. This thesis proposes a new concept - Participatory Event Design - but further research will be required to establish this as a viable and valid approach. The efficacy of this approach needs to be explored at other points in the participation continuum, as the research group for this project picked their level of participation based on their unique context. Only after doing this can we begin to understand the best way PED can work, as well as understanding the efficacy of the approach in different event contexts and with different communities of interest when designing events for the third sector. We must also acknowledge that other approaches might exist that are not necessarily based in participatory methods which are yet to be explored, and these might be equally or more effective in triggering social change.

Chapter 7 of this thesis created a platform for us to apply the analogy of the colonial veranda to consider how participatory event design can be viewed as a liminoid space, this phenomenon of social change will require further scrutiny. It would be interesting to develop a focused study that tracks and seeks to understand changes to self-efficacy among group members and the type of social value and social capital generated by the group as well as its life span. The group in this project discussed a concern that success in this project might come with the adverse outcome of the establishment of what the artists called '*stables*' which are cliques where those who have developed their resources establish closed networks and only work amongst themselves, resulting in a further isolation of the artists and the group. It would be interesting to track communities of interest who use the PED process to see whether the

social capital they generate will in the long run result in the adverse effect of each group developing their own 'stables', thus further marginalising themselves.

This research proposes that the field of event studies examine events for social change and Third Sector events in more detail. Further research into these events and the best way to create and manage them must include a focus on understanding the unique skills required by event designers and event organisers that will work on these events. This research will be necessary to revise and update the events management body of knowledge and provide a foundation for the diversification of events management pedagogies.

Another aspect highlighted by this research was the need for the event organiser to gain a detailed enough understanding of not only the structural issues in the event design process but also the emotional issues as these can influence the behaviours and decisions made by communities of interest. Signs of emotional trauma were noted in the analysis of co-researchers' accounts of their experiences of trying to access gallery spaces and art exhibition events in Chapter 6. Fear and reservation was also noted in the way the co-researchers approached the feasibility assessment process. The group did not assess the feasibility of their event concept in the established manner as prescribed in the events studies literature where filters that address aspects of finance, market expectations and operational capabilities are used to make the decision (Bowden *et al*, 2012; Bladen *et al* 2017; Shone and Parry, 2013). Group members were careful to consider each theme that had been proposed in light of how it could affect them in the long term. Fanon (1963) shares his observations of the mental trauma that can arise from the colonial experience. The visual artists in this project did not manifest extreme cases of trauma but the negative impacts of oppressive structures were evident. I believe that there is an emotional case for event design, where events are designed to challenge oppressive structures, it is very important to understand the very real fears, anxieties and hurts that the community of interest have about their situation. Fanon (1963) argues that domination that comes with oppressive power structures has a psychological

impact. Thus, there is a need to study this specific phenomenon further so that event researchers and event design practitioners are equipped with the knowledge and skills to support the communities of interest they work with. Understanding the emotional case will help event designers to develop the emotional insight that will prevent them from doing even more harm with their initiatives.

As this thesis has focused on presenting findings for the initial stage of event design in the event management process, further research will be required to track through the entire cycle of the event production process right up to evaluation of the event, to assess whether the transformation triggered within the community of interest has been sustainable and brought about positive outcomes for the communities of interest. This research might also need to take a 360 degree approach to assess the impact on other stakeholders in the societal structure as it will be important to avoid setting up new forms of oppressive structures for other stakeholders in the societal structure.

9.7 Contribution to knowledge

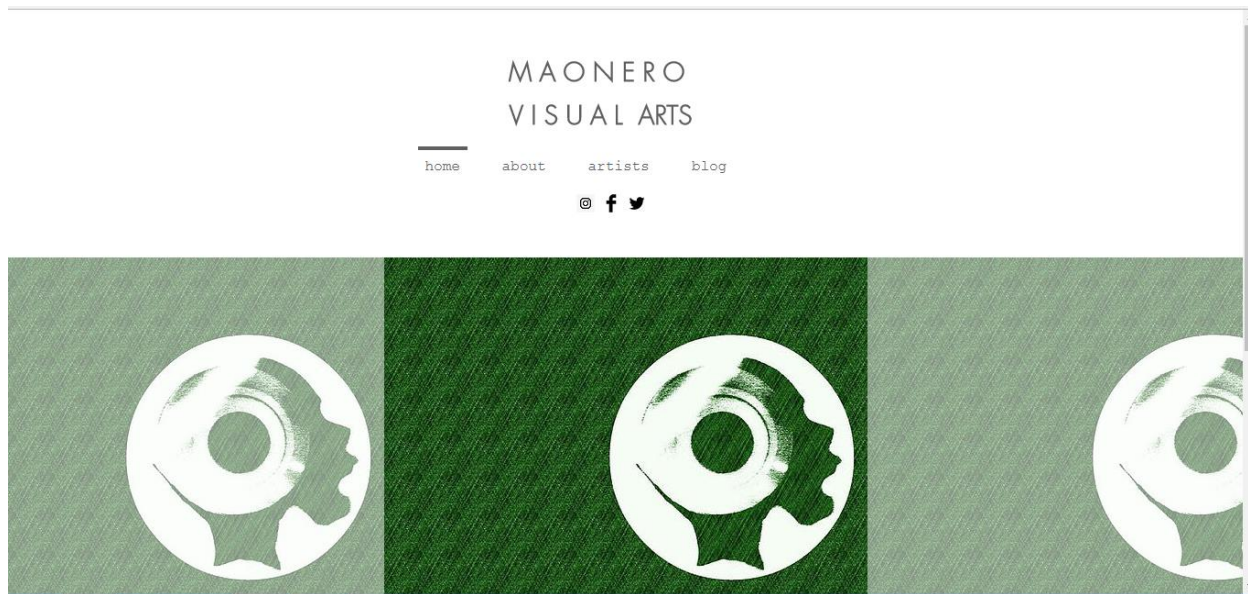
In addition to the provision of some directions for future research, my study has made three major contributions to knowledge in the field of critical event studies (CES):

1. I present Participatory Event Design (PED) as an option for designing events that effect social change. This emancipatory process is values based; transparent, relational, flexible and porous. PED challenges the events industry to revise the closed, manipulative, traditional spaces of design, which are skewed towards an operational or commercial focus. Elements of participatory methods have been used in the event design process in previous studies, but there has been more of a focus on co-creation (Crowther, and Orefice, 2015; Calvo-Soraluze and San Salvador del Valle 2015; Simons, 2015). I argue that this is different to participatory design as it is not necessarily focused on dismantling oppressive power structures and takes place in parallel or satellite spaces that can be muted or ignored.

2. PED has the potential to leverage the transformative effect of events as it creates a necessary space for the conscientisation and critical thinking process. I propose that this space is a liminoid space where feelings of *communitas* are generated and the community can start to develop action for change.
3. I argue that post-colonial theory provides a useful lens for academics in critical event studies to examine the power structures that enframe the event design process in the Third Sector.

In conclusion, I have presented how the decolonising approach in PED can be an effective first step to dismantling the oppressive power structures that marginalise the communities of interest we seek to work with, especially when they are operating in societal structures which are framed by colonial power tactics of coercion, seduction, manipulation, segregation and patronage. Although the event can be an effective tool for transformation it is not guaranteed that transformation will automatically take place every time. Great care must be taken to embrace the PAR philosophy and event designers must commit to interrogating all oppressive systems that they identify. The ultimate goal of a transformative process like PED is to create actionable knowledge or a plan of action that can be followed through and thus a focus on mobilising support resources and maintaining momentum is key. Despite the limitations discussed above, it will always be important to note that societal structures with oppressive power relations within event design process still exist in any context. The findings I have presented here, will contribute to the emerging debates in the field of critical event studies that are challenging events professionals like myself to carefully consider the impact of the work we do among the communities we work with.

Epilogue



Edna: *I am seeing a road block here...the white gallery owners know everyone and keep it a secret....they are locking the door...they are the gate keepers and they are holding onto that key. They know who the collectors are...we need to find a way to talk to the collectors how do we get to talk to those people?*

Taft: *We will jump the gate*

Edna: *How?*

Taft: *Internet....*

Picasso: *yah...some of these collectors come to attend these events and if they are serious they might start with the well know spaces but they will also want to know about other places. Take the example of Chikukwa, he has always been against these private gallerists , he went on his own, to find connections without them to set up the Zim pavillion at Venice Biennale. If we keep being scared nothing we won't do anything.*

Stool: *If we focus on doing our project, even if it takes a while we can really go far, as long as the internet is there – the serious buyers and collectors don't listen to those so-called gatekeepers*

Magenta82: *(asks the room) Who is surviving from these gallery exhibitions alone (No-one puts their hand up).....so they have no power...we are surviving without them we don't just get sales through them....*

Update on the group following the PED workshop:-

- June 2017 - The group agreed on a new name and logo to establish the formalisation of the group. The name was Maonero Visual Arts.
- September 2017 - The group set up a website in early September 2017 to prepare for the promotion of their Exhibition 'Unlocking Doors' and have started promoting their work on the site
- November 2017 - Three members in the group use the website to establish a cultural exchange with an art gallery in Hong Kong
- April 2018 – Maonero Art Trust is established as the Hong Kong Art Gallery is requesting to do more work with the group.

The group is still raising the funds to hire the space to produce their exhibition and are using the strategy discussed by Taft in the prologue of using little moneymakers to generate cash and developing partnership projects with organisations like the gallery in Hong Kong to start accessing new markets. The group is looking forward to their exhibition as the theme has even more relevance in the current economic and political context of Zimbabwe where following 37 years of rule under one leader, the new government is vigorously pursuing a regional and international campaign to tell the world that Zimbabwe is open for business.

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