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## Mapping community economies as a living heritage practice

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### **Abstract (198 words)**

Community economy scholars are interested in performing and activating more-than-capitalist visions of economy. One of the ways they do this is through mapping. This chapter begins with an exploration of the use and value of maps and mapping in community economies research with links to heritage practice. It then examines two specific examples of community economies mapping across the Australia-Asia region. The first example reveals how inventory-based mapping across Australia and Asia can act as a performative strategy for opening up ‘the economy’ to diverse trajectories for economic development. The second example demonstrates how mapping can serve as a grassroots participatory process of community economies activation, and for this we draw on research undertaken in Mindanao, the Philippines. As community economies scholars contributing to this edited collection which connects economies and heritage, we are curious about how mapping community economies act as a kind of ‘living heritage practice’ whereby community economies in and across time are sites for performing and activating diversified understandings of economy. We are also interested in how human beings within those economies collectively negotiate their survival and wellbeing as they grapple with contemporary planetary challenges. This chapter goes some way to exploring these questions.

### **Introduction (297 words)**

There is no doubt that maps are very useful for getting from “A” to “B” when we don’t know our terrain. They are useful for highlighting points of interest along the way and for making visible pieces of information that map users might otherwise miss. Maps are also valuable heritage items that reflect and encapsulate a cultural or economic view of the world at a given point in time.

From a research perspective we can think of the value and use of maps in realist terms, by which we mean as ontologically secure representations of reality, with an empirical world out there that can be charted and mapped in and across space and time. Let’s take a global economic example: the divide between wealthy and less wealthy countries is commonly depicted in maps showing variations in gross national incomes (GNI) (e.g. [World Bank, n.d.](#)). A sub-national example is where economic and socio-cultural inequalities in a “capitalist society” are revealed on a map through charting residential proximity and access to green spaces (e.g. [Heynen et al., 2006](#)). In both examples, the outcomes of an unequal (predominantly capitalist) economy are made more discernible and “real” as the haves and have-nots in an uneven economic spatiality are portrayed. These kind of research-based mapping interventions are intended to guide policy and decision-making to address economic gaps through improving how capitalist markets and the prevailing political economic processes operate.

As well as this, maps can be tools for thinking differently about what it is that constitutes “the economy”. Indeed, maps are not simply descriptive tools but have the performative capacity to alter our modes of thinking and acting in the world portrayed by those images ([Aalbers,](#)

[2014](#)). Maps can reveal something about what we value culturally within a capitalist economy, for example proximity to green spaces. Map making in this light can be understood as an open-ended process that can activate new ways of thinking and being in a more diverse economic world, including new ways of documenting alternative cultural lenses and values, whereby future communities have access to maps as part of their cultural inheritance. This chapter explores these ideas, drawing on community economies research.

### **The use and value of maps and mapping in community economies research**

Inspired by J.K. Gibson-Graham's feminist critique of political economy, diverse economies research theorises, discusses and enacts diversified visions of the economy (Gibson-Graham et al., 2020). It challenges the dominant myopic view of "the economy" as exclusively "the global capitalist economy" – the system of production, finance and exchange that has grown tremendously over the last several hundred years. Capitalocentrism is a term coined by Gibson-Graham (1996) to refer to the positioning of all economic identities with reference to capitalism as 'fundamentally the same as (or modelled upon) capitalism, or as being deficient or substandard imitations; as being opposite to capitalism; as being the complement of capitalism; as existing in capitalism's space or orbit' (p. 6). Diverse economies research is an intellectual project that challenges capitalocentrism by widening the horizon of the economy and making visible hidden, non-capitalist forms of activities that occupy the economic landscape. It entails imagining diverse realms of possibilities and broader roles for researchers, practitioners and communities through the process of "reframing" (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013). A popular image that facilitates a reframing of the economy is "The iceberg" (Fig. 1), suggesting that economic practices involve a vast array of people, processes and relationships that are often invisible and beneath the surface or tip of the iceberg (Gibson-Graham, 2006). The iceberg and variations such as the floating coconut are used as a

pedagogical tool to illustrate capitalist relations as just one of the many sets of economic relations within a vast sea of economic activity.

Figure: The iceberg as a metaphor for the economy\*



Fig 1. Diverse Economies Iceberg by [Community Economies Collective](#) is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](#).

Gibson-Graham (2008) argues that the diverse economies project is not an end in itself but a precursor to a collective project of building community economies, described as ‘economic spaces or networks in which relations of interdependence are democratically negotiated by participating individuals and organisations... at any scale’ (p. 627). Unlike any existing blueprint for economic development dominated by the capitalist economy, the community

economy is instead an empty and unknown space of ethical interaction, negotiation, and uncertainty. The practice of building a community economy involves a recognition that ‘there is no way *not* to be communal, [and] *not* to be materially implicated one with another’ (Gibson-Graham, 2016, p. 298). Among the many examples of community economies across the world are fair trade networks that connect producers from the Global South with consumers from the Global North, farmers’ markets that bring fresh produce to consumers at prices that allow farmers to stay in business, and fisheries where fishing harbours and local fleets not only generate employment and business enterprises but also generate communal benefits connected to local identities, trademarks and cultural heritage (Arias Schreiber et al., 2020, p. 69).

Community economies scholars have identified a number of strategies to cultivate community economies and bring to the fore alternative representations of the economy as a ‘heterogeneous and proliferative social space’ (Healy, 2009, p. 338). These include an activation of a politics of language to shed light on diverse economic practices (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013), a broadening of the politics of the subject in order to recognise one’s capacity to enact economic change through collective action (Gibson-Graham et al., 2020), and various place-based action research projects. We contribute to this discussion by arguing that mapping can be added to the tools and strategies used to cultivate community economies and bring about alternative representations of the economy (Gibson et al. 2021). We also advance understanding of historical and cultural dimensions of mapping – counter-mapping traditions which have been shown to foreground plural perspectives and alternate heritage stories, histories and meanings (Avrami, 2019).

While maps can be seen as static, ontologically secure representations of reality, we highlight two important points that are often overlooked about mapping, drawing on diverse and community economies research. Firstly, we note the performativity of mapping and highlight how inventory-based mapping can act as a performative strategy for opening up “the economy” to diverse trajectories for economic development. Secondly, we note the participatory aspects of mapping and highlight how mapping can serve as a grassroots, participatory process of community economies activation. Ultimately, we find that maps, as representations and artefacts, serve as transmitters of knowledge and practice between groups and generations. As such, maps can be considered vital heritage items which catalyse new understandings of the past, present and future.

### **The performativity of mapping**

Gibson-Graham (2008) argues that research is performative; that is, researchers can enact and support economic diversity by explicitly bringing to the fore the often overlooked, hidden and emergent economic practices that sustain life. Heritage can be linked to this broader statement about research, with researchers seeking to perform counter-colonial heritage spaces. Mapping, like research, is increasingly understood as a performative practice that helps bring into existence new sets of economic activities and forms (Honiball & Marcus, 2020; Labaeye, 2017). These studies find inspiration in earlier works that stress how maps actually produce realities rather than just describe an existing one. For instance, Crampton (2009) explains how maps can be used as protest and commentary, emphasising the potential of maps to facilitate political activism. Kitchin and Dodge (2007) additionally argue that cartography is processual rather than representational, and that maps are transitory objects produced and recreated by people. Kretzmann and McKnight’s (1993) asset-based community development approach deploys mapping as a means of uncovering untapped

assets and resources (asset mapping) that can be harnessed to develop solutions to specific issues.

Community economies scholars have used mapping as a tool and strategy for generating pathways to alternative economic development and cultivating community economies in different places and regions. For example, Safri et al. (2017) collaboratively mapped solidarity economies – economic practices that do not pursue profit-maximisation – at different cities in the United States. Their research demonstrates that solidarity economies make a positive impact on workers’ lives and communities but are often overlooked and hidden through lack of measurement and perceived value. Safri et al. (2017) have used maps to produce counter-narratives that show spatial patterns of the growth and expansion of various non-capitalist enterprises such as producer, worker and consumer cooperatives, credit unions, and other entities that embody the values of shared solidarity economies.

Mapping as a practice therefore helps to multiply and expand possibilities for the enactment of different just and sustainable worlds beyond a capitalocentric framing. It extends other visualisation tools such as the iceberg to ‘show that not only can we have a vocabulary of economic diversity but also that it exists in real places’ (Drake, 2020, p. 495). Moreover, with attention to the heritage sphere and cultural inheritance, we can extend the temporality of this argument to uncover otherwise “invisible stories” of people, places and practices in the past *and* the present to foreground alternative futures. We now illustrate the performativity of mapping with an example from a group of scholars who have inventoried economic diversity to redraw the Monsoon Asia region.

### **Inventory-based mapping as a strategy for opening up the economy of Monsoon Asia**

Inventory-based mapping is a systematic and open-ended way of framing a diverse economy drawn from a wide range of sources including from established research in several disciplines and from field work. It requires researchers to ‘participate in what is happening on the ground... with new subjective stances to resignify local place-based economies’ that might have otherwise been silenced, forgotten, or marginalised (Gibson-Graham, 2008, p. 614). It forms a useful starting point which allows scholars to open up the economy to different kinds of economic activities, relationships and subjectivities simply by naming and attending to them. While an inventory can be thought of as a complete list, such as a list of supplies on board a ship before it embarks on a long voyage, inventorying associated with diverse economy research is never complete, as it continuously unfolds and brings to the fore ethical negotiations that mediate interdependence between humans and between humans and other beings and lively objects (Gibson-Graham and Dombroski, 2020).

Community economies scholars from, and working on Monsoon Asia have utilised inventory-based mapping to sketch out a new kind of economic map of the region, in terms of the presence of longstanding Indigenous and place-based economic practices. People in these regions have long adapted to major climatic changes through Indigenous and culturally inflected economic practices. They have done this by ethically negotiating collective wellbeing with one another and with the Earth, or what Gibson and Hill (2022) identify as ‘earth-attuned livelihood practices that have co-evolved with flux over the long durée’ (p. 127).

A specific example of sketching out a new kind of economic map involved academic partners from the Asia Pacific region working alongside scholars from the Global North to identify community economy practices that exemplify ethical negotiations of interdependence in their

research sites. This work took place as part of an Australian Research Council Discovery Project (ARC DP) on *Strengthening Economic Resilience in Monsoon Asia* (ARC DP 150102285). The research included a two-day, in-person workshop in Sydney, Australia in September 2017. At the workshop participants documented keywords related to place-based community economies, and identified geographical locations where they are practiced (Gibson et al., 2018). Photos and artifacts related to their chosen keywords were also presented to help stimulate the workshop discussion.

This mapping exercise helped bring to life existing ethically negotiated economic practices that serve as building blocks for creating other possible development pathways outside capitalocentrism. Sixteen keywords from nine countries were articulated:

1. Bangladesh – Bija (Seed)
2. India – Beej (Seed); Vittnam (Seed)
3. Cambodia – Provas (sharing)
4. Vietnam – Hạt giống (Seed); Sống chung với lũ (living with the flood)
5. Laos - Pha Kwan (tray of your soul)
6. Philippines – Binhi (Seed); Kamañidungan (reciprocated building labour); Bayanihan (being and becoming a hero)
7. Indonesia - Punggawa-Sawi (captain-sailor or patron-client); Arisan (rotating savings and credit group); Mudalolose (take part), Mandusi (pick up nutmeg); Jimpitan (to pinch with the tips of one's fingers)
8. Myanmar - Dāna (generosity, charity)
9. Timor Leste – Hamutu moris hamutu mate (together in life, together in death)

The practice of mapping keywords counters mainstream representations of the region which typically depict it as being on an inevitable trajectory towards becoming capitalist and accelerating towards persistent growth and capitalist market expansion. Community economies scholars, for example, represent everyday practices in Monsoon Asia such as caring for commons, gifting, reciprocity, and rotating access, as crucial survival strategies that can potentially contribute to diverse development pathways not limited to a capitalist trajectory and whose evolutionary path is subject to negotiation (Gibson et al., 2017). Using the inventory-based map, longstanding economic practices that continue to assist everyday survival and resilience in Monsoon Asia take front and centre in a community economy map.

Aside from making present the diversity of place-specific community economies practices, the inventory-based mapping is also aimed at building solidarity around shared concerns between Global North and Global South scholars. It overlays and works to provide a counter-narrative to a heritage of mapping that is extractive (i.e. Global South academics as only sources or gatherers of data which Global North scholars would interpret and write about), enabling mapping to become a collaborative endeavor among various subjects involved. The mapping process thus becomes a partnership between Global South and Global North scholars, making known diverse academic subjectivities whose research contributes to enacting more livable worlds in the region.

At the end of the workshop, four common themes were identified (Figure 1):

1. caring for commons - Hamutu moris hamutu mate (together in life, together in death); Sống chung với lũ (living with the flood); Beej (Seed); Vittnam (Seed); Bija (Seed); Binhi (Seed); Hạt giống (Seed)

2. gifting - Dāna (generosity, charity); Jimpitan (to pinch with the tips of one's fingers); Pha Kwan (tray of your soul)
3. reciprocal labour - Kamañidungan (reciprocated building labour); Bayanihan (being and becoming a hero); Provas (sharing)
4. rotating access - Punggawa-Sawi (captain-sailor or patron-client); Arisan (rotating savings and credit group); Mudalolose (take part), Mandusi (pick up nutmeg).

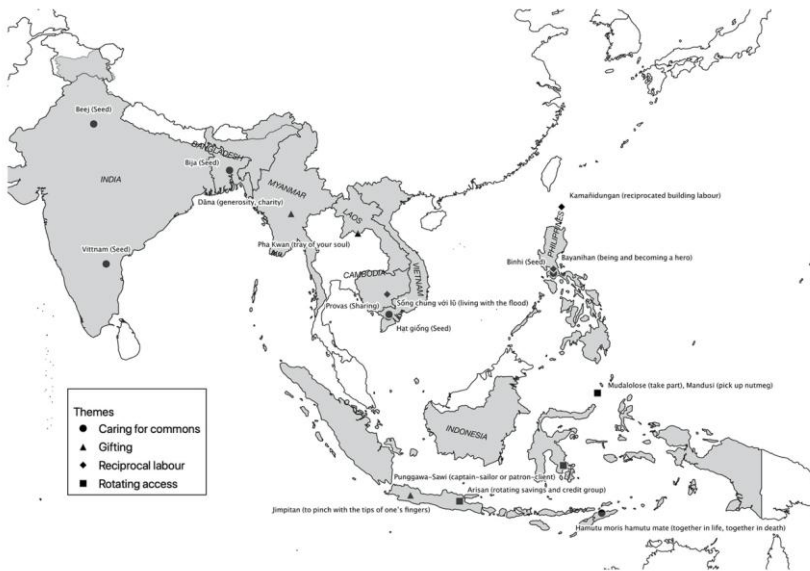


Figure: Key Themes that emerged from the inventory-based mapping in Monsoon Asia

As a performative practice, inventory-based mapping not only foregrounds a heterogeneous economic landscape for Monsoon Asia but also serves as a vehicle for organisational identity building and cross-pollination. It is a way of familiarising researchers with the work of other colleagues in the region, connecting them and their collective interests in the process. To

date, this work has brought together academic and lay researchers from government, non-government and grassroots organisations, as part of a Community Economies Research Network (CERN), and been one of the catalysts for the formation of a CERN regional node in Asia. The mapping work has helped to forge partnerships that have enabled sharing and collective learning in the process of shoring up the diversity of non-homogenising knowledges about the economy and the actors involved in them.

Most importantly, the new representation created by inventory-based mapping makes visible often overlooked and undervalued practices of cultural maintenance and inheritance. The mapping activity reveals the commonalities and shared ethics around locally-specific cultural maintenance and heritage preservation, highlighting that many economic practices cannot be delinked from social and ecological relations. It demonstrates on the ground care for heritage in terms of reimagining the economic geography of the region with culturally embedded economic practices. It brings to light alternate heritage values and diverse communal practices of caring for and maintaining those relations.

### **Participatory mapping**

As well as providing openings for diversifying economic representations, mapping is increasingly being seen as a tool for activating community economies in grassroots locations using participatory processes and digital techniques, approaches that are also being taken up in broader community heritage practices (for example, Pante 2020). The emergence of new technologies such as GIS-generated maps of local places onto which other information can be added by map users, such as visited and valued heritage sites and monuments, and Apps that allow community-based users to populate maps with data via their mobile phones, have enabled far more people than ever before to engage and participate in mapmaking (Cochrane

& Corbett, 2020). This challenges earlier conceptualisation of maps as ‘top-down, authoritarian, and centrist paradigms produced by experts’ (Goodchild, 2007, p. 29). Instead, the proliferation of participatory mapping initiatives over the last twenty-five years has provided space for people to experience agency through the creation of maps, as this has enabled them to contribute their own ideas, knowledges, experiences and relationships in place or context. This, in itself, can be an empowering process, as highlighted by Pamphilon and Nema’s (2021) analysis of ‘ripple effect mapping’ among Papua New Guinea farmers, which demonstrates the power of local learning that flows on within local networks and across the community, as a result of participatory mapmaking.

An increasing amount of research has consequently acknowledged the value of the mapping process itself, in amplifying the voices and concerns of community members, especially those who are politically and socially marginalised (Bryan, 2011). Cochrane and Corbett (2020) contend that maps produced through participatory mapping activities ‘have the potential... to contribute to social justice issues and positive societal change’ (p. 708). They cite several examples of how mapping initiatives have advanced people’s right to land and resources (Stocks, 2003), helped facilitate Indigenous title and claims (Peluso, 1995), and supported the revival of Indigenous knowledge (Zurba & Berkes, 2014), among others. They ultimately argue that mapmaking ‘integrated into... development activities and processes... will help serve as a pathway to transformational change’ from the ground up (Cochrane & Corbett, 2020, p. 708).

Aside from assuming an advocacy role, mapping can also potentially lead to a shift in subjectivity, through encouraging community members to position themselves as economic subjects during the mapping process. A number of community economies scholars have

shown how participatory mapping has resulted in changes in participants' sense of their own capacities to inhabit and grow community economies. For example, in the "Community Partnering Project" implemented in the province of Jagna in the Philippines, Cahill (2008) observed a change in the participants' subject position from a sense of need and lack to confidence in becoming a community entrepreneur. In another project in northeastern USA called the "Atlas Project", maps created by the local fishermen revealed their deep knowledge of the sea as well as their cooperative relationships with one another (St. Martin & Hall-Arber, 2007). Mapping thus helped the fishermen to see themselves in a different light, as communal subjects who share a fishing commons as opposed to self-interested and competitive individuals. Another example of how mapping can be utilised as a tool to empower individuals and communities within community economies is the "Global Garden Project" where the focus was on activating local food-growing knowledge and practice across multiple generations and cultural diversity, in Balubal, Mindanao, in the southern Philippines (Hill, 2021).

In this next section we explore mapping as a "living heritage practice" whereby community-based map makers, as community members themselves, identify skills, resources, knowledge and cultural inheritance of their local community through mapping activities. While our specific research focus was on food and on community (food) economies, the community-based cartographic practices we discuss could be applied to various aspects of human living.

### **Activating community (food) economies through participatory mapping in Balubal, Mindanao, Philippines**

Balubal is an outlying *barangay* (village) of the city of Cagayan de Oro (CDO) in northern Mindanao, Philippines. It borders Bukidnon, a region known for its capitalist agricultural

production and extensive monocropping of bananas among other things (Hill, 2015), and it sits along the main supply chain route linking Bukidnon to CDO. With volumes of fresh produce passing through the area on trucks bound for CDO city markets, unsurprisingly many Balubal residents look to those same markets the trucks deliver to, to purchase their fresh vegetables, and then transport them back home by motorbike or jeepney (an open kind of bus). It is a journey that often takes two hours, or even longer when the traffic is heavy. Purchased fresh vegetables quickly deteriorate in transit.

One of the motivating questions for a participatory mapping workshop that took place in July 2019 in Balubal (see Hill, 2021 for more about this) was: What potential is there within Balubal to grow and supply fresh vegetables to the barangay and to activate community (food) economy practices in the process? The participatory mapping was attended by around thirty Balubal residents and was focused on co-constructing local food system knowledge across different generations and socio-cultural perspectives, using participatory mapping methods and an asset-based approach to local economic development or activation, tailored specifically to Mindanao. This meant harnessing local resources, skills, materials and knowledge, while also adapting and translating Western terminology such as “asset” into local language, and using socio-cultural contextual analogies (see Hill et al. 2022 for more details on an asset-based approach in Mindanao).

The participatory mapping exercise began with GIS-generated maps of Balubal. The GIS maps enabled spatial visibility and representation of a nearly sixteen kilometre square area of the barangay. GIS base maps were then covered in sheets of plastic so that groups could annotate the map with coloured markers, sticky dots, and masking tape. Three groups, each comprising eight to ten Balubal residents, participated in the mapping. Firstly, groups were

asked to identify physical resources as local physical assets such as river systems and mountain ranges, and then social and economic assets such as schools, churches, the barangay hall, government offices, convenience stores, farmlands, vegetable gardens and fish ponds. Groups were also asked to think about what they had eaten over the past twenty-four hours, and to pinpoint the types of foods they had sourced within the space represented by the map.

Through the mapping process, residents discovered that they were already successfully growing many vegetables and root crops in their barangay, including bitter melon, spinach, sweet potato and Chinese long beans. They discovered that Balubal produces a lot of cassava, a nutty-flavoured, starchy root vegetable native to South America, which is a useful staple during times of crisis or extreme weather when supply routes are affected and the usual staple crops such as rice are in limited supply.

They also discovered that the (government-funded) National High School where the workshop was being held was actively promoting gardening among all the students and the wider community. At the time of the workshop, the school had 680 students who were all involved in a vegetable gardening program after usual classes each day. Each class was responsible for care of plots spread across the 1.5 hectares of school grounds. During the workshop, students were preparing the soil and planting out okra, eggplant, asparagus, beans and pechay (leafy greens). School garden produce was available for sale on weekend market days, and profits from sales were divided between class members (60%) and the school feeding program (40%). Produce was also being gifted to other nearby schools as part of their school feeding programs to combat malnutrition. Workshop participants saw firsthand that many of the senior students were gaining new knowledge and skills from undertaking the

school's specialist program in organic agriculture, and that this new expertise among the youth was filtering out into the wider community, into households where the students lived, and into the neighbourhood. Balubal National High School was already recognised, by the Presidential Commission for the Urban Poor of the Office of the President, as a national model for climate-change adaptation and mitigation, and for food security. Mapping activities brought this national recognition to light in the wider Balubal community and created an opening for valuable intergenerational learning, with younger generations teaching even younger ones and older ones alike.

As well as intergenerational knowledge sharing, cultural knowledge was also shared. During the participatory mapping reporting process, each group took a turn of sharing their map and explaining some of their discoveries during the mapping process. One Muslim woman recounted her knowledge of various indigenous edible plants growing wild in the neighbourhood. Other participants were surprised to hear that they could eat the plants she described, and when she located them and explained in more detail how she used them in her cooking, there was much discussion about increasing production and availability of those, and other, wild-food plants across Balubal. Another point of discussion was a piece of land that was being used for pig raising. Through the mapping, residents agreed that it would be much better put to use for vegetable production, with several families able to tend a parcel of the land and grow vegetables for household consumption and door-to-door sales in Balubal. Discoveries of present and potential community (food) economy practices thus occurred as a result of Balubal residents exchanging their own knowledge and ideas during the mapping, creating opportunities for collective learning and community-initiated actions. Instead of looking to outside experts to guide community economy efforts, participants looked to each other, and combined their different cultural understandings of their local places, dietary food

habits and food systems to think through positive changes they could make.

## Conclusion

In this chapter we have considered performative and participatory aspects of mapping and used examples of community economies research involving different kinds of maps and mapping research interventions. We have shown that maps/mapping processes can (un)make “worlds” and help enable diverse economic possibilities to become more visible and more possible in local contexts. They can help in enlarging the scope of action and ways of knowing the world in order to change it. They can help shore up potentials pathways for development that are informed by place-based ethical negotiations of interdependence. They can also redesign the way academic knowledge is gathered and represented in written reports and visual images such as maps. Lastly, we have shown how mapping serves as a dynamic repository of information, with existing maps of a region or place overlain with new layers of knowledge and practice, populated by a diverse group of scholars, or a diverse group of community residents, motivated by shared community economy concerns including concern for generating and safeguarding cultural inheritance for future generations.

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