Curating Places:

Civic action, civic learning, and the construction of public spaces

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Declaration

I declare that I have composed this thesis by myself and that it embodies the results of my own research. Where appropriate, I have acknowledged the nature and extent of work carried out in collaboration with others included in the thesis.

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Abstract

This research involves understanding the civic learning that emerged from the ways individuals in two civic action groups, Greenhill Historical Society (GHS) in Bonnybridge, a deindustrialised location, and Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community (CVAC) in Cumbernauld Village, a Conservation Area, enacted their citizenship through the spatial (geographical) and temporal (historical) characteristics of their place. I use a citizenship-as-practice conceptualisation, where citizenship is not a status 'given' to individuals who have successfully displayed pre-requisite outcomes, but is a continuous and indeterminate practice through exposure to real challenges. To understand the learning occurring for, from and through their practices, I used Biesta's theory of civic learning (Biesta, 2011). It involves a socialisation conception of civic learning as the adoption of existing civic identities, where individuals adapt to a given political order, and a subjectification conception which focuses on how political agency is achieved. The theory connects learning and action together, where Biesta argues socialisation involves the individual requiring to learn something in order to carry out the 'correct' actions in the future; however, subjectification involves action preceding learning, where learning comes second, if at all. I used a case study design and a psychogeographic mapping methodology involving secondary data analysis, psychogeographic mapping interviews and observations. Civic action emerged as a more central component than civic learning through my empirical analysis.

The civic actions of GHS emerged as a case of reconsideration (redefining, re-meaning their location through interventions in public), and CVAC of reconfiguration (actions physically altering the landscape). These actions concerning space and time involved spatial shifts from map*reading* to map*making*, and temporal shifts from histories 'of' and 'for' the public, towards histories '*by*' the public. Respondents became 'curators' of their places: from spectators to participants in making and representing spaces and histories that opened their locations to interruptions of the continuities of time. Attending to practices of citizens with space and time contains possibilities for public pedagogies that work 'with' context rather than just 'in', towards opening up opportunities for citizens to 'become public' as practices that trouble pre-existing arrangements and configurations.

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1   Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0   Background: Enactments upon missing spaces

I introduce the topic of my thesis by telling a story about the commencement of my community work in a post-industrial location. I initiated walks with residents around Bonnybridge five years ago as their CLD (Community Learning and Development) worker. At the time I did not realise they were taking me on walks through places that do not exist. I will qualify this: what I saw was not what the residents of Bonnybridge for decades or generations, saw. Where I saw shops and gap sites they saw a busy high street populated with public buildings including schools, temperance halls with ornate stonework and spires, mansions of rich industrialists, and small family-run foundry workshops. Where I saw greenspace, clay heaps and rusty gates (see Figure 1 as an example, a photo I took on an early walk) they saw heavy industries, smoke filling the sky and the place teeming with workers and workers' cottages. It emerged through walking with residents, that for over a century Bonnybridge was a hugely productive and world-renowned centre of heavy industry, with transport links to rival any large city in the world. Residents told of their experiences of witnessing extensive change over the decades and predominantly since the 1970s the decline and abandonment of much of its major industry and transport connections. Walking through these places involved multiple pathways through spaces and times gone by, visiting the place from many perspectives that brought to the surface stories, images and experiences of themselves and others in these factories, foundries, streets, public buildings and pathways no longer there, or existing in a different or hidden form today. I considered the walks, as interventions upon a troubled and damaged landscape, were beginning to open up alternatives to what the visitor might think is 'there' towards revealing what is not

there, interrupting the landscape and troubling its present-day configuration. The walks back in time stimulated participants to observe their surroundings and bring particular objects to the attention of each other, and to me as a visitor. They were also forays into boundary testing – which historical areas we could roam into, which were denied to us through barriers (real and imaginary), those we felt at home in, those that were strange, dangerous and unknown terrain in their present-day configuration.

Figure 1: derelict site (Dysons brickworks), focus of several walks (July 2010)
(photo: Gillian Cowell)

The walks were not meanderings along an unknown or unplanned route; on the contrary, residents set the course prior to each visit in order to revisit places that mattered to them; through walking, other routes opened up for (re)consideration. Looking closely at residents' explorations brought to the surface the marginalised spaces in their place, spaces marginalised precisely because over time they were damaged and lost and covered over. It was clear these spaces were, and still are, of importance to local people. The United Kingdom has many such 'post-industrial' and 'deindustrialised' areas (see Edensor, 2005 for a thorough exploration of these areas, particularly in Central Scotland and the northeast of England). The commercial and productive use of the landscape, and subsequent withdrawal of industry and human

intervention from these places, has left behind many abandoned and derelict, as well as regenerated sites, whether by private bodies (e.g. private housing estates) or public bodies (e.g. new townscapes, heritage trails), in the present day. These areas were originally subjected to the privatisation policy of Conservative government in the 1980s, which nationalised particular industries, effectively rearranging the landscape of many towns and cities (Edensor, 2005).

The case above illustrates how the passage of time affected one place defined in official terms as post-industrial, a particular society once significant in heavy industry terms but no longer. Although the heavy industry has mostly gone, residents are still exposed to the past configuration of their place through its legacy, whether absent or altered to another use. The example provides a glimpse into how residents participated in constructing alternatives to what can officially be seen, partly through their experiences and memories of living in the place over a long time, and partly through re-presenting experiences of past generations. Moving forward with the notion of participating in constructing a temporal landscape 'underneath' the contemporary landscape, some observations are important to underline: firstly, aspects of the history of the area, and places visited, were directed by residents of the place – in collaboration with me as the CLD Worker - who decided between them what was important to make present; secondly, their knowledge exchanged between residents was made possible through interactions with and exposure to the geography of the landscape; it did not exist, and the alternative terrain represented did not exist, in a definable form in the present prior to these experiences.

The practices by residents within the context of their place and the effects of time there are central orientations in this thesis, bringing together the core concepts of space, time and citizenship. More specifically I set out to examine the learning that takes place through participation in civic matters (civic learning) stemming from the spatial and temporal contexts by residents of two places in Scotland. The research cases consist of two groups – one a local historical society and the other an environment group – interacting with the spatial and temporal characteristics of their local landscape. The connections between city (or in the cases I explore here, the town), curatorial citizenship practices towards civil society and the public sphere situate the physical location and its traces of previous times as the environment upon which individuals experience and enact their citizenship.

1.1   Rationale for studying the topic

The ways individuals engage in, use and experience their locality is central to research focusing on participation in collective issues as central to civic agency (Lawy and Biesta, 2006). Of concern to place-based forms of education and civic learning are the experiences of places individuals inhabit (Gruenewald, 2003) involving forms of politics within democratic education and learning connected to where people live. This positions the characteristics of place as integral to forms of learning, away from conceptualisations of education as a target for individual competitiveness in a skills-based economy. Such a concern for the collective brings together core concepts of the 'civic' (in relation to the affairs of the city or municipality) and the public (as the arena of deliberation over collective issues that matter to society). Both aspects are considered crucial to a healthy democratic existence towards pluralist deliberation over matters of common concern (Barton and Levstik, 2004; Hajer and Reijndorp, 2001).

However, several commentators have argued the notion of civil society is splintering as a result of market intervention in social life (Gilbert, 2007), considered to lead to an individualism that foregrounds private life, specifically the private sphere of consumption, family and employment, to the detriment of the public. There is concern that as a sphere of expression, debate and action in pursuit of citizenship and freedom the public sphere may have disappeared or at least is in need of regeneration (Habermas, 1989; Marquand, 2004; Gilbert, 2007). Allied to this are claims that ongoing (de)industrialisation, (un)employment and (im)migration have had a marked effect on the 'decline' of public life as a result. This involves also globalisation, individualisation, secrecy of government towards its public (Marquand, 2004) and issues surrounding the private sphere interrupting the public sphere in adverse and destructive ways (Gilbert, 2007). Latter policy shifts in the 21st century reflect governmental preoccupations with the effects globalisation is causing, particularly social fragmentation, community breakdown and social disorder (Green, Preston and Janmaat, 2008) which has also affected the geography of local communities (Desforges, Jones and Woods, 2005). At the level of policy, discussions around the concept of 'community' as an intervention to solve social disorder currently plays a major part in discussions on the public domain as both a physical referent and a configuration of individuals, central to the social fabric of society (Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004; Marquand, 2004).

Geography has not escaped such policy interventions. Within the realm of changing and declining geographies as determined through deindustrialisation, Coare and Johnson (2003) discuss the breakdown in the late 1980s and 1990s of what they term 'excluded communities' as a direct result of the restructuring of the economy and breakdown of

industry, creating political instability. The notion of 'the citizen', 'the local' and 'community' were central policy concerns, suggesting these concepts could be directed by government towards particular forms of citizenship that sought to develop a pre-conceived idea of 'the citizen' that might stabilise society during periods of extensive industrial decline (see Coare and Johnson, 2003; Desforges, Jones and Woods, 2005). Furthering this theme of educating the citizen in a particular way, Johnston (2003) argues citizenship education was developed where "...increasingly diverse and uncertain worlds clearly influence the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values a citizen requires to participate meaningfully in contemporary democracy." (p.9).

1.2   Geography and Democracy

In terms of the physical context of places, it is argued the geography of the city holds possibilities for democracy in a local form (Low, 2009). The story at the beginning of a locality experiencing deindustrialisation and change over time connects with the articulation of a physical location as a 'literal' public space, rooted in the geography itself. Within the last few decades there has been increased focus on literal forms of public space, or the possibilities for democracy within different configurations of physical space (De Certeau, 2011; Lefebvre, 1991; Madanipour, 2003; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008a, b; Sennett, 2008; Low, 2009; Soja, 2011). Here, cities are conceptualised as sites where democracy should matter, where as Hajer and Reijndorp (2001: 12-13) argue: "We...assume that the concrete, physical experience of the presence of others, of other cultural manifestations, and of the confrontation with different meanings associated with the same physical space, is important for developing social intelligence and forming a judgement."

The potential for democratic practices in places are considered to hold two possibilities: as sites of domination, ideology and oppression, where the built environment creates boundaries and shapes behaviour as well as being a target for place-based cohesion (Debord, 1955; Harvey, 1996), and as potential sites for practising democracy towards the development of civil society (De Certeau, 2011; Amin and Thrift, 2002; Madanipour, 2005; Massey, 2008; Sennett, 2008; Low, 2009). Taking both together, the physical site contains possibilities for strengthening already-powerful groups living there, and for opening up counter-hegemonic practices through representations *in public* that interrupt 'the given order' through interactions between site, the citizen and collective, towards active (re)constructions as generative of the public sphere. For Massey (2008) and De Certeau (2011) this lies at the centre of democracy, where people come together to articulate matters of shared concern: "Places pose in particular form the question of our living together." (Massey, 2008: 151).

Considering places as made and remade through engagements with local people and sites of importance, rather than 'given', Rodman (1992) argues places are 'multilocal' and 'multivocal', as "...politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions" (p.641). Particular aspects of a place are chosen that generate collective actions towards stimulate mobilisation oriented to a politics of place (Martin, 2003). Within educational research, attention to the presence of residents' interactions with their physical environment has been captured in studies in non-institutional education settings in, for example local communities, neighbourhoods, and the 'outdoors' (e.g., Gruenewald, 2003; Desforges, Jones and Woods, 2005; Ellsworth, 2005; Biesta, 2006; De Visscher and Bouverne-De Bie, 2008a; 2008b; Wildemeersch, 2012; McKenzie, 2008; Loopmans, Cowell and Oosterlynck, 2012). These studies

argue there are educational and learning possibilities through intervening in physical space that encourages individuals to engage with others in the common (not consensual) spaces they inhabit as 'critical pedagogies of place' (Gruenewald, 2003) and places as 'co-educators' (De Visscher and Bouverne-De Bie 2008a, b). Here, education and learning are rooted in the contexts of communities experiencing continuous change over time (Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele, 2007).

1.3   Geography and Citizenship

I discussed previously the connection between the landscape and those who live there with particular forms of citizenship. Issues surrounding how citizens 'emerge' as acting beings has been a concern of educators, policy makers and political theorists for centuries, where, as Crick argues "…citizenship has meant, since the time of the Greeks and the Romans, people *acting together* publicly and effectively to demonstrate common values and achieve common purposes." (Crick 2007, p.247). Citizenship here is an active process, through participation in civic life, positioned as a necessary challenge for the field of education and learning (Lawy and Biesta, 2006; Crick, 2007) where citizenship 'skills' are not naturally given but have to be learned through engagements with others (Bauman, 2000; Lawy and Biesta, 2006; Biesta, 2011). It is the ways citizenship is learned that concerns me here, and I situate the conceptualisation I use in this thesis through Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele's (2007, p.21) definition of citizenship as about engaging in collective debates, actions and decision-making with the aim of structuring our public lives: citizenship as practice (see also Lawy and Biesta, 2006). Lawy and Biesta (2006) conceptualise two 'modes' of citizenship, as either: (1) as a status and identity 'given' to individuals who have successfully displayed pre-requisite outcomes through particular forms of education (citizenship-as-

achievement), or (2) as a practice we should continuously 'do' through exposure to the actual challenges in our lives (citizenship-as-practice). Biesta (2011) contends citizenship is not an identity, nor a state of being that follows from the correct knowledge, skills and dispositions but involves instead "...identification with public issues, that is, with issues that are of a common concern. This implies that a culture of participation should be a central and essential element of democratic citizenship." (2011, p.13). The conception I work with in my thesis is citizenship-as-practice; I consider it has the capacity to illuminate practices that otherwise may go unnoticed if there is a focus on the knowledge, skills and dispositions of individuals' citizenship 'status'. Rather, citizenship is a way of being through action in public with others.

Involving being in public with others, for Emerson (in Von Rautenfeld, 2005, p.187) citizenship is about participation in the communicative process of a public sphere, where representative participation in civic life is vital to the presentation of "...interests, sentiments, beliefs, values, principles, preferences, ways of life, aspirations, aversions, and political identities, i.e., all the material that forms the basis of public opinions". Such connections by representatives translate ideas for use and contestation in the public realm. Thus, the act of becoming public through representational acts allows for the construction of a public sphere where citizens become representatives, presenting their ideas for consideration by others. Translations are central for turning private issues into public concerns (Wright Mills, 1959) as a central component of democracy.

1.4 Citizenship and Heritage

As discussed before in relation to the issue of 'community breakdown' and social – as well as geographical - fragmentation, aspects of 'the past' in the guise of heritage have become implicated in the citizenship conversation, particularly in terms of what kind of history teaching and learning best prepares individuals for participation in civic life (Barton and Levstik, 2004; Simon, 2005; Chinnery, 2010, 2011). Nora (1996) contends there has been an 'explosion' of heritage projects. Within UK government policy these threads of the involvement of heritage and citizenship towards renewing disadvantaged neighbourhoods include articulations of 'heritage' and 'regeneration' with emphasis on particular post-industrial places (Scottish Government, 2012). Equally, a wide variety of major public funding initiatives are targeted at encouraging local people to become involved in the history of their area (Heritage Lottery Fund, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Esmee Fairbairn Foundation, for example). In particular, the Heritage Lottery Fund, direct by policy from the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, involves "supporting projects that create opportunities for volunteering, learning and celebrating our culture. The projects that we fund help to give people a sense of place and identity, igniting a passion for heritage, and regenerating communities." (HLF, 2012). This wording is also present in Scottish Government policies aimed at encouraging heritage in local communities (see for example Scottish Government's Regeneration Strategy, 2011; Town Centre Regeneration Fund, 2012). One of the features of this Fund is on utilising aspects of the heritage of towns to support cohesion and solidarity of disadvantaged towns, with particular attention on economic growth and a more resilient and adaptable economy for towns experiencing significant decline (Scottish Government, 2011).

In evidence within these various policies and funds implicate heritage in the hope of developing unified communities through learning 'about' and 'from' traumas caused by the past, as well as 'celebrating' the past in order to stabilise the present. These demands by government and funding agencies attempt to foster identifications with particular aspects of history that can act as a blueprint for participation today and for the future. History and heritage are also positioned as having touristic and economic regeneration possibilities, where citizens become instead consumers and spectators of an externally-driven heritage narrative. Further, 'heritage' is accused of pinning down the identities of places as touristic spectacles (Edensor, 2005), as commodity (the 'heritage industry') through the proliferation of memory films and television programmes that focus on private testimony (Edensor, 2005, Ashworth, 1994; Jackson, 2008). There has been a continued increase of heritage sites scattered around the built environment, for example, monuments, museums, sculpture, public spaces of commemoration, remembrance rituals, as broad representations of national identities towards encouraging the continuation of these identities through linear time (Huyssen, 2003; Simon, 2005; Chinnery, 2011). Huyssen (2003) argues these sites have become integrated into a 'culture industry' that commodifies the past into a series of touristic experiences that stabilise memories (see also Jackson, 2008). Edensor (2005, p.133) is particularly scathing of the commodification of remembering: "The heritage industry tends to mobilise specific ways of remembering the pasts of places. In servicing the requirements of commodification and the need to tell a coherent, seamless – and regulated - story about the way things were, heritage banishes ambiguity and the innumerable ways of interpreting the past to compile a series of potted stories and

spatially regulated displays." This 'era of commemoration' is argued to be mediating our relationship to the past, taken over by the media and tourist industries.

1.4.1   Learning history and its possibilities for the civic

These issues combined demand a mindfulness to geographical and historical interventions by policy and therefore a shift in understanding the possibilities for citizenship-as-practice involving connecting geography and history to the civic and the public realm. We might begin to identify this perspective where history is a human construction offering form and purpose to the past, present and future (Black and MacRaild, 2007). Zinn (1990) argues meanings about the past are predominantly created by the historian, and thus it is important to widen our view to include the silent voices of the past, to look behind the silence of the present, where history seeks our response. Local history itself is intimately connected to the landscape, whereby it is defined as 'a popular cultural activity' and process (Jackson, 2008), based within a restricted (i.e. local) geographic context, towards exploring continuities and changes over a longer period of time. Thus, connections between geography and citizenship and history can be positioned here with possibilities for citizenship as a practice. Indeed, Huyssen (2003, p.7) articulates the presence of the past in the landscape: "The strong marks of present space merge in the imaginary with traces of the past, erasures, losses, and heterotopias."

Academics writing on history teaching and learning in schools, specifically involving history's relationship to civil society, explore these concerns involving how to deal with the past and its place in matters involving the civic (Barton and Levstik, 2004; Simon, 2005; Barton, 2006; Seixas, 2006; Levinsohn, 2010; Simon and Ashley, 2010;

Chinnery, 2010, 2011). Regarding the issues with heritage discussed before, Simon (2005) argues that practices of remembrance attempt to build social consensus through iconic memories that mobilise collective commitment through recognition and identification with a specific past (singular). He argues these representations of the past have a concern for integrating, organising and regulating practices of everyday life through memorial. It is also argued that events such as remembrance day ceremonies work in the same way as family stories or narratives in order to ensure pedagogies that stress an 'ongoing identity' which ignores gaps, myths, political indoctrination; it thus puts forward an 'official history' that is predetermined in the form of truths about the past, ignoring those who were excluded from these processes (Chinnery, 2010, 2011). Thus, Simon (2005) positions the role of the past in practices of memory that have a citizenship-as-practice function. History, however, is also a tool – used in the hands of particular social groups, whether dominant or otherwise (Kurtz, 2002). From these issues, the definition of practices involving history I use in this thesis is informed by Simon and Ashley (2010), as "the contemporary activities through which the past comes to matter in the present." (Simon and Ashley, 2010, p.247).

Making sense of the different understandings of history learning in order to position their possibilities for understanding specific forms of citizenship they might inspire, I present next a broad framework based on schools-based learning and teaching of history with a concern for citizenship which I use in my theoretical framework that informs my empirical research. It is based on work by Chinnery (2011) and reflective of extensive work by Barton and Levstik (2004), Simon (2005) and by Biesta and Cowell (2010) involving adults. These ideas are reflected also in history research more generally with a concern for the civic by Huyssen (2003); Jackson (2008); Kurtz (2002); Simon and

Ashley (2010). The framework does not exclude particular forms of history learning and teaching; each 'form' is a different way to learn and teach. Rather, the framework highlights the relationship between approaches to history with possibilities for practising citizenship with a concern for diversity and plurality. Defining democratic education and learning within this is that which allows the conditions for collective debate and action on the complexities of public life (Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele, 2010) through exposure to it (Biesta, 2011) as it emerges from place (Gruenewald 2003) as well as the temporal aspects inherent in the civic (Barton and Levstik, 2004; Simon, 2005; Barton, 2006; Seixas, 2006; Simon and Ashley, 2010; Chinnery, 2010, 2011).

(1) **Traditional approach** – *learning **about** the past*: 'the rational pursuit of universal, objective truth about what happened in other times and places' (Chinnery, 2011).

(2) **Cognitive approach/analytic stance** – *learning **from** the past*: developing our capacity to 'think historically' which includes historical empathy – learning from the past to make decisions about our role as citizens today and in the future towards producing citizens with historical knowledge to help guide them in the present.

Both approaches require forms of history learning and teaching that precede action, towards pre-determining what should be taught so that particular outcomes can be learned. The third element highlights the 'civic' dimension and which I assert is the preferred mode for community-based forms of learning with adults:

(3) **Civic approach** – knowing here is a temporal process involving experiencing the realities of the public realm. This includes the collective considering and critiquing our own past through actions, opening an 'indeterminate future for civic life' (Simon, 2005). For Simon this involves the 'encountered past' through participating in civic life, in terms of history's role in the reformulation and redefinition of everyday, communal life.

Research involving forms of history with a concern for civic life is under-theorised and rare in research involving adults in the western context (with the exception of Coles and Armstrong, 2007, 2008 whose work is unrelated to the civic dimension; McCabe, 2011 involving learning from the past; Zipsane, 2007, 2010 from a museum lifelong learning perspective). I argue the framework above is central to exploring how the past is actively constructed in relation to both citizenship involving geographies and temporalities in localities by adults who are witnesses to history and change over time in their place. Wildemeersch (2008, p.5) reminds us that "…the value of a learning process is not specifically within the learner but situated 'between' the learner and the transitional object, between the learner and the space, the person or the situation that interrupts the fixities of the self-evident understanding of what we, and the world, are about." Thus, adult and community education is centrally placed within discussions around the health of public life. This brings me to Biesta's theory of civic learning (Biesta, 2011) which sets out two modes of civic learning within a theoretical framework I utilise within the empirical part of my study, which I will discuss in subsequent sections.

1.5   Civic Learning

Biesta (2011) conceptualises civic learning as learning occurring for, from and through engagement in civic life that contributes to the ongoing formation of democratic citizens. Biesta's theory of civic learning makes a distinction between two 'modes' of civic learning: socialisation and subjectification. A socialisation conception of civic learning sees civic learning as the adoption of existing civic identities and is thus about individuals adapting to a given political order. A subjectification conception of civic learning, on the other hand, focuses on how political agency is achieved, where individuals become political subjects in their own right, rather than taking up existing political identities. While the socialisation conception of civic learning takes the existing socio-political order as its frame of reference – which implies that democracy itself is understood as 'ordered' and ultimately static – the subjectification conception of civic learning focuses on the constant renewal of democracy (Biesta, 2011). Although there may be a place for socialisation in civic learning there is the risk that an exclusive emphasis on civic learning as socialisation leads to the domestication of citizens rather than their emancipation. Thus, Biesta argues that the idea of civic learning as subjectification is favoured above socialisation, as it is an open, experimental process in which it is not clear, beforehand, what 'needs' to be learned but where individuals as democratic subjects emerge as they experience what is at stake for them to learn, towards their own particular way of existing in the world. A subjectification conception of civic learning thus centres on understanding the learning that emerges from the ways individuals enact their citizenship in critical and creative ways, in places where plurality and difference are present. The theory therefore has an explicit concern for the political dimensions of civic learning as it emerges in as-yet-unknown ways.

1.6   Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

The issues as they relate to geography, history and citizenship converge to formulate the main purpose of my study, which involves an exploration of forms of civic learning emerging through the ways individuals interact with their environment in spatial and temporal ways.

1.6.1   Aim

The main aim of this project is to deepen understanding of the complexities of processes of civic learning of individuals and social groups living together in the same geographic area through an investigation of the ways in which residents (as individuals and groups) construct forms of public space through interactions with their physical environments in spatial and temporal ways.

1.6.2   Objectives

1. To undertake a contextual exploration of local community civic action groups in two geographical locations in Scotland in the form of a case study.

2. To identify the particular spatial and temporal contexts of each locality through the interplay between each place and its residents.

3. To examine interventions, actions and participation by residents as they emerge as representations of the spatial and temporal characteristics and contexts of their place through a framework developed from psychogeographic mapping.

4. To explore the civic learning that emerges from residents' representations.

5. To explore the possibilities for alternative understandings of public history as it emerges from place-based interactions with temporality.

6. To evaluate the implications, challenges and possibilities of civic learning as a form of public history within place-based public pedagogies for the field of community education.

1.6.3 Research Questions

The research seeks to answer three questions:

1. How are public spaces constructed through the interaction of individuals and groups with their physical and temporal environment?

2. How do different configurations of public space promote or impede civic learning?

3. What are the possibilities for public pedagogies within the field of community education towards the support and promotion of civic learning involving spatial and temporal contexts and settings?

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The next chapters of my thesis will be organised as follows. **Chapter Two** is a review of predominantly theoretical rather than empirical literature exploring the major themes of my study, namely the connections between space (geographical context of places) and time (the historical context and 'the past' of places and its residents) to the 'civic' and 'public' dimensions of citizenship practices. Because of the lack of research involving space, time and citizenship I focus on various theories that build up different conceptions of these areas of research in order to bring them together. I explore various

historical developments and conceptualisations of citizenship, and outline the conception I am working with, which is citizenship-as-practice rather than citizenship-as-achievement, central to understanding the ways individuals engage with the spatial and temporal characteristics of their location as central to their civic agency. I then situate varying conceptualisations of geography and history as having the potential to generate public space and public history.

This exploration leads into the theoretical framework in **Chapter Three**, which involves setting out the conceptualisations of civic learning and civic action as involving socialisation and subjectification processes central to citizenship-as-practiced. I then layer over this theory of citizenship in order to connect the theory of civic learning to the spatial (cartographic and mapping) and the temporal (the learning and teaching of history in the landscape and as narratives) aspects of individuals' civic lives. I conceptualise maps in three ways: as physical objects, as tools used in civic action (as processes and as always-unfinished encounters), and as having possibilities for understanding the ways individuals 'use' and 'experience their place and its contemporary and historical spaces. This also involves an exploration of the theory of psychogeographic mapping (Debord, 1955, 1992) which is a methodology with attention to the ways urban life is structured, organised and understood as an experience and a practice, towards setting up an investigation of the 'other place' lying beneath. I also set out the three levels of history education and learning which involves (1) learning *about* the past, (2) learning *from* the past, and (3) histories by the public.

Chapter Four involves my research design which is structured by the theoretical framework in chapter three. I use a case study design which involves three data

collection methods: secondary data, psychogeographic mapping interviews and observation, within a psychogeographic mapping methodology. I collected data from two civic action groups: Greenhill Historical Society (GHS) in Bonnybridge, a deindustrialised location, and Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community (CVAC) in Cumbernauld Village, which is a Conservation Area. The main concern of GHS involves an exploration of the past of Bonnybridge. CVAC is an environmental action group using the original, conserved, medieval layout and features of their village to participate in physically altering the landscape towards addressing present-day concerns. The methodology, and the connected methods of psychogeographic mapping and observations, explicitly deals with the three-dimensional framework of space, time and civic learning and attempts to deal with my conceptualisation that places, and actions upon them, are not simply 'there' to observe. Rather I argue they emerge through the interplay between time (missing pieces of a place), spatiality (what is 'there' in a variety of forms) and participation towards the possibility for alternative forms of learning in place 'on the ground'. I outline the data analysis and interpretation strategy, as well as reliability, validity and ethics.

Chapters Five and Six set out the empirical results of my study, which formed two cases: Greenhill Historical Society as a case of reconsideration of Bonnybridge, and CVAC as a case of reconfiguration of Cumbernauld Village. Reconsideration by GHS involved redefining and representing plural and diverse meanings within their place as civic action upon a forgotten and abandoned landscape; reconfiguration by CVAC refers to the physical alterations of their place through civic actions upon an officially conserved and preserved location. I argue that these reconsiderations and reconfigurations are manifestations of the responses (the 'acts') by residents from their

exposure to the unpredictability of civic life generated through the geographies and temporalities of each place.

Chapter Seven involves my interpretation of the civic actions of respondents of both cases as it emerged from their reconsideration and reconfiguration activities. I will argue here that the *actions* by participants were more strongly present than the learning aspect, which I argue made the civic *learning* component less significant for individuals to act in civil society. Notwithstanding, however, I argue it is still possible to understand forms of learning that did emerge. I demonstrate the spatial and temporal conditions respondents were faced with in their everyday lives, which were central to their civic action processes; this relates to the forgotten and abandoned nature of Bonnybridge, and the strictly conserved and preserved configuration of Cumbernauld Village. This involved also a strong – and shared – history/story in the case of Cumbernauld Village, and the impact of the absence of any official history/story in Bonnybridge. I conceptualise socialisation and subjectification as civic actions involving 'mapreading' and 'mapmaking' (space) and 'histories of' and 'histories by' as central to understanding how these civic practices and identifications have spatial and temporal dynamics.

Chapter Eight introduces the possibilities for my study within the realm of public pedagogy as a form of education with a concern for processes that might promote civic action in spaces and histories involving 'urban cracks', as marginalised, derelict, post-industrial, hidden, and conserved areas towards interactions that might spark the publicness of citizens as well as the spaces and temporalities around them. Engaging 'with' residents and 'with' the spatial and temporal contexts of their localities

undergoing change over time could spark alternative forms of unanticipated civic actions with a concern for the public dimensions of civic life.

2 Chapter Two: a review of the literature - Citizenship-as-practice towards the formation of public space

2.1 Introduction

In my introduction I outlined the aim of this project as involving an understanding of the complexities of processes of civic learning of individuals and groups living together in a shared geographical location, specifically the ways adults relate to the spatial and temporal characteristics of their location. This chapter explores the conceptualisations of the main components of my study through existing literature, and sets out the concepts I work with in my empirical study: civic agency, citizenship, geographies and temporalities involving citizenship, the public sphere and public space. I connect these themes to the field of adult and community education. This is a review of theoretical rather than empirical literature.

This chapter is in three sections. In the first section I explore civil society and civic agency as the central theme of my research, which involves varying theories of citizenship developed over time, from active citizens to civic agency. I then outline the relationship between space (geography) and time (history) to citizenship, setting out the citizenship conception I work with in my empirical study: citizenship-as-practice (Lawy and Biesta, 2006). This conception does not presume the induction of individuals *into* a particular citizenship status but rather assumes they are citizens already, concerned then with the actual conditions of their lives. In section two I connect citizenship to public sphere and public space formation, where participation by individuals in civic matters 'forms' spheres and spaces; this section deals with the issue of a declining public sphere

with implications for opportunities for individuals to enact their civic agency, in their locality. In section three I bring together my discussions on citizenship and the public sphere and public space into adult and community education, where it has a concern for encouraging forms of citizenship learning and education that seeks to revitalise public life involving place.

2.2   Civil society, civic action and citizenship

Firstly I explore the term civil society, as the 'domain' of this thesis, moving forward with current literature that sets out different understandings of civic agency and citizenship within the context of civil society.

2.2.1   Civil Society

Civil society and the public sphere are connected; civil society has been conceptualised *as* the public sphere (Edwards, 2008; Calhoun, 1992). Calhoun (1992) argues the public sphere is the domain of civil society, where expression, debate and action are characteristics of the individual's pursuit of citizenship and freedom. Defining the term 'civic' it is the realm of the people and their relationship to the affairs of their city or municipality – outwith family, the market, governmental or institutional structures (see van der Veen, 2007). This includes local neighbourhoods, neighbourhood associations, voluntary organisations and our environment, where we participate in organisations as 'institutions that affect us'; politics is not just about politicians but our local lives (Barton, 2006). Civil society has been variously defined, and summarised by Edwards (2008, p.3): "Depending on whose version one follows, civil society is either a specific product of the nation-state and capitalism (arising spontaneously to mediate conflicts between social life and the market economy when the industrial revolution fractured

traditional bonds of kin and community) or a universal expression of the collective life of individuals, at work in all countries and stages of development but expressed in different ways according to history, culture and context." It is the latter definition for the purposes of my study. Edwards (2008) further argues that voluntary associations have the potential to limit the power of institutions towards protecting pluralism through trust and co-operation.

In terms of my study, civic engagement relates to individuals in a collective engaging with the public and shared dimensions of their location and the issues located there, relating to individuals' engagements with each other, their context and the wider public, as well as holding the state accountable through checking its power and moderating its decision-making where it affects the locality and its residents. This positioning of civil society as formed through our actions defines *civic action* as central to understanding individuals not simply as voters but as organisers of a democratic society in order to address problems outside the domain of governments (Boyte, 2004). This widens and deepens the conceptualisation of the citizen as an organiser of civil action that forms civil society (Boyte, 2004). Following this, a citizen is defined by van Steenbergen (1994) as an individual active in public life and willing to submit their private interests in favour of society's interests; whereas an economic citizen does not have this wider responsibility and 'public spirit' (cf. van Steenbergen, 1994). It is from this conception that we come to citizenship.

2.2.2 Citizenship

Theories of citizenship have been prevalent for two thousand years, attempting to understand "...the nature of the good society, the rights and responsibilities of citizens,

the practice of politics and government, and, most especially, how to live together peacefully by reconciling our individual autonomy with our collective aspirations, balancing freedom and its boundaries, and marrying pluralism with conformity so that complex societies can function with both efficiency and justice." (Edwards 2012, p.6). At the level of civil society, there have been attempts at understanding the forms of participation that support civil society (Hajer and Reijndorp, 2001; Seixas, 2006; Barton, 2006). Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2004, p.129) argue it is conceptually huge: "In common usage, the term 'citizenship' is a very broad concept and it encompasses questions of identity, ethnicity, gender, participation, attitudes and values, as well as perceptions of rights and obligations." In the historical account that follows, I chart the development of citizenship from its emergence of citizenship in Greek and Roman society through to Marshall (1950) and post-Marshall involving the active citizen under Thatcher. This leads to the present, where citizenship can be understood as both a status to be achieved through learning (citizenship-as-achievement), or as formed through engagement with local issues and where learning stems from exposure to life (citizenship-as-practice) both theorised by Lawy and Biesta (2006) and Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele (2010). These two conceptions involve different ways of being a citizen. I argue this latter concept is of greatest relevance to public sphere formation, where citizenship is a practice central to encountering the plurality and diversity central to civic action in a participatory democracy.

2.2.2.1 Ancient Greek Citizenship: the polis

"…(C)itizenship has meant, since the time of the Greeks and the Romans, people *acting together* publicly and effectively to demonstrate common values and achieve common purposes." (Crick, 2007, p.247). In Greek society citizenship and the state were

indistinguishable (Edwards, 2012), where citizenship was a political status, involving citizens participating in the polis, or the political system of the Greek 'city-state' (Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004). It was also an exclusive status, where Greeks relied on slaves to free them from the daily toil restricting their engagement in issues of concern to society; thus, slaves allowed privileged Greeks to become active citizens (cf. Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004, p.7). The citizen ruled and was ruled, part of a collective making mutually agreed decisions (Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004). Thus, the affairs of society were determined by active citizens participating in city-state affairs as part of the 'good life' (Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004). However, citizens were of similar backgrounds, owned property and were slave owners (Heater 1990), involving qualifying rules: foreigners, women, slaves and peasants could not be citizens. However, "...the very existence of diversity of interests among the citizen body was considered, especially by Aristotle, as essential to the practice of being a citizen. Good government derived from the virtuous balancing of these varying perspectives. And, of course, virtue was precisely the mark of the good citizen – the quality of moral goodness that was essential for selfless, co-operative public life." (Heater, 1990, p.5). I discuss ancient Roman citizenship, which included their entire empire, next.

2.2.2.2 Ancient Roman Citizenship: the civitas

Roman citizenship differs from the Greek conception because it involved legal status – the 'civitas' as a body of people united by law, from which city, civic and civil stems. It is a collective of individuals with legal rights and protections - independent of other people's actions - where the civitas brought together disparate groups of people throughout the empire in order to generate co-operation and integration (Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004). Heater (1990, p.16) explains six required privileges before full

citizenship was granted: four public rights involving army service, voting in assembly, eligibility to public office and legal right of action and appeal. Two private rights involved intermarriage and trade with other Roman citizens. Roman differs from Greek citizenship because, as Heater explains, it was possible for non-citizens to participate in such 'careers'. Equally, the Romans conception involved dual citizenship, where they could be a citizen of their city and the empire simultaneously, and half-citizenship, where private but not public privileges were possible (Heater, 1990). Roman citizenship 'provided equality before the law', and loving your country and being dutiful towards it coexisted (cf. Heater, 1990, p.17). Where the Greek definition of the citizen involved a requirement to serve the state, in the Roman conception there was a stronger military aspect, where the farmer was also considered to be more likely to have 'virtue' than the city person. Citizenship education relied upon rhetorics - developing the citizen as an orator, towards 'oratorial persuasiveness in the discussion of public affairs' (Heater, 1990, p.19). He highlights, however, that Roman citizenship rights were overshadowed by duties, and rather than seeing citizenship a 'privilege' it declined through the responsibility of the duty (p.18). When citizenship status was extended to all men except slaves Heater points out citizenship was replaced by the concept of 'class'. This culminated in citizenship being value-less, affecting civic responsibility detrimentally, and created the decline of the public duty system. Thus without citizenship the Roman empire had no purpose (Heater, 1990).

2.2.2.3 Marshall: civil, political and social citizenship

I move forward to discuss the work of T.H. Marshall, predominantly because it allows for an understanding of citizenship as it developed in the context of the welfare state post World War II (Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004) as well as its changing role in

relation to the state. Marshall (in van Steenbergen, 1994) conceptually and theoretically shows over the centuries how citizenship developed in three waves – civil, political and social. Firstly, eighteenth century civil citizenship involved the emergence of rights intrinsic to individual freedom, specifically private, person and justice freedoms such as the right to own property, freedom of speech and freedom to organise. Nineteenth century political citizenship involved the rights of the individual to participate in applying political power such as voting, and seeking to hold office. Social citizenship in the twentieth century involved individuals' rights to economic and social security, central to the modern welfare state. For Marshall, social citizenship as a status was the final qualifying stage where individuals could participate fully in their community. As van Steenbergen (1994) argues, social rights were considered inherently positive, involving the intervention of an active state in the lives of its citizens, providing them with material status to allow them to participate in society. Marshall argues the struggle between citizenship and capitalism in the 20th century developed into the dual issue facing individuals in the present day: income and wealth and the unequal arrangements this causes with fellow citizens, summarised thus: "Citizenship is predicated upon the principle of equality, capitalism on inequality." (Heater, 1990, p.101). Heater argues the problem of welfare and profit in relation to the state's responsibilities has been heightened, whereby citizenship has been affected adversely – where instead of cohesion and stability there is unstable 'hyphenated society' (Heater, 1990, p.101). It is this issue that connects to the Thatcher and New Labour era which I discuss next.

2.2.2.4 From Thatcher to New Labour: the 'active citizen' and the rejection of social citizenship

Moving forward to 1980s Britain and Thatcher, this was a defining moment in the development of individualistic citizens and their relationship to the state. This era involved encouragement of the private sphere to the detriment of the public, which as Heater (1990, p.252) discusses: "The function of the state is to stand aside to allow the growth of a property-owning citizenry and to stand strong in their defence against external attack and 'the enemy within' (i.e. Socialists and trade unionists)." This implicates citizenship in the fight for political liberty and resistance to oppression, to a citizenship of rights to property and security, where government can exert authority over its citizenry (Lawy and Biesta, 2006). This era involved strengthening police powers, increased state confidentiality decreasing access to political information, and weakening trade unions (Heater, 1990; Lawy and Biesta, 2006). Thatcher positioned the welfare state and socialism as creating a dependence on the state, which was against self-help and self-respect. This led to the positioning of the ideal citizen under Thatcher as 'enterprising, competitive and responsive' (Olsen 1996, in Lawy and Biesta 2006, p.38).

The emergence of New Labour's citizenship policy in 1997 did not shed its focus on individualism, despite their development of social values and social responsibilities of citizens (cf. Lawy and Biesta, 2006, p.39). Biesta discusses that in all citizenship policy levels are 'clear assumptions' about what an active citizen is and how to become one, implicating the role of the education sector in delivering these policies: "In key areas such as health and education where spending has increased, the Labour government has maintained the rhetoric of choice, delivery and accountability (Biesta 2004a). Whilst

there are vague references to institutions and organisations such as the family, workplace and other associations which bond individuals to society, these are located within a framework that starts with clear assumptions about what it means to be an 'active' citizen and about what one needs to do in order to achieve that status." Thus, the concept of citizenship shifted, where in present policy it is considered less a political notion (our responsibility for living together with others generative of civil society) and more a social notion (individual social mobility).[1]

2.2.2.5 21st century: from 'active citizenship' to 'democratic citizenship - citizenship as status versus citizenship as practice

Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2004) argue there has been increased interest in citizenship research in recent years, from concerns about declining feelings of 'community' and 'solidarity' in public, public cynicism about politics and political institutions, and decline in institutions supporting civil society and democracy. Newer conceptions of citizenship seek to address these issues, towards 'civic renewal' that increases participation and political knowledge, and promotes skills to stimulate this participation (cf. Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004). Within these moments is the role of the state in

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[1] There are three overlapping 'models' of citizenship: liberalism, communitarianism and republicanism (see Van Gunsteren, 1994; Beiner 1995; Dahlgren 2006). Liberalism (freedom from the state) involves individual rights, where the role of the state is negligible, present only to protect the freedom of its citizens by law to allow them to pursue their own interests through making rational choices. There is lack of involvement of context or background where individuals live their lives (Dahlgren 2006, p.268). Citizenship is a legal term. Communitarianism involves groups and individuals bound together in cultural solidarity, including sharing a common history or tradition, towards *identity-positions* which form the ground for citizenship (Beiner 1995). Here, shared values and cohesion are integral to forming political communities as stable enclaves, which have the capacity to function in a repressive manner, conflicting with the "...rights and liberties of society at large" (Dahlgren 2006, p.269). In republicanism the state has a key role, and combines individual rights from liberalism and civic ties of communitarianism towards creating a sense of community. Here, citizenship is integral to pluralistic civic agency. Dahlgren argues "Writers in the republican tradition insist on the active participation of citizens in a democratic self-governance." (p.269), and that "Republicanism asserts that democracy requires civic virtues from its citizens and cultivating these virtues turns citizens into better people by developing abilities that otherwise would remain unfulfilled." (p.269). Republicanism is closest to what I am arguing for here.

the latter part of the 20th century, as taking responsibility for individuals' 'achievement of citizenship' through helping them obtain qualities necessary for 'admission' to citizenship by removing obstacles to participation (Van Gursteren, 1994). Van Gursteren argues this role by the state has been subject to significant criticism; indeed, alternative theories emerged that argue against the state having any role. He points to four different problems that arise when we consider issues involving individuals' 'admission *to* citizenship particularly relating to the proliferation of a higher level of diversity in the present: (1) practices of admission – asylum, European citizenship, education; (2) membership requirements – social security, employment, the 'underclass'; (3) competence – civic-mindedness, civil servants as citizens, and (4) pluralism – minorities and the law, senior citizens.

Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2004) and Crick (2007) demonstrate that classification by the state of 'good' and 'bad' citizens prevails. The good citizen is someone who is aware of their rights but realise their obligations to other people and wider society, as individuals who participate in a variety of voluntary activities. The bad citizen is one behaving as an individual who demands their rights but fails to acknowledge their obligations to the rest of society, and unlikely to participate in local politics. Through these conceptualisations Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley demonstrate this is how citizenship has been researched empirically thus far; they stress the importance of redefining civic participation in a broader way, in order that we do not miss important participations. Dahlgren (2006) argues for rethinking the notion of citizenship itself, towards shifting the boundaries of citizenship in order to make what he calls 'conceptual progress' (p.270). It is to this I turn now.

2.2.2.6 From active citizens to civic agency

As argued by Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele (2010) the present discussion centres on 'citizenship as status' and 'citizenship as practice'. The first positions the individual as requiring certain skills before admission to being a citizen, whereas the second conception involves citizenship emerging through practices individuals engage in. Here, it is not required to learn skills in advance of action; action occurs first and then the learning follows, if at all. Where citizenship is connected to social cohesion, it is positioned as a solution to the 'disintegration of the social fabric in multicultural society' which is argued to be not just a social problem but a political one, because it is seen as a threat to democracy (Scheffer, 2007, in Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele, 2010, p.490). The learning of specific citizenship skills have thus become a concern of government, towards state-controlled interventions that are rooted in a communitarian notion of citizenship. This form has been described as 'functionalist' because it attempts to instil knowledge, skills and attitudes in citizens to enable them to participate in society (Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele, 2010). Here, citizenship status is conceptualised as an identity 'given' to individuals to allow them entry to an existing community.

Coexisting with this, citizens are also required to obey law, pay taxes, or whatever the required internal standards are which demand citizens function appropriately. Much of this theorising has occurred in relation to young people, with less attention to the processes occurring for adults (Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele, 2010), who have therefore tried to address this by referring to European policy agendas using citizenship education as a 'method' (than a value or idea or ideology) of social inclusion (p.494) involving adults. Inclusion, they argue, does not deal with the issue of those who have

failed to meet the criteria necessary for inclusion, and thus active citizenship language falls back to individualist notions of the citizen separate from fellow citizens and their local environment. Further, Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele (2010) position lifelong learning policy – involving citizenship education of adults specifically – within this conceptualisation by governments as involving the notion of 'active citizenship'. They argue these policies, in Europe and elsewhere, demand individuals take responsibility for their learning, to encourage individual and social mobility, which Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele comment positions the purpose of learning as the responsibility of the individual than as "...a joint process of people encountering each other in a creative engagement with the world they live in." (p.488). This shift in positioning citizenship (and therefore the citizen) as 'atomised', i.e. the promotion of self-reliance, work- and training-focused, is considered to be, which I argue also, detrimental to positioning citizenship in relation to the wider world of civil society. As Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele summarise, lifelong learning was influenced by two agendas: an economic agenda, based around a functionalist perspective, predominantly economic towards encouraging individuals to be competitive in a constantly changing market economy, and a social cohesion agenda, to stem the damage to the social fabric and the 'community' as an enclave. They argue this 'functionalist and reductive' (p.488) policy framing by European governments marginalises citizens in need of a welfare state, as well as making invisible the "...struggle for hegemony that direct our lives and our policies. It therefore matters, for academics, for practitioners and for politicians, not to let adult and continuing education be reduced exclusively to the promotion of individual social mobility through lifelong learning." (p.488).

Latter policy shifts in the 21st century reflect governmental preoccupations with the effects globalisation is causing, particularly social fragmentation, community breakdown and social disorder (Desforges, Jones and Woods, 2005; Green, Preston and Janmaat, 2008). At the level of policy, the concept of 'community' is positioned as an intervention to solve social disorder which implicates discussions in the public domain and the social fabric of society (Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004; Marquand, 2004; Desforges, Jones and Woods, 2005). Community breakdown is inherent within European social cohesion policy in terms of the 'fabric' of society, fuelled by "vanishing values and norms" and declining social trust and civic participation (Jansen et al, 2006). Green, Preston and Janmaat (2008) note that promoting active citizenship to encourage individuals to live constructively with cultural diversity has been badly served by policy, which has been grounded in scant research evidence, attempting to stabilise society. Wildemeersch (2008, p.9) considers that the language of policy is more in tune with 'inclusion' than 'pluralizing', which creates issues in terms of favouring harmony over the friction created through the emergence of difference and multiplicity. Jansen et al (2006) consider that the focus for policies and interventions is on groups at risk in terms of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, migrants and moral education. They note that policy in this area is concerned that such deficiencies are threatening to "social cohesion and integration as a whole". Social cohesion as a concept emerges from issues over "vanishing values and norms" and declining social trust and civic participation (Jansen et al, 2006), however Forrest and Kearns (2001, p.2127) consider that "Social cohesion is about getting by and getting on at the more mundane level of everyday life" and should not be considered at the higher macro level.

These arguments have necessitated a move by Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele (2010) and Lawy and Biesta (2006) to shift the discussion from interventions to create the 'active citizen' towards theorisations that give a central role to 'civic agency' which is central to my thesis. For Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele (2010), active citizenship is a policy intervention which involves governments 'steering' individuals – all individuals, not a privileged subset - to gain knowledge, skills and attitudes to allow them to participate in their communities. Here, as Lawy and Biesta (2006) and Biesta (2006) argue, citizenship education becomes a formal process to generate the 'right' kind of citizen. Against this notion, and the conceptualisation I use in my thesis which provides a stronger place for civic agency, allows for a better understanding of how individuals participate in civic society through acting upon the civic issues arising from the actual conditions of their lives, and how they gain skills, dispositions and opportunities for doing so. This thread is woven throughout the next sections on citizenship-as-practice, temporal and geographical citizenship and finally adult education and learning. Civic agency is a central concern of this thesis, which also implicates geography and history as the context within which individuals live their lives, and which are positioned in my thesis as the 'root' of changing and increasingly complex societies. This means that of central concern is what and how individuals learn to deal with the changes and conflicts in their everyday lives. It is thus the notion of civic agency, which for Edwards (2008) involves forms of civic organising 'expressed through participatory democracy' which is my central concern, where democracy is, for Biesta (2007, p.21): "...about engaging in collective debates, actions, and decision-making on how to organise the complexities of our public life." From here, I build on the central concept of civic agency that connects to the spatial and temporal contexts of people's localities, which I then take forward in my thesis.

2.2.2.7 Citizenship-as-achievement versus citizenship-as-practice

The conceptual framework of Lawy and Biesta (2006) makes a distinction between 'citizenship-as-achievement' and 'citizenship-as-practice'. They argue citizenship-as-achievement is the prevailing discourse in curriculum and policy interventions; a framework has been set up in advance to 'engineer' individuals towards what they need to do to become active citizens. These interventions position citizenship as an achievement, towards creating the 'good citizen'. They express this as individualistic, citizen-as-consumer: "It is associated with a particular understanding of what it means to be a citizen and is tied to a developmental and educational trajectory and a commensurate set of rights and responsibilities" (p.42). Citizenship-as-practice, on the other hand, does not presume the induction of individuals *into* a particular citizenship status but assumes they are active already, concerned then with the actual conditions of their lives (i.e. what they are being exposed to and have to respond to).

Citizenship for Lawy and Biesta is *relational* because it is affected by social and structural conditions that influence it; action comes first and the learning follows, although not always necessarily. It is the action that is focused on here, where individuals enact their agency without prior skills preparation, where Lawy and Biesta (2006) are more concerned with positioning individuals as actors from the beginning, and where the focus is on their practices as they enact their citizenship through addressing issues of culture and identity, including the contexts of their lives. In this sense they argue citizenship-as-practice 'brings these dynamic aspects together' through *experiencing* citizenship in a perpetually changing world towards understanding what this then means for being a citizen. In this mode citizens engage in doing through first-

hand experience and where the educator must refuse to impose upon individuals a pre-defined ideal for them to attain.

Following this strand, Lawy and Biesta provide a stronger ground for understanding citizenship as practiced through its capacity to expose civic issues, and is thus concerned with how educators might set the conditions for such exposure. Citizenship-as-practice also connects to the notions of the public sphere and public space as a particular configuration of individuals, which brings together citizens' civic agency through activities they engage in within their place. This involves understanding the ways individuals practice their citizenship through exposure to challenges in their locality. I have argued this conceptualisation positions citizenship not as a future status but as a way of engaging in civic life already, giving a central place to the conflicts and interventions necessary for creating plural, diverse civil society. Rather than seeking integration into society, the citizen is positioned as active in restructuring the places and spaces that they function in, testing barriers and generating new configurations of public space, where the newcomer does not have to adapt to existing values but can create their own.

Thus, in relation to the various citizenship models I outlined earlier, Barton (2006) argues the prevailing concept of citizenship within its liberal, individual, rights-based framework has shifted towards "...a vision of democratic engagement that is more *pluralist,* more *deliberative,* and more *participatory.* Democracy has to become more pluralist because in most Western countries we now live in a pluralist society...No one framework can legitimately command the agreement of everyone in society – not liberalism or fundamentalism or socialism or capitalism or anarchy or any other single

perspective. People hold, and are going to continue to hold, radically different perspectives on the issues that require public action, and a liberal, individual view of democracy doesn't do much to enable them to work together in the face of such fundamental differences." (p.55).

For Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele (2007) these practices are central to encouraging conflict, not sameness: "...it is not in the first place the 'sameness' generated by a 'community', where people can learn to accommodate to the shared identity, the common codes, the commitment to a joint enterprise, which makes democracy work. What makes it work are the 'differences' in opinions, in positions, in cultures and understandings which resist consensus and therefore, surface the painful oppositions which exist among the members of a community, a municipality or a nation. It is conflict or agonism, which is the driving force behind democracy." (Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele, 2007, p.27). The ways we organise with others, and for what purpose, are central concerns involving participating with others in local issues as part of enacting our civic agency, which involves the 'organisations of civil society' (Barton and Levstik, 2004, p.31), which includes charitable organisations, recreational clubs, neighbourhood associations: "Most of us are involved more deeply in groups like these than in the affairs of the state, and through them, we may have our greatest exposure to democratic action." (p.31). It is in these groups I focus on in my study because, as Barton and Levstik (2004) argue, they are crucial to a democratic society. From here, I take forward this theorisation of citizenship as practice by organisations of civil society, into the realm of public sphere and public space. From this I introduce space and time as central to citizenship, as the context generative of new ways for citizens to actively

participate in democratic civil society. In the last section I discuss the role of adult learning and education in supporting such participation. .

2.3   Public Sphere and Public space: connections with geography and temporality

Reconnecting with the story of walking I told in the introduction chapter and to general issues of localities experiencing deindustrialisation and change over time, connect physical places with public spheres and public space. Civil society is considered to be the arena for the contestation and development of various theories of the public sphere (Edwards, 2012), which are positioned as embodied (physical) and disembodied (virtual) configurations of people engaging in matters relating to the collective and *public* nature of life, which I argue is integral to citizenship-as-practice. This section discusses the public sphere and moves towards public space involving geography and temporality.

2.3.1   Public Sphere

Connecting with citizenship-as-practice, Edwards (2012) argues civic agency forms public spheres through collective action, social movements, democratic decision-making, community organising and collective responsibility towards "...civil society's transformative potential." (cf. Edwards, 2012). I take up this definition of civil society and position it as central to public sphere formation, where civil society *is* the public sphere. The word 'public', as with citizenship, is complicated and implies particular communicative and political aspects, and configurations of individuals. Madanipour

(2005) provides various definitions for public, including pertaining to the people, affecting or concerning the community or nation, authorised by or representing the community, provided by local or central government for the community and supported by rates and taxes, existing or done openly, accountable to the general public, of or pertaining to a person in the capacity in which he or she comes into contact with the community as opposed to their private capacity (Madanipour, 2005, p.108). I use 'pertaining to the people, affecting or concerning the community or nation' in my thesis. Madanipour further includes: "'*in public,* in a place or state open to public view or access; openly; organised society, *the* body politic; a nation, a State; the interest or welfare of the community having a particular interest in or special connection with the person or thing specified; a collective group regarded as sharing a common cultural, social, or political interest but who as individuals do not necessarily come into contact with one another'." (Madanipour, 2005, p.109). In my thesis I am referring to collective groups regarded as sharing a common cultural, social or political interest and open to public view; by 'common' I am not implying this requires consensus or agreement, which is important to note. Of equal connection to the definition I use is Edwards' (2008, p.63-64) notion of the public sphere as "...a whole polity that cares about the common good and has the capacity to deliberate about it democratically...In its role as the 'public sphere', civil society becomes the arena for argument and deliberation as well as for association and institutional collaboration."

A further demonstration of the conceptualisation of public relating to my research, is the work of Weintraub (in Madanipour, 2005, p.110), who positions it as the 'civic perspective'. This involves the public as the arena of political community and citizenship, distinct from the state and from the market, where it has its own particular

role; the activities of individuals in a group are independent from, but can still be affected by, the state. It is in this way that I connect public sphere as a configuration of citizens enacting their civic agency through common problems. Public sphere theory involves a quest for a more democratic civil society – towards civic agency - because it defines the qualities necessary for public life, qualities essential for individuals to enact their civic agency. If, as I argue, the public sphere is central to a healthy public life, then both the qualities of participation, and opportunities for individuals and collectives to participate in matters of concern to and stemming from their locality, is a central tenet of democracy. Democratic acts might refer to "…people taking control of their futures through direct participation in the institutions that might affect them." (Barton, 2006, p.56). Roberts and Crossley (2006, p.6) further this, articulating that public sphere formation begins processes with potential for social change: "The hope behind the project, at a very general level, is that the critical potential of public argument will achieve a wider audience and stimulate the processes of transformation that it calls for; that it will reclaim and reinvigorate the public sphere, as a first step in a wider process of emancipatory social change." (Roberts and Crossley, 2006, p.6).

2.3.1.1 Public Sphere formation

It is through the ways that issues involving civil society are 'translated' by individuals, through participation in civic matters that has the potential to form a public sphere (see Biesta and Cowell, 2012). I have defined the public sphere already as 'common' ground through which individuals can share, explore and translate private concerns into public concerns as a collective (Wright Mills, 1959; see also Bauman, 2000; Giroux, 2004). Private issues (e.g. work, family or community) are developed into collective issues, where the public sphere becomes a space of encounter (Hajer and Reijndorp, 2001)

connecting to citizenship-as-practice through exposure to issues stemming from collective life. As a general introduction to the public sphere, McKee (2005) argues it is a place where we find out what is going on within our community, and the social, cultural and political issues affecting us. Public spheres can take both disembodied and physical form. Disembodied public spheres include printed media, television, parliament, discussion forums; embodied public spheres relate to public squares, public spaces, public buildings, that is, activity undertaken face-to-face on issues relating to that space or using it as a place to physically meet. I position the public sphere combines both which I argue later 'for' involving public space.

The notion of the public sphere is thus complex; general descriptions do not do justice to the breadth of public sphere theories but allow an understanding of what it is and what it is not[2]. Equally, the formation of publics is strictly defined and central to my argument that we should not use the word 'public' lightly - as with 'citizenship' and 'citizen' – because each infers complicated configurations. A general definition of the public sphere to begin with is: "(t)he place where society is formed, or at least the arena where the collective will is formed with regards to the future of society." (Hajer and Reijndorp, 2001, p.12). I consider then that the public sphere is as a particular

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[2] For example, Habermas (1989) Öffentlichkeit is a deliberative democratic model that emerges between the state and private individuality (Roberts and Crossley 2006). Hannah Arendt's agonistic model of the public sphere (1958) positions the public realm as a space for citizens to 'appear', where action establishes relationships in the public sphere, which breaks down the limitations and boundaries of life. Hannah Arendt states that: "...action, though it may proceed from nowhere, so to speak, acts in a medium where every reaction becomes a chain reaction and where every process is the cause of new processes. Since action acts upon beings who are capable of their own actions, reaction, apart from being a response, is always a new action that strikes out on its own and affects others." (1958, p.190). Fraser's subaltern counterpublics (1990) emerges where subordinated social groups such as women, workers, ethnic minorities create alternative publics as "parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs." (Fraser 1990, p.67). I am inclined to see Arendt's conception as more relevant to how I understand the public sphere in my thesis, precisely for its focus on action.

configuration of individuals *inside which* they engage with the social, cultural and political issues affecting their communities (McKee, 2005). Further, in terms of its relationship to the state, Madanipour (2005) argues the public sphere is an integration of material and institutional forms. This includes the space where we can express difference, are exposed to other generations, scrutinise the state and form opinions necessary for "the positive and negative meanings of freedom" (Madanipour, 2005). This implies the responsibilities we have as citizens here.

2.3.2   Representation

Translations from private to public require representations by citizens. This positions individuals actively representing themselves and what matters in public life with others, rather than being represented or reducing citizenship to identity-based politics. These processes involve sameness, opposites, foreignness, multiple relations and the exhibition of ideas. These representational forms have potential to translate into political action that is *representative* of the demos, where individuals become *representatives* of ideas, opinions, spaces and constituencies towards the constitution of multiple representations as a necessary element of democratic plurality. Here I am arguing that representations can contribute to the formation of the public sphere. Further, active participation in local political life is the point where individuals 'learn' the meaning of citizenship (Pitkin, 2004), and where individuals shape the public through actively representing specific ideas, which "reveals the community to itself." (Von Rautenfeld, 2005, p.187). Thus, I argue that the act of becoming public through representational acts allows for the construction of a public sphere where citizens become representatives through presenting their ideas for consideration by others. Here representation is an action in the public realm (being and acting in the world), where

individuals "...also realize (that is, they both perfect and become aware of) their own capacities: for autonomous judgment, for deliberation, and for effective action." (Pitkin, 2004, p.340-341).

2.3.3   The decline of the public sphere: a question for space

Biesta (2012, p.684) argues the importance of understanding "...how the public sphere actually 'takes place' – both metaphorically and literally." He argues Arendt's conceptualisation of the public sphere as a space has possibilities for freedom and for democratic subjectivity. I argued previously that public spheres are central to citizenship practices in civil society where citizens participate in matters that affect the collective. However, it is argued the public sphere is under threat and declining (Habermas, 1989; Marquand, 2004; Gilbert, 2007; Benhabib, 2008; Edwards, 2008). This also implies a crisis in opportunities for individuals to enact their citizenship through participation in public matters; the decline in our capacity to construct public spheres in turn threatens the possibilities for civic agency itself (Biesta, 2012). In certain strands of literature this crisis is also place-based, where it is argued there has been a weakening of place-based attachments between individuals and the locality in which they live (Desforges, Jones and Woods, 2005; Massey, 2008). Taken together I will introduce in further sections that the relegation of the public, as the arena for participation in collective issues, is also an 'attack' upon particular forms of citizenship that promote diversity and plurality, which implicates geography and history, or heritage, in this argument.

Edwards (2008) argues at the level of theory, public sphere theory has been marginalised due to conservative thinking and the rise of conservative politics in the

Western world: "All of the things that are required to animate the public sphere are under constant threat – energetic and knowledgeable citizens, independent networks and associations through which they can engage with each other, and the breadth and depth of forums and arenas in which these engagements can take place...The underlying problem here is a general one – the privatization of the 'public' in every sphere of life and the 'pillaging of that which belongs to all of us' in favor of private interests, whether it be unspoilt open spaces, clean air, genetic diversity, the Internet or the processes of politics themselves." (Edwards, 2008, p.74-5). Equally, several commentators argue the notion of civil society is splintering as a result of market intervention in social life (Gilbert, 2007; Edwards, 2008), considered to lead to an individualism that foregrounds private life - the private sphere of consumption, family and employment - to the detriment of the public. There is concern that as a sphere of expression, debate and action in pursuit of citizenship and freedom the public sphere may have gone completely or at least needs to be re-energised (Habermas, 1989; Marquand, 2004; Gilbert 2007). Giroux (2004, p.74) has argued that instead of a public sphere there is a 'commercial sphere' involving a 'democracy of goods' rather than a democracy of people. It is through this invasion of market logics in the social and political lives of citizens that has generated a shift from democratic subjectivity to the 'active citizen' ethos of individual identities and responsibilities; this invasion reduces our capacity for collective, relational existence (Giroux, 2004).

2.4   From public sphere to public space

Richard Sennett (2008) conceptualises the public sphere as a physical domain, arguing citizens should be directly involved with public space - and buildings - to develop civil society. There has been increased focus in the last few decades on literal forms of

public space, the possibilities of specific configurations of physical space for democracy, (De Certeau, 1986; Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1989; Madanipour, 2003; Sennett, 2008; Low, 2009; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008a, b). Staying within the conceptualisation of the public sphere, public space theorists argue cities are sites where democracy should matter; we are reminded that city stems from civitas. Hajer and Reijndorp (2001, p.12-13) argue: "We...assume that the concrete, physical experience of the presence of others, of other cultural manifestations, and of the confrontation with different meanings associated with the same physical space, is important for developing social intelligence and forming a judgement." I am arguing that common physical space has the capacity to form the public sphere, where the 'spaces' we inhabit are central to practising citizenship. Amin (2008) articulates public space as the 'where' of public space. Following this line then the geography of the city holds possibilities for local democracy (Debord, 1955; Low, 2009). This is not social space, but political space; Amin (2008, p.6) argues some public space writers connecting urban public space and urban citizenship mistakenly claim that "...free and unfettered human mingling in public space encourages forbearance towards others, pleasure in the urban experience, and an interest in civic life." His argument demands we consider these spaces with potential for political dimensions to emerge, as sites of 'citizenship, human recognition and civic becoming' rather than just 'any' configuration of people. He argues that making space public demands characteristics and possibilities making it so, specifically equity of provision and opportunities a city can provide (Amin, 2008).

It is worth articulating two distinctions of the term 'public space'. The first involves public space 'made public' by municipal authorities who own and manage these sites,

and are therefore ordered and structured (Madanipour, 2005). This includes, for example, streets, parks, libraries, museums and the town hall, as facilities 'for' public use and enjoyment. The second involves places made public through individuals' actions within and upon them through contestation and subversion; these spaces are 'made public' through individuals' civic actions. This can take place in public places mentioned before but can be anywhere that connects the space to wider issues represented or contained in that context. This involves civic, political action because public spaces are translated into sites of disagreement and struggle through representations in and of them, where the official order is disrupted by citizens claiming these sites (see Ellsworth, 2005; De Certeau, 2011; Debord, 1955). Amin (2008, p.6) highlights that: "Such spaces – both iconic and known spaces of public gathering as well as more peripheral spaces tentatively occupied by subaltern groups and minorities – are seen as the ground of participatory politics, popular claim and counter-claim, public commentary and deliberation, opportunity for under-represented or emergent communities, and the politics of spontaneity and agonistic interaction among an empowered citizenry."

Thus I argue that not any configuration of people in any space makes it public space; rather it requires analysis of what is being claimed in that space and who is claiming it. As argued by Massey (2008) 'space' is not neutral or empty, but involves territories deep with social and political meaning and power: and are thus capable of becoming political (Massey, 2008), where 'opening space up to the political' by citizens is for Massey about space and new possibilities, "not just for a notion of 'becoming', but for the openness of that process of becoming." (2008, p.21). Public space, in line with the public sphere, forms only at the point of interaction by individuals as they are exposed

to its challenges and features and respond in ways allowing them to enact their civic agency, as actors in civil society. This brings me to a discussion on the spatial and temporal dimensions of public space in relation to citizenship.

2.4.1   Spatial dimensions of the public sphere and public space

Desforges, Jones and Woods (2005) argue geographical spaces can become new and normative places for practicing citizenship. Physical space in relation to citizenship has two features: (1) spaces of domination, ideology and oppression, where the built environment creates boundaries and shapes behaviour as well as being a target for place-based cohesion at state level (Debord, 1955; Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 1996; Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Eizaguirre et al, 2012) as well as state-dominated nationhood (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992); (2) spaces with potential for practising democracy towards developing civil society (De Certeau, 1986; Amin and Thrift, 2002; Madanipour, 2005; Massey, 2008; Sennett, 2008; Low, 2009). Taking both together, it is possible for: (a) the physical site to strengthen already-powerful groups as an 'order' as well as opening these spaces up through counter-hegemonic practices, and (b) developing 'counter publics' through representations that interrupt the order through interactions between the site and collective, towards the active (re)construction of such spaces. For Massey (2008) and De Certeau (1984) this lies at the very centre of democracy, where people come together to articulate matters of shared concern and where: "Places pose in particular form the question of our living together." (Massey 2008, p.151). It is important to discuss how places are implicated in this kind of discussion.

Desforges, Jones and Woods (2005) argue that local geographies are also sites of social and spatial marginalisation of 'othered groups' (p.439), but can also provide

opportunities for mobility, through the ways individuals might engage in restrictive places and sites against their marginalisation. They demonstrate these restrictions and mobilities are caused and formed by particular configurations of landscape (take for example the post-industrial landscape or the declining town centre), which have the capacity to generate disruptions and new configurations of them through citizens' actions. They argue this relates specifically to citizenship, where mobility is related to border-drawing, and freedom versus control in these sites which they maintain are targets of government intervention in conjunction with citizen control. The state citizenship agenda in physical space involves controlling the borders of the state and the mobility of their people within and outwith these borders.

Returning to my earlier discussion on citizenship-as-achievement versus citizenship-as-practice, Desforges, Jones and Woods (2005, p.441) point out that: "...active citizens are judged to have succeeded or failed as citizens as a place-based community, with repercussions for the further treatment of that locality by the state." Their argument is that the state plays a significant role in directing the field of citizenship at the level of the physical landscape. Engaging further with the notion that as a result of globalisation, there has been an associated decline of the nation-state, this has meant that citizenship policy at government level, is increasingly directed 'downwards' to local community level towards encouraging individual responsibility (Desforges, Jones and Woods, 2005). This connects to my discussion earlier about active citizenship and individualism. Moving forward to consider the *temporal* as well as geographical aspects of citizenship from the perspective of the effects of time on the landscape, I bring in the notion of the effects of time on the landscape, for example, dereliction, official heritage sites (for example, monuments and statues), and areas suffering from decline and

marginalisation. Desforges, Jones and Woods (2005) argue that the historical as well as the geographical composition of places have the capacity to affect 'geographies of local citizen action' (p.441). This is the point I argue that little has been articulated to date in empirical terms regarding the connection between temporal space and citizenship, and thus the next section is a discussion of the theoretical landscape involving temporality and citizenship.

2.5   Temporal dimensions of the public sphere and public space

Discussions involving temporality and public space mainly take place outwith education, in urban planning, architecture and history literature. In this section I argue that recent literature on history teaching and learning involving schoolchildren, as well as community-based forms of history within museums and galleries, might contribute to the alternative conceptualisations I argue for. I connect history (the past) and the historical landscape with public space and citizenship, dealing with two competing conceptualisations of history in relation to citizenship: (1) heritage and active citizenship through state intervention and tourism, and (2) heritage and civic agency through practices forming public space. The second conceptualisation is most relevant to the ways I am involving temporality in my research.

Writings on history position it traditionally as a subject learned in school and university which argue for and against various ways of engaging in historical work, a research activity by historians and curators of museums, and also as a focal point for engagements by local people in their communities[3]. In the conceptualisation of history I

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[3] History as 'the past' is vastly complicated and I cannot do justice to the forms historians adopt when researching and writing about it. Here though it is worth mentioning that historiography, as 'the past as seen in the words of historians' (Warren 1998, p.2), as the 'historian's view'. This involves different

use in my thesis, history is dynamic, used by individuals within a shared location to connect themselves to each other, to local issues in the present and in the past, where a central aspect of these processes involves civic agency. Predominantly, however, discussions involving the possible 'public' and 'civic' nature of history remains within the field of museums particularly relating to engagements by museums 'out' into the communities they serve (see Huyssen, 2003; Jackson, 2008; Kurtz, 2002; Crooke, 2010; Stevens, Flinn and Shepherd, 2010; Perkin, 2010; Waterton and Smith, 2010). This research in the museum and curation fields (as institutional custodians of heritage) has given wider attention to alternative understandings of the possible relationship between history and the 'public realm'[4] connecting heritage and history, or the past, to the citizenship of adults in community contexts (see Coles and Armstrong 2007, 2008; Simon and Ashley, 2010; McCabe, 2011).

It is through this positioning of the potential for history to develop public space that shifts it from a subject to be learned or taught in a formal setting to being practiced by citizens, with public potential (cf. Simon and Ashley, 2010, p.249). Thus, engaging in history is not solely the domain of the professional historian or trained curator, but by

ways historians construct the past, from the stance they take, whether from modernism regarding the pursuit of 'the truth' through the archive, and seeing history as a set of text on which we construct meaning, towards the postmodern conceptualisation that argues there cannot be truth, the class struggle of Marxist historiography, and 'lessons from the past' or longitudinal meanings, problematic if we argue we can never know the truth about the past. These ways of representing the past all have in common the issue of who is representing the past and for what purpose.

[4] There is of course a clear lineage of historians with a concern for the public dimensions of the past, particularly in the Marxist tradition involving the political dimensions of history and social movements (see for example the work of Samuel, 1976; Thompson 1991; Hobsbawm 1998. I am referring here, however, to histories 'by' people rather than histories 'of' people. Hobsbawm (1998) argues history is often used in nationalist and ethnic ideologies towards fostering specific restrictive identities in people, which dangerous because the past is imposed on people and explained on their behalf. Equally, the move to public history has shifted to being a profession where historians and curators work with local people rather than the conception I use in my thesis as histories by publics, where history is a practice in non-institutional contexts by non-historians who use it to further the public quality of their lives in public.

anyone, where history becomes central to the local activities of groups of people who are not necessarily historians (Ashton and Kean, 2009) but have a stake in history in their neighbourhood for political (diversity, plurality, tension of opposing views), not social (i.e. identification, consensual) reasons. It is in this way central to democratic citizenship. This is my conceptualisation of history here which is important to note before I complicate the issue by discussing the role of the state in history in local communities.

2.5.1   Official heritage sites: heritage and the state

The connection between history, temporal citizenship and the state involves the term 'heritage'. It is used to link history to identity formation, to the nation-state, specifically involving nationalism, regionalism and localism that involve developing forms of citizenship through state-directed heritage. Connecting to Desforges et al's (2005) argument that the state encourages place-based attachments through policy, the funding of heritage projects has a similar agenda involving heritage programmes at all levels. Here, the past is a policy intervention involving identity forms of citizenship where the state has had, and continues to have, a strong role in mediating processes of remembrance and historical memory (Simon, 2005) relating to the creation of monuments, museum exhibitions and 'our history' community projects, for example. Here, heritage is an institutional form of memory similar to the museum. The political direction of heritage by the state is significant, where public agencies fund, maintain and promote areas such as World Heritage sites (Aplin, 2007), ex-industrial sites such as mines and quarries to create 'industrial heritage tourism' (Edwards, 1996) and Conservation Areas (Nasser, 2003). This highlights the takeover of conservation by heritage frameworks which turn places into static touristic sites to be 'consumed'. The

citizen becomes a consumer, a tourist, in these areas which are formed prior to their engagements.

The Heritage Lottery Fund, as well as Historic Scotland funding and other heritage bodies, work at a local level with citizens through projects working within policy frameworks involving: "...supporting projects that create opportunities for volunteering, learning and celebrating our culture. The projects that we fund help to give people a sense of place and identity, igniting a passion for heritage, and regenerating communities." (HLF, 2012). This wording ('giving', 'celebrating', 'igniting') is also present in Scottish Government policies aimed at encouraging heritage in local communities (see for example Scottish Government's Regeneration Strategy, 2011; Town Centre Regeneration Fund, 2012). It is important to see community-based forms of citizenship here. Funding is given 'to' local groups where the processes of engaging in history are sanctioned by public agencies according to a particular agenda, in the case of the Heritage Lottery, to encourage the celebration of culture, creating a 'sense of place' which 'gives people' a sense of place and identity. The wording of the Heritage Lottery Fund report 'First Steps in Learning' they position this in relation to heritage as:

> "For us, learning is not just about schools, or children; it is about offering opportunities for everyone to develop their understanding of heritage in a way appropriate to their needs, interests and background. There are three main ways you can do this:
>
> · Provide information about your heritage and interpret it for people;
>
> · Train project staff and volunteers to provide them with new or increased skills;

· Organise events or activities and produce resources to help the general public or particular groups of people learn about your heritage." (HLF, 2009, p.2)

This furthers the issue of the ways heritage is used as a formal concept, interpreting 'for' people, and providing individuals with new or increased skills, inducing people *into* 'your heritage'. Equally, the Scottish Government's Regeneration Fund is targeted at utilising aspects of the heritage of disadvantaged towns towards targeting cohesion and solidarity, with particular attention to economic growth and a more resilient and adaptable economy for towns experiencing significant decline (Scottish Government, 2011).

Hewison (1987) argue that the present is being taken over by the past, where the rise in heritage projects has been as a result of today's social and political decline, economic uncertainty and cultural complications, much in the way that I discussed the decline of the public sphere. He argues these uncertainties have created initiatives that project the past as a safe, uncomplicated place – as a positive place - to reduce the confusion and damage of the present. Further, his argument is that these projected pasts are part of a move towards a heritage industry that turn Britain into a giant 'open air museum', arguing that it is unclear whose past is being reflected and how the past is used to suit powerful groups. Equally, Hewison (1987, p.47) argues: "The impulse to preserve the past is part of the impulse to preserve the self. Without knowing where we have been, it is difficult to know where we are going. The past is the foundation of individual and collective identity, objects from the past are the source of significance as cultural symbols. Continuity between past and present creates a sense of sequence out of

aleatory chaos and, since change is inevitable, a stable system of ordered meanings enables us to cope with both innovation and decay. The nostalgic impulse is an important agency in adjustment to crisis, it is a social emollient and reinforces national identity when confidence is weakened or threatened." Here I argue that a stable past is perhaps an illusion, a way of encouraging celebration that keeps it as a positive endeavour that erases the underlying discontinuities, structural and political (public) issues that the past has left in the present.

My further argument is that the historic site, whether a monument, a castle or a museum, is not necessarily neutral but can also be implicated in agendas that seek to construct desirable engagements - set prior to the individual's engagements with a site (citizenship-as-achievement). Thus the problem becomes one where the narrative is directed with a purpose in mind for the citizen; heritage is then implicated in being used as a mechanism by the state in times of instability and uncertainty, particularly relating to community 'breakdown'. Equally, the ways heritage is positioned as constitutive of a 'sense of belonging' demonstrated through ways public agencies fund projects that support 'my heritage/our heritage' (see Heritage Lottery Fund for phrases of this kind) implicates citizenship as a configuration of individuals. Simon and Ashley (2010) bring this into the political realm specifically involving the ways heritage then attempts at creating identities through: "...one's inscription as a member of a bounded sociality that defines itself in part through the (at times, contested) discourse as to what is to be included in its common past." (p.247). Here they argue heritage organisations and frameworks are guilty of "...parsing people into distinct entities and articulating distinctive sets of identifications and desires." (p.248). Thus, notions of 'our heritage' and state-controlled heritage activities are clearly attempting to encourage 'active

citizenship'. This is problematic because it reduces the capacity for plurality and difference central to doing things differently within a democracy: to new experiences, to the positioning of newcomers who are not connected to that past, and those who disidentify or disagree with official histories. Thus, I move from arguing that history and heritage are positioned within active citizenship rhetoric towards a conceptualisation that centres history as central to civic agency with the capacity to form public space, where I turn next. These ideas are central to citizenship-as-practice, which in turn connects to my theoretical framework in the next chapter.

2.5.2   History and Civil Society

Alternative conceptualisations of history have emerged that respond to questions such as who is representing the past and how are they representing it, with what purpose (Simon, 2005; Simon and Ashley, 2010; Barton and Levstik, 2004) of central concern for civic agency rather than active citizenship. Recent research has called for "...a reappraisal of the links between civic life, historical memory, and the educative force of various practices of remembrance." (Simon, 2005, p.2). Simon calls for a reconsideration of the political character of remembrance, towards practices integral to setting the foundations for democratic life (p.2), placing learning as central in this process, involving "...learning about and from the lives of others and the consideration of the transformative actions necessary for living in a changing, increasingly interdependent society." (p.2). History is then positioned as concerning the ways we remember, situating the past firmly in the present. The work of Simon and Ashley (2010) explores: "...what contributions heritage practices might make to the formation of a public realm within which strangers are brought together, mobilising both semblance and difference in order to confront the complexities and uncertainties of

human life in diverse communities." (Simon and Ashley, 2010, p.248). Here, then, I argue history is central to adult citizenship, because it shifts the discussion from histories *for the public* as a third person perspective of history 'for' a general 'social' body of individuals by professional historians and the state, towards histories *by publics* - history as a political practice in the first person perspective with a concern for the public nature of human togetherness (Biesta and Cowell, 2010). Citizens themselves decide, frame and act upon the aspects of the past that relate to the issues they face in their locality as part of representing their own place and way of living in the present in relation to the past.

As Simon and Ashley (2010) argue this is not about pre-existing notions of identity with a history decided on our behalf telling us what we need to do in order to be 'good citizens' but about possible new connections between histories that matter for our democratic lives. It is where "...a public is inherently a site of learning; it is inherently pedagogical in its very activity of formation...bringing to the fore the very idea of poiesis, understood as creative doing; as action that carries the potential of something new, emergent, and not already predicted by a pre-existing form" (Simon and Ashley, 2010, p.249). These 'pre-existing forms' I have already argued are those that have the capacity to reduce the individual to a tourist or spectator of a vision decided from above (the state, the museum curator, the tourist attraction) than developed through practices that deal with the effects of the past on our present citizenship responsibilities. Here then I am arguing that history has the capacity to generate 'heritage events' as spatiotemporal practices (Crang, 1994) which open up history rather than freezing it in its own time. Crang uses the metaphor of the map versus the journey here, arguing that the 'map' is the attempt to project its own selective order back onto heritage

experiences, representing 'ontologically prior heritage'; the journey, on the other hand, involves history as a performance that is not fixed but emergent through engagement with history in our communities in whatever form that takes – whether traces in the landscape, local historical narratives, for example[5]. Here then, the effects of the past and the ways local communities are exposed to it requires a shift from celebrating or learning official histories towards discovering the histories that allow the collective to navigate and orientate through present problems and future possibilities: "We need both past and future to articulate our political, social, and cultural dissatisfactions with the present state of the world. And while the hypertrophy of memory can lead to self-indulgence, melancholy fixations, and a problematic privileging of the traumatic dimension of life with no exit in sight, memory discourses are absolutely essential to imagine the future and to regain a strong temporal and spatial grounding of life and the imagination in a media and consumer society that increasingly voids temporality and collapses space." (Huyssen, 2003, p.6)

As I have argued, geography and history are both highly contested concepts theorised in different ways, with the most relevant here being history in its public form[6]. Considered alternatively gives new alternatives for spatio-temporal citizenship in locations dealing with the effects of the past on places, and how we might argue the 'most democratic'

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[5] I use Van Eeghem and Steel (2011, p.9) definition for historical spaces, 'urban cracks' as "...less regulated and controlled spaces where different logics conflict", These spaces have been left behind, the product of 'changing dynamics within the city', e.g. abandoned buildings, pieces of land, deindustrialised locations, demolished sites. They might exist in regenerated, or waiting to be regenerated, locations, currently without identity. Urban cracks refer to areas 'in-between', wasteland, residual space, uncertain and indeterminate; 'no-man's land', not existing on maps, or situated on roads no longer existing; I also add to this histories that matter to communities for civic reasons.

[6] Hauser (2008) discusses public memory as central to conflict and domination by nations, classes and groups who claim it; but it is also capable of disrupting and challenging community, rooted in performances which involve 'opening up spaces for mediating difference' as central to the emergence of publics (p.114). It is this conception to which I am referring.

option for setting the conditions for physical and historical space to be participated in considering questions about the in-between, exploring with others how we might live together in the present day within such contested environments through action. This connects to the conception of citizenship I use which guides my theoretical framework and empirical research: citizenship-as-practice, towards its potential for exploring and understanding the dynamics of citizenship learning connected to the actual lives of individuals – implicating space (geography) and time (history). This also implicates the field of adult education and learning where it has a concern for the public nature of citizens' lives in local communities.

2.6   Public Space and Adult and Community Education

The theoretical literature discussed thus far attempted to connect citizenship to civil society as central to forming public spaces, through which individuals might enact their civic agency through the physical and temporal characteristics of their locality. I argued the characteristics of the context – its physical spaces and histories rooted there – might allow an understanding of citizenship as practiced in local neighbourhoods. These conceptualisations draw in space and time as central to a (re)invigoration of the public sphere as a space for democratic participation in local issues, where both local histories and physical places spark actions. As I argued, civic action is central to a renewed conceptualisation of citizenship as occurring through action in the present, rather than as status to be learned before we can act. Of course, models conceptualising learning as stemming from our experiences with our setting, and the place in which we live and engage, are already well documented in community-based forms of adult education theories and practices outwith formal provision, occurring in community centres and

libraries, for example[7]. Thus, the ways I argue learning involves citizens as participants in their local spatial and temporal context allows us to conceptualise learning as that which occurs for, from and through engagement in civil society. In my theoretical framework outlined in chapter three I use Biesta's theory of civic learning (Biesta, 2011). Here, individuals engage in action that seeks to interrupt the supposed smooth linearity of space and time (from past to present), where the past intervenes in the present, and where action is a response to these interruptions and the learning is expected to follow (see Biesta, 2011). Because these issues are unknown in advance, the citizen cannot prepare or be prepared in advance. These interruptions do not demand that citizens redress the balance so that there is equilibrium (stability) but that this is a continual process that will never be stable but individuals can learn to continuously deal with change.

I am arguing then that learning is not only about cognition - the acquisition of learning and skills necessary to function - but has a role that is situated in spatial and historical contexts that affect people's lives. As De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie (2008) argue, this matters to the field of adult education because as well as being the background or 'stage' for community practices, the physical location is also a co-educator that

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[7] This reflects a significant body of research dealing with shifts from conceptualising pedagogy as an intervention to develop the individual, who is positioned as atomistic and isolated from any other variables, towards functionalistic-developmental theories involving the human being as a 'whole' towards latter socio-historical-anthropological theories where the individual 'learns' in the context of their society, including its culture and history, where they engage in the social world. Learning thus stems from their contextual embeddedness and exposure to authentic problems in that context, i.e. from individuals' participation in communities and practical action, than learning knowledge and skills (reducing learning to knowledge and skills suggests this learning is 'linear' and can be reproduced by the individual in response to any situation because they are not context-dependent). Instead, the configuration of the setting, the issues rooted there and the wider structural environment is central, and because these change over time we cannot argue there can be any learning outcomes formed 'in advance' (cognition) that encourages active participation, only learning 'through' (situatedness). Sommerlad (2003) argues the danger of reducing learning to its cognitive role involving measurements of learning outcomes fails to see the learning occurring in the 'unofficial spaces' (see Sommerlad 2003 for a thorough discussion of this). My work is positioned as an extension to this idea, involving a 'socio-spatial' approach which involves civic action upon the city 'as it is' (Van Eeghem and Steel, 2011; De Visscher et al, forthcoming).

"...influences collective learning processes and democratic moments." (in Verschelden et al 2012, p.286). Further possibilities are raised by Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele (2010) who reconceptualise citizenship as 'democratic citizenship' that makes demands on learning and education that questions the state's encouragement of social consensus, cohesion and social ties as a way to counter disintegration of society. Here then learning is situated where citizens are potential political actors in a community of other citizens, where they are not positioned as workers, tourists or spectators, but as active participants in the public – i.e. non-institutional - realm. This demands certain responsibilities and duties of the citizen.

Issues involving Scottish adult and community education policy have been outlined by authors who argue there are major implications for the purpose of education and learning in this field (Crowther and Martin, 2010). Crowther and Martin (2010, p.2) argue that "...adult education outside of formal provision has been characterised by official indifference, the strong preference being for institutional and credentialised forms of learning and education. The policy emphasis on essentially economistic and instrumental model of lifelong learning for people in the labour market has also added to this trend." Equally, Crowther (2000) discusses how participation is framed which forcefully puts forward one view about the relationship between life and learning in policy; he argues that what is framed in policy as requiring to be learned is institutionally controlled and instrumental and individual in nature. This problem connects to the conceptualisation of citizenship-as-achievement. Bamber (2010) demonstrated that in Scotland there is marked focus on "(f)acilitating pre-determined learning outcomes in specific geographical areas where regeneration and capacity-building are now more likely to be prioritized along with involvement in community-

planning processes." This issue has major implications for how we might generate different – unknowable - forms of engagement between resident and the issues stemming from their place, specifically concerning the focus on pre-structuring the engagement prior to such interactions.

Indeed, Crowther and Martin (2010) reconceptualise ways of 'doing' adult education differently, arguing there are pockets where collective action and participation are taking place, and where "...a number of deep-seated issues such as the continuing democratic deficit, the degradation of the environment, the experience of globalisation, a crisis of public welfare, foreign policy and so on, are actively stimulating resistance and spawning popular movements which ally adult learning and collective action." (2010, p.4). Within this so-called neo-liberal age where "…consensus-based models of community development have prevailed" (Bunyan, 2008, p.125), the importance of organising is an important way forward for citizens for "talking back to power rather than simply delivering depoliticized and demeaning versions of empowerment." (Shaw, 2007, p.34, quoted in Bunyan). Martin (in Popple and Shaw 1997, p.195) considers that community work can be viewed as having an important role in foregrounding exclusion and creating an environment "(i)n which 'personal troubles' can be turned into 'public issues.'". Indeed, Popple and Shaw see considerable learning opportunities "when people are prepared to act" (p.197). Indeed, Shaw (2007) asserts that community work has been split into two groups based upon micro- and macro-level at the expense of the meso-level. Defining the meso-level as the intermediate level of social, economic and political organization lies between the macro (large-scale) and micro (small-scale) levels. Shaw believes community works between these levels "(i)n which people collectively experience both the possibilities of human agency and the constraints of

structure" (Shaw 2007, p.32), between the micro level of 'personal troubles' and macro-politics of 'public issues'. This articulates community education practice as responsible for connecting people at the public and political level through the local (Bunyan, 2008). Here, then we can see these influential authors arguing for a renewed engagement with public issues by citizens who participate in issues that set the foundations and conditions for civic agency practices. This is the thread that I am following here.

Thus, my argument earlier involving the work of Desforges et al (2005) makes a case for theory and practice to be more strongly involved with exploring "spaces of citizenship" (p.439), where individuals are exposed and respond to issues affecting their actual lives. Equally, community educators can create new opportunities that allow for citizens to enact their citizenship in real-life contexts as they are exposed to issues rooted in their environments, as central to democratic citizenship (Wallace, 2008). This involves citizenship learning and education involving people's relationship to their locality, as well as implicating adult education in setting the foundations for citizenship practices upon and within the place of their residence. This falls in line with the demand by Wildemeersch and Vandenabeele (2010) for positioning democratic citizenship and education more strongly, towards creating new ways to deal with today's challenges in society. Crowther (2000) argues for a renewed conceptualisation of the relationship between participation and adult education, towards collective learning in our experiences within social, cultural and political activities, arguing: "In this perspective, participation is located in the struggles people engage in to transform, modify or influence the conditions in which they live." (Crowther, 2000, p.490). He demands adult education shifts towards a 'more politicized experience of participation' (p.490).

This is a central concept in citizenship-as-practice, against citizenship-as-achievement, in terms of citizenship learning.

Moving forward to conclude my conceptualisation of citizenship-as-practice as taking place in the public sphere and involving the context of citizens' lives, Verschelden et al (2012) argue the central challenges for education and learning lies at the meeting point between (a) concerns about the public nature of everyday life, and (b) the everyday context of individuals where these restrictions, structures, possibilities and educational interventions might be based (Verschelden et al, 2012; see also Ruitenberg, 2012, Wildemeersch 2012). Verschelden et al's (2012) 'socio-spatial approach' "...brings into focus the everyday living environment with which, through pedagogical work, societal, political and structural demands interact." (p.287). Here, they call for community educators to work 'with' a context rather than just 'in' it. Here, the context should not be positioned as the "...backdrop against which practitioners develop their work", where the agenda is developed outwith the context and is more dependent on the plan by the organisation or local government working in the context (p.287). Against this, they call for working 'with' context, which requires "...an approach to this context as the reflection of the history of an area and as a creator and carrier of social change." Thus they demonstrate through empirical investigation that the context is the focus of interventions where, "Practitioners have the task of exploring past and present meanings of a particular context and its current use by different individuals and groups, in order to generate perspectives on its future development." (p.287).

2.7   Conclusions

This chapter explored developments in differing notions of citizenship which connected together the concept of democratic citizenship with theories from existing literature making the connection between citizenship and the spatial and temporal characteristics of urban space towards *making such spaces more public.* I argued citizenship-as-practice is my central concept of these processes, because it is the ways citizenship is practiced today, rather than a status to be achieved in the future, that has *more* potential for citizens (and educators) to engage – in public - with the spatial and temporal contexts of places, and its issues and challenges. Citizenship-as-practice has an interest in conceptualising the citizen as a political agent working within and exposed to geographies and temporalities that matter to the present and future representations of that place and its people. I argued this is a central concern for adult and community education but has been badly served by this field, in terms of a lack of empirical research on the challenges involved when citizens engage with both the spatial and temporal contexts of their locality. I further argued that theorising the public nature of space and time has occurred mainly in school-based history teaching and learning field schools and within the museum sector rather than practices in civil society. This latter theorising has a concern for the public nature of historic and physical space, whether visible or otherwise - a derelict site or official memorial for example - central to more democratic forms of citizenship, as the creation of public spaces where both the citizen and what matters to that context proceed together.

It is through my exploration of different theories at play here that have assisted in formulating the theoretical framework that structures my empirical research in chapter

three next. I shape these conceptualisations which have Biesta's theory of civic learning (2011) at the centre. I connect Biesta's theory to space as it might be understood as processes that both use and make maps, and time to categorisations that frame learning *about* the past, learning *from* the past and histories by the public, the latter which is the preferred option in relation to civic agency. This framework structures my empirical research from chapter four onwards.

3 Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework - Civic learning involving space and time: maps, mapping and local histories

3.0   Introduction

Understanding the complexities of processes of civic learning of individuals and groups sharing a geographic area involving the ways they relate to the spatial and temporal characteristics of their shared localities is my central aim. My theoretical framework provides a structure to my research questions which then organise and justify my research design in chapter four; however in terms of my last research question involving public pedagogy I deal with this in my conclusions because it is only at that point I am able to shift the discussion from civic action to the implications for a public pedagogy with a concern for subjectification forms of civic action. This chapter is in three sections. Section one outlines Biesta's theory of civic learning (2011) which is the core theory in my study and involves understanding the learning that emerges for, from and through engagement in civic life as central to citizenship; I outline that it can also be used to understand civic action. Sections two and three situate space and time within the theory of civic learning. Section two involves a discussion of cartography, specifically maps and mapping, which aligns 'space' as having civic dimensions connected to the theoretical constructs of civic learning. Here I outline that maps are conceptualised in three ways in my research: as an object, a process and a way to understand how individuals use and experience their place and its history. Through conceptualising space as connected to time I introduce the temporal part of my framework in section three, setting out three modes that structure the various dimensions of history learning and teaching involving citizenship: (1) 'learning *about*

the past', (2) learning *from* the past, both of which are bound up in socialisation processes of civic learning, and (3) the civic approach where history is involved with processes that are capable of generating histories *by* the public (Biesta and Cowell, 2010) as central to subjectification dimensions of civic learning.

3.1 Civic Learning

I discussed in chapter two issues surrounding the positioning of citizenship in relation to civic life involving temporalities and geographies. Within this I set out the associated 'decline' of the public sphere which it has been argued has had an effect on the opportunities for individuals to participate in local, civic matters. I argued that the ways in which heritage has been positioned in local geographic communities is at the centre of encouraging particular interactions with local environments by individuals, and that these interactions have been developed by local and national government agendas rather than the issues stemming from and through the context within which people live their everyday lives. Moving forward with this, Biesta (2011) argues that there has been a rather one-sided emphasis on the purposes of citizenship education in terms of encouraging the development of a particular kind of citizen and what they should become and do, whether child or adult, and less about the "...processes and practices that should bring this about" (Biesta 2011, p.96). From this standpoint Biesta's theory shifts the discussion from a theorisation of citizenship education to one of citizenship learning, that is to say, how we should understand the learning processes involved in the everyday practices and experiences of individuals. He argues that the emphasis on the knowledge, skills and dispositions of individuals culminates in developing a 'community of sameness' rather than a 'community of difference' which signifies a

stable and articulable 'identity' (cf. Biesta 2011, p.97-100) which Biesta discusses is a form of 'socialisation'.

Through these ideas, Biesta's theory of civic learning (2011) is the central theory I use in my empirical research. Thus, Biesta's theory of civic learning involves understanding the learning occurring for, from and through engagement in civic life that contributes to the ongoing formation of democratic citizens. The theory makes a distinction between two different modes of civic learning: socialisation and subjectification. A socialisation conception of civic learning sees civic learning as the adoption of existing civic identities and is thus about individuals adapting to a given political order. A subjectification conception of civic learning, on the other hand, focuses on how political agency is achieved. Thus what is central to this theory is the learning that takes place in order for individuals to become political subjects in their own right, rather than about learning to take up existing political identities. While the socialisation conception of civic learning takes the existing socio-political order as its frame of reference – which implies that democracy itself is 'ordered' and has the potential to become static – the subjectification conception of civic learning focuses on continuous renewal of democracy (cf. Biesta, 2011). Although there may be a role for socialisation in civic learning there are major issues if the focus is only on socialisation forms of civic learning, because Biesta considers that this leads to 'the domestication of citizens rather than their emancipation' (cf. Cowell and Biesta, forthcoming). That is why Biesta's theory sides with a subjectification conception of civic learning – for its open, experimental processes in which it is unclear prior to engaging in these processes what is required to be learned; rather individuals 'emerge' as democratic subjects as they experience what is at stake for them to learn, towards their own particular way of

existing in the world. A subjectification conception of civic learning thus centres on understanding the learning that emerges from the ways in which individuals enact their citizenship in critical and creative ways, in places where plurality and difference are present. The theory therefore has an explicit concern for the political dimensions of civic learning as it emerges in as-yet-unknown ways.

Biesta's theory of civic learning has implications for how we might understand citizenship learning but also citizenship as an educational intervention and it is this I will discuss here. In my literature review I explored the implications of the encouragement by different public agencies towards specific forms of citizenship and citizen education inherent in heritage and conservation practices. In terms of the encouragement of socialisation processes involved in the ways officially organised space and history has been accused of attaching citizens to particular moments in time and to understanding physical space in a certain way, these arguments encourage forms of citizenship which demand that the citizen engages with an order that defines what the citizen should be and do within this order. Biesta discusses these interventions as socialisation interventions and argues that if there is more to democracy than this – and he argues that there is - then democracy should be considered as a process which "...escapes its own full determination." (p.97). It is through developing notions of citizenship which move against socialisation processes that Biesta's theory of civic learning situates subjectification form of civic learning as crucial to the formation of democratic communities which rather than having 'entry conditions' that pit the inside against the outside, the practices of democracy are always political in terms of being contested, revised and always escaping attempts at 'order' (cf. Biesta 2011, p.98-99). Here, then, citizenship is involved with practices that trouble any pre-existing

arrangements and configurations, where democratic politics is located that demands translating and transforming private troubles into public issues, as central to the formation of the public sphere (Biesta 2011, p.102). Biesta then argues against entry criteria, where the political and civic identities of individuals are shaped prior to their participation in deliberation; this brings forward the emergence of a theorisation of citizenship where ways of acting and being have not yet been defined and thus there is no knowledge about the identity or form of the citizen prior to their participation in civic matters. He argues that rather than considering civic learning as a process an individual goes through from being not-yet-a-citizen to being-a-citizen which implies that there is pre-set curricula involving a linear process where the ultimate aim is the development of a particular kind of citizen, Biesta's theory argues the process is not linear, but recursive and cumulative; in this way civic learning "...is closely connected to ongoing positive and negative experiences with democracy and citizenship, and thus is likely to reflect fluctuations in these experiences" (2011, p.86).

It is in this way that Biesta theorises this encourages new forms of political subjectivities, where our emergence as subjects does not happen prior to, but in and through engaging in politics. Also civic learning is not simply the result of everyday experiences, which is the reason for calling civic learning a *recursive* process. Biesta argues it is important to see that civic learning is *cumulative* because positive and negative experiences in the past cannot simply be eradicated and will influence future action and learning." (Biesta 2011, p.86).

It is through Biesta's theory that we can also understand civic learning as a process of civic action, as well as a theory of civic *education*. The modes of socialisation and

subjectification central to the theory of civic learning can also be used in two ways: firstly, as a way to understand and characterise the civic actions by citizens as they engage in place-based issues, and secondly as a way to understand and characterise the work that educators and public agencies do as they intervene in order to 'stage' interactions between citizens and their place. These 'staged interactions' can be understood as encouraging socialisation as well as subjectification forms of civic action. The distinction between the socialisation and subjectification modes of civic learning are equally useful for characterising the ways individuals *act* within and against the issues at stake as well as the 'orders' in their communities, and the ways that the histories and spaces of communities are used by agencies and educators to encourage socialisation and subjectification forms of citizenship. Biesta's theory explicitly connects learning and action together, because his socialisation conception argues that the individual needs to learn something in order to carry out the 'correct' actions in the future; on the other hand, the subjectification conception discusses that action precedes this, and that the learning comes second.

In this way, the socialisation form of civic learning can be used to describe and characterise civic action precisely because it also concerns the forms of civic action whereby people adopt or identify with existing definitions and understandings through active engagements. The subjectification form of civic learning can be used to describe and characterise forms of civic action where people are more dynamic in enacting their citizenship in the sense of refusing to be defined by other people's definitions of what they should be and what they should do. Here, Biesta has referred to this as 'people's actual condition of citizenship' and where democracy is an 'experiment' (cf. Biesta 2011, p.108); this is involved with actions by citizens in the here and now rather than

some future condition yet to be achieved through learning the correct way. For Biesta the socialisation conception understands citizenship as creating organised, pre-defined learning outcomes that attempt at socialising people into already-existing civic identities and ways of being. The subjectification mode begins from the point of civic action, which is to say from people's engagements in the here and now involving civic issues at stake in their communities. Here, the emphasis is not only on the learning that takes place through these engagements but individuals are conceptualised as citizens who are already enacting their democratic subjectivity through their engagements in civic issues. Biesta's theory thus has a central concern for individuals acting upon the experiences and practices that stem from their everyday lives.

In order to research these forms empirically within my thesis – with particular regard to the spatial and temporal aspects of individuals' civic learning processes - I wish to highlight two particular aspects of Biesta's theory in order to take them forward into the realm of space and time, which will form the framework for my empirical research. The first aspect is the possible presence of an existing socio-political order as a 'frame of reference' which individuals either learn to adapt to (as a socialisation conception of civic learning) towards their domestication within an order that has been created outside of themselves. The second aspect is a conceptualisation of the world as capable of being experimented upon, an open, unknown-in-advance world that individuals can engage with in order to exist in the world in a way that is decided by themselves rather than any pre-existing 'order'. It is within Biesta's theory that the two modes of civic learning: the socialisation mode involved with an ordering of the world and of individuals fixing themselves to that order, and a subjectification mode involved with understanding the interactions between individuals towards the ways in which they might fracture this

order in order to generate alternative ways of being, are key concepts I take forward in the next sections.

To bring in cartography and history, my framework seeks to connect maps and mapping (positioned as acts, as processes as well as paper-based objects) with the historical (temporal) landscape, towards making these concepts a central concern for – and new contribution to - the field of adult and community education. In particular the civic dimensions of space and time relate to education with a concern for developing place-based forms of participation. I argued in chapter two, my literature review, that the issue of space in discussions around education-for-citizenship has been given increasing attention by educational researchers (Martin, 2003; Ellsworth, 2005; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). Further, they have already made a strong case for the centrality of learning in place, whereby the context and surroundings of particular neighbourhoods have a profound effect on the learning situated there (see Buffel et al, 2012; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008; De Visscher, Bouverne-de Bie and Verschelden, 2012; Ellsworth, 2005; Gruenewald, 2003; McKenzie, 2008; Van der Veen and Wildemeersch, 2012). Learning in this sense is seen as emerging through direct interaction with everyday physical environments, rather than as a pre-cursor to engagement. In order to connect the theory of civic learning with spatiality and temporality, as the main framework I work with empirically, in the two sections that follow I will unite space with cartography (involving maps and mapping) and temporality with local history, situating both maps and local history as being involved in discussions in the literature in terms of being capable of creating an 'order' and capable of being broken open through the ways in which individuals are challenged by,

and challenge, cartographies and histories. It is these possibilities for both that connect to Biesta's civic learning theory.

3.2   Geographies of citizenship – connecting maps and mapping with civic learning

In order to begin a discussion on maps and then connect it to the theory of civic learning, I will firstly conceptualise different understandings of, and disputes surrounding, the map in both its guises: as a paper object and mapping as a process ('to map'/'mapping'). There has been considerable attention in research lately within the human and historical geography field of alternative ways of understanding cartography (Massey, 2008; Crampton, 2009; Kitchin and Dodge, 2007). Maps have been critiqued in post-structuralist geography as forming particular boundaries capable of generating unrecognisable places from the perspective of those living there. Researchers who make a distinction between maps as framing place from the 'outside' (cartographer's) perspective towards a static, known object that can be followed ('the map'), also provide alternatives for this problem in their theorisations which position the map as a 'process' (Massey, 2008; Kitchin and Dodge, 2007). This latter work rearticulates cartographic mapmaking – as a process which shifts the work of the map and of mapping from being undertaken by professional cartographers - into the domain of public life; it is the linking of maps as having potential in a 'public' sense that positions maps as capable of being used by citizens within their collective, everyday lives with others in their locality. It is in this way that cartography is articulated differently; here, rather than representative of and directive towards inanimate 'things' from the outside I position maps as tools capable of opening up ways for us to navigate - simultaneously opening up alternatives to the traditional 'frames' inherent in a map that is generated by

professionals from the 'outside'. This allows for new possibilities for using maps, allowing for new ways of understanding their capabilities for being used in orientation, disorientation and reorientation towards stimulating acts upon, within and against the map as an object and the landscape itself, by citizens as they engage with their local context from the 'inside'.

Cartography has been defined as "...a set of techniques for producing spatial knowledge and also a form – the map – for representing that knowledge...abstracted from the qualities of meaning and experience" (Biggs, 1999, p.377). Research on the production of maps and their representations is well documented (Monmonier, 1996; Wood, 1992). The main purpose and history of Western cartography has its foundations in state-sponsored nation- and state-building where the map is a representation of the state (Biggs, 1999; Wood, 1992; Harley, 2001; Radcliffe, 2009; Herva and Ylimaunu, 2010), development of national identity (Withers, 1995), military action in the colonisation of foreign lands, sometimes reflecting aspirational rather than actual land ownership (Edney 1994). The foundations of cartography have been articulated by Radcliffe (2009) in terms of being used by national governments over the centuries to claim land, producing and reproducing structures of power through defining the borders of their nation-states, connects cartography to nationalist narratives (Radcliffe, 2009). These foundations have opened up cartography to further, more recent, criticisms that maps in their traditional format position them as capable of prioritising official knowledge and understandings of flat, static, characterless lands over the ways in which people who live on the same land might experience and understand it. In this way it has been argued in geography literature that traditionally cartographers mark the land 'from above' (Harley, 2001; Massey, 2008; Kitchin and Dodge, 2007) wherein these authors argue

this creates an outside representation that does not stem from meaningful ground-level engagements; thus the reader of the map is not above space but rather outside it (Biggs, 1999). Further criticism levelled at maps as hegemonic structures is exemplified by the (mis)representations and exclusions it is possible to identify within them (Radcliffe, 2009). The fixed scale representations of places as captured in maps have attracted criticisms that they effectively render places place*less* (Pearce, 2008) and freeze historical effects on the landscape over time (Green and Green, 2003), a point I will pick up in section three. These criticisms have opened up alternative conceptualisations of maps.

There are two shifts in this arena which theorise maps as fixed representations of official knowledge, opening this up to alternative definitions and uses for maps: firstly are critical cartographic theories and the second are post-structuralist theories of maps. The first characteristic of shifts in understanding of maps is situated within the field of critical cartography, which is located within the field of critical theory (Crampton and Krygier, 2006; Crampton, 2009). This field of theorising questions the foundation and ideology of cartography, in fact questioning the whole scheme of cartography itself, in terms of the ways as 'historical products' they shape and code our world (Harley, 2001; Pickles 2004). Pickles (2004) focuses on what a map *does* in terms of the ways it represents a world both 'natural' and 'given' which is detrimental to move 'within' its structure. This conceptualisation of cartography has a rather descriptive and analytical flavour because it seeks to expose the forces involved with the ways maps act in hegemonic ways and that we must expose the true nature of the oppression in a map, towards prescribing precise engagements with the map that strips away its power and restrictions upon humans and the landscape.

Post-structuralist theories of maps in the human geography field, on the other hand, have a more 'open and emergent' conceptualisation of the map, where maps are capable of engendering heterogeneous relations between social beings in space (Murdoch, 2005; see also Massey, 2008) opening it up to dynamic processes of change where the reader becomes an agent (Murdoch, 2005). This is the conceptualisation of the map I will be working with because it has a concern for the political aspects of maps but does not precisely concern itself with exposure to the workings of the map but rather with how we might act against: "The geography produced by structuralism... a geography of well-ordered, topographical spaces" (Murdoch 2005) towards landscapes as animate, the map as an embodied experience, created by incursions from cultural, social and political factors (what Massey 2008 refers to as space constructed by new relations, always being made and therefore unfinished, undetermined). There is an explicit move away from the idea of the map as a fixed representation of official knowledge towards alternative theories situating the map as a centre point for processes of experience and expression. Contextual and interpretive approaches to mapping (Herva and Ylimaunu, 2010) within post-structuralist ideas of space have opened out mapping as a challenge to the traditional perception of these objects as rational, objective, neutral, as well as firmly bounded, logical representations of inanimate land. Maps in the post-structuralist world are complex – involving multivocality and contestation, rejecting any notion of a 'truth' that can be uncovered (Kitchin and Dodge 2007).

Thus as discussed before, the conceptualisation I consider central to defining and involving maps in my research errs on the post-structuralist side of theorising because it allows for insights into the issues surrounding what a map 'does' in action and from this

develops alternative understandings, and uses, for cartography. Here, then, such theories, whether post-structural or critical cartographic, create an interesting challenge to new ways of perceiving what a map does, and can do, when used 'in place' by residents. Such a rethinking of the place for cartography in contemporary times has led to a theorising of maps as continuously becoming rather than as fixed unreconstructed objects (Massey, 2008; Crampton, 2009; Akerman, 2009); mapping the unseen through narration (Pearce, 2008); mapping heritage, past generations and upper- and underworlds (Green and Green, 2003); participative mapping technologies (Buckingham and Dennis Jnr, 2009; Goodchild, 2007); volunteered geography (Goodchild, 2007), and mapping as practice (Crampton, 2009). Massey (2008) furthers this issue by arguing that the problem is due to the ways a map conflates 'vertical distance' with 'truth' (p.107). Within these ideas, maps move from being considered as practices rather than as objects; the map functions through the knowledges that are hidden within it and which can be revealed and challenged, and the political field within which it operates, particularly mapping by citizens as protest, as practice, and as commentary (Crampton, 2009; Pickles, 2004; Wood 1992). Kitchin and Dodge (2007) deal with how maps 'become' in terms of their "constant, co-constitutive production" (p.335). They position maps as capable of stimulating spatial practices that involve performance, sketch maps, counter maps and participatory mapping; they argue that their theory positions maps as "practices that have diverse effects within multiple and shifting contexts" (2007, p.337). They believe maps are part of finding solutions to relational, context-embedded issues through sets of practices that focus on "their ability to make a difference to the world" (p.10). They therefore argue that maps can be exposed to practices *upon them* towards generating (re)mappings between the cartographer, the individual and the possible solution (p.342).

As I have argued, these conceptualisations of the map by Kitchin and Dodge (2007) - in terms of the ways the map emerges through practice rather than as static and fixed – are situated in the post-structuralism realm which conceptualises the spatial realm in relational terms where space is constructed by processes and heterogeneity of spatial formations (Murdoch, 2006). I use this conception because it provides more possibilities to align with the public and civic aspects of our lives in places, because of its capacity to uncover 'spatially-situated interactions' (Murdoch, 2006). Following this strand, then, the work of Kitchin and Dodge (2007) forms the framework for the spatial component of my research involving Biesta's theory of civic learning. I involve cartography in my work in two ways: (1) as an object that seeks to generate data on individuals' responses to these external representations of their place from the outside, and to encourage participants to discuss their civic actions in spatial terms; (2) as observations of the ways they use, work within and against maps in a variety of guises within their own work (whether local government-generated maps, historical and contemporary maps they gather themselves and use, for example) towards understanding maps and mapping as particular processes of engagement with their place. Both stages seek to understand the civic learning emerging from these spatial interactions involving the map as an object, a metaphor and a process.

It is from this that I seek to understand the ways that the map in these forms is involved in processes of socialisation and subjectification as respondents engage with and relate to the spatial and temporal aspects of their location. Maps allow for different ways of understanding our spatial and temporal context, but the theories I have outlined previously position maps and mapping as central to civic participation. Equally,

following Massey's (2008) call for maps to be considered as unfinished encounters, my theoretical framework situates maps as both a metaphor for processes of engagement with place, and in their paper form as applied within the research situation itself. This allows for a reconceptualisation of mapping and maps as processes that allow for an exploration of the ways individuals participate in their place, based on the ways their terrain is mapped on their behalf and to which they adapt themselves (socialisation processes) towards processes in which they engage in 'mapping' their terrain through participating in the development of alternatives (subjectification processes). It is this interplay of alternative representations of place through the map that forms the basis for exploring different forms of learning that might emerge from such encounters with their place in the present day. I will go into more detail of this next.

I have argued previously that traditional maps, both historic and contemporary, can be connected to socialisation and subjectification processes of civic learning. Thus, in my research I define and involve maps in three ways: (1) the map is used in its form as an object capable of both representing a place from 'above' and 'outside' and in being responded to by those from the 'inside' and at 'ground level' in terms of how they understand and relate to the map as both an order and a place in which they live and interact with. Thus, I argue that maps can be usefully applied to my research situation, utilising a traditional Ordnance Survey map, in paper form, within the research situation itself. Maps are ideally placed in terms of developing a series of mapping exercises 'upon' them, specifically involving a paper map of each place, Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village, as a part of the interview situation. It is through their involvement in the research situation that they have the potential to highlight practices that respondents engage in as they discuss their activities taking place within particular

spaces and for particular reasons; (2) the map as capable of generating an 'order' or a pre-defined understanding of a place outwith the ways that respondents might view it, and in this way I involve different maps – historical maps of each place collected and used by respondents, maps 'of' each place generated externally relating to maps used and generated by their local municipal council and other official agencies – that builds up an official picture of a place; (3) redefining a map as capable of demonstrating and interpreting processes of engagement between resident and their place, through positioning the map as a metaphor for the ways in which respondents engage with their place and the representations of their place inherent in the paper maps in point two. I involve a combination of these three conceptualisations of 'the map' to structure the spatial aspects of my framework within the constructs of the civic learning theory. I use them to generate understandings of places as ordered, structured and static through ways respondents identify, disidentify with the map of their place and their reactions to them. Equally, it is through these processes that could allow for data to emerge that allows for understandings of the ways that maps are put to work by respondents as they engage in processes of rediscovery, remaking and re-experiencing their place through their articulation of their projects that might work within or against external representations of themselves and their place, including mismappings, lost places, for example. It is in the ways that the literature positions maps as possible starting points to lost, hidden and alternative worlds that the spatial aspects of my framework have demonstrated. The hidden and lost aspects of the map connect to the temporal dimension of my framework I will detail next.

3.3   Temporalities of citizenship – connecting local history and civic learning

If I may remain for a short while within the spatial framework of the previous section, the formulation for reconsidering what a map 'is' and can 'do' - both in the research situation itself, and through its use by individuals in engagements with their place and the challenges rooted there – relates to the temporal dimension of my framework I deal with next. Here I connect space and time together towards conceptualising the civic dimensions of temporality, that is to say how different ways of theorising types of history learning and teaching that connect to forms of democratic citizenship; specifically this relates to history's involvement in processes of participation in local issues stemming from it. On top of the physical 'ground' of the map - as representative of visible space – I layer the idea of temporality where it relates to past configurations of places, changes to the landscape over time, invisible space, absences and hidden histories. From this, I will make a theoretical connection between temporality in the form of place-based forms of 'local history' and Biesta's civic learning theory modes of socialisation and subjectification. I will do this through exploring with respondents the spatial and historical attributes inherent in the spaces – whether visible or not - in which they engage in actions. As I have shown in my literature review and theoretical framework these spaces contain challenges for researching civic learning, where local people are faced with a changing landscape, and a changing place.

3.3.1   Temporal space as an interruption to cartography

It is predominantly within the field of cartography and human geography that the issue of time is explored in terms of its relationship to space. More specifically it has been argued that maps freeze the effects of time on the landscape because they are rooted in

representations of what can be seen (what is 'there') and what can be navigated in the present, as a particular logic. In this way, Green and Green (2003) argue that history itself is inscribed in the land, and that maps by their very nature are incapable of inscribing memory and change, maintaining that this is problematic because the landscape, through its capacity to evoke memory, also 'becomes memory'. It is in this way they call for a 'spatial historiography' rather than a 'chronological historiography' which moves back and forth between time zones. Building on this by paraphrasing Elshtain (in Hauser 2008, p.112), we might find our way through the space/time issue; she argues that the challenge emerges from "the perpetual struggle between permanence and change, tradition and transformation". Indeed, as I discussed in my literature review, this also implicates conservation and preservation sitting uncomfortably alongside transformation because the past in many instances is conserved for specific reasons which can both allow and restrict reinhabitation of place (McKenzie, 2008) by preserving the past enough to be engaged with, but conserved to the extent that it ties individuals to an image of their place that does not allow for alternatives, or decolonisation which is central to processes of action. Of equal importance is the idea of 'hidden history' from historical geography and psychogeography, that is to say histories that might have to be found (for example, traces of or absences in the present-day physical landscape, of landscapes subject to damage or decline, and generally those histories that are not 'there' for us to learn about, but need to be sought out). In order to connect issues over conservation and preservation with histories that lead to transformation and civic agency I utilise the methodology of psychogeographic mapping (introduced in more detail in my research design). This methodology tries to mediate between the two points by positioning the map as both an object (a map of the present as a map of what is 'there') which is also a map of absences (what is not there);

this position keeps the map central to my research as opening up a 'gap' which allows for the exploration of alternative processes of reading and using maps which allow for the entry of practices which engage with erasure, change and absence as well as preservation and conservation.

I have argued thus far that time has a profound effect on the official map because both restricting the map to an object, and restricting ourselves to reading it in a conventional way renders both the map and its reader fixed to the present time, incapable of going back in time to represent what has now gone. Maps when you consider them as representations of what can be visited and seen today, fail to represent the complex relationship between space and time (that which cannot necessarily be visited nor seen). It is therefore important to think differently about how we might seek to reconnect time to the political aspects of space, in terms of the capacity for temporality to challenge space; in this way I mean the capacity for the histories located in particular spaces to allow for new connections. It is through the ways in the previous section I conceptualised maps and mapping as processes capable of generating political enactments in the ways individuals might actively remap their worlds, using maps as an interpretative tool, that the relationship between topography - and the histories inscribed there – has theoretical connections. In this way I will set up the 'time' aspect of my framework to differently theorise temporality within a civic learning framework, as the civic potential within active processes of history mapping. I construct a way of conceptualising history within the framework of civic learning; this also corresponds to my definitions for maps and mapping as both a representation of order and disorder, as an object and a process. Both space and time emerge as capable of representing the

present and allowing entry points to the effects of the past through the ways in which individuals use and respond to history as both a tangible object and a proposition.

Green and Green (2003) conceptualise history as rooted within the landscape in performative terms, the historical landscape becoming a resource for reflecting and acting upon contemporary challenges. It is in this way they argue that through their temporal characteristics, places can be materialised and enacted; this occurs through practices by the residents who attend to and act upon the stories and presence of history on the landscape of previous generations who have left their mark. They argue it is through using the past of the place to deal with contemporary challenges, sparked by memories, stories and the testimonies of others allows for reconceptualising the landscape as a resource for considering challenges in the present day. Here, history becomes capable of being encountered, tested, and is present in the surface and texture of the land itself (cf. Green and Green, 2003). This leads to a reconceptualisation of temporality as an 'event': a set of experiences of space that are made by the journey through the temporal landscape – rather than observations of things given to the tourist - occurring in the present. At this point I have not departed yet from cartography, but am layering over physical space the theoretical framework of temporality where it relates to place, involving the ways in which we might reconceptualise how individuals engage with their location, through being exposed to time in their landscape in the form of change, absence, tradition and the past. Green and Green (2003) address this issue of the connections of the present to the past and its possibilities to ignite, rather than close down, action in the present, by arguing that the histories inherent in the landscape are an important resource for reflecting on contemporary challenges: "Evoking the past, landscape stories that are told in the present map out options for the present; generating

and regenerating people's senses of agency and their ability to navigate the political environment." (2003, p.286) The landscape here is a journey, maps then become events. This is an argument within literature dealing with the effects of history on the map (see Green and Green, 2003; Herva and Ylimaunu, 2010) as well as within the concept of the 'nation' as transcribed in maps through time (Biggs, 1999; Radcliffe, 2009).

In order to understand the ways history is involved in this thesis, I am exploring its involvement at a local level, where history is being evoked in the present day for a variety of reasons, as "the contemporary activities through which the past comes to matter in the present." (Simon and Ashley 2010, p.247). This definition, though wide, allows scope for considering the involvement of history in activities by residents as they engage in the here and now, with where they have come from, where the landscape has come from, and where they are going. More specifically, this thesis operates within the realm of history in its localised form, or what is termed 'local history'. My focus is on the practising of local history outwith academia, by local communities engaging in it in a variety of ways. Local history can be considered as a sub-set to the study of history as an academic discipline in itself, but here I define it as having a particular emphasis on the past as it manifests itself at a local, community level (rather than at the level of the region or even the nation, for example), an activity engaged in by local people rather than historians. It is evoked by a community or specific group of people and does not involve history learning through, for example, a course but rather as it is situated in the landscape or in local stories.

3.3.2 The civic dimensions of local history learning and teaching

I discussed in the previous chapter the ways in which citizenship is involved with ground-level participation in local issues by a collective (Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004) situated within the realm of the everyday social practices (Lawy and Biesta, 2006). I will now make connections between this conceptualisation of citizenship and the ways history is involved in teaching and learning in different fields. I concern myself with the non-academic aspects of history learning and teaching, that is to say, the civic dimensions of history. As I discussed in chapter two, there is a robust body of theorising on history and historicising today rooted in the 'postmodern' developments in this century.

Such demands for alternative ways of considering local history as a discipline connect to the civic dimensions I discuss here. Local history is a sub-discipline of the subject of history, but is practiced within a restricted geographic context, providing possibilities for exploring long term continuities and changes over time (Dyer et al, 2011). Although in the field of formal and non-formal education, history can be understood as a subject to be learned or taught, within my study I engage with 'local history' as a particular way of engaging in histories that are rooted within smaller, geographically-bound communities. Here, local history has a different *use*, as a specific "...popular cultural activity" (Jackson, 2008, p.362), defined by J.D. Marshall (in Jackson, 2008, p.375) as "...a collection of interests rather than a coherent historical discipline." and by Jackson himself as a 'process' that is rooted outside academia as well as inside it (p.365). I will not go into detail in terms of the ways history as a subject is implicated in issues relating to its use and misuse. However, to provide a small insight into these issues, because it matters in terms of the political difficulties of involving 'the past' at a local

level in terms of who is able to represent the past and how they represent it, Kurtz (2002) identifies history "...as a *tool* in the hands of variously defined social groups." (p.43). Here, Kurtz draws together ideas stemming from the Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm (1998), but also to EP Thompson (1991), making reference to history as an instrument of a particular social group, who use the past to preserve their interests. In this sense a place, or a community within a place, becomes:

"....a subtle, highly selective fiction, supported by designated sites, sanctioned narratives, and sponsored events with powerful actors pulling strings behind stage. The radical move within this framework lies in revealing the backstage and its puppeteers, in hopes of destabilizing received history and the powers supporting it." (Kurtz 2002, p.52).

This is worth noting in terms of the framework I will present next, which tries to make explicit the ways history is implicated in the political, and used for political reasons. My theoretical framework involving temporal citizenship has three tiers; each tier has implications for how we might understand its political and non-political dimensions, specifically in relation to Biesta's theory of civic learning in terms of the socialisation and subjectification modes of civic learning framed within each. The framework itself has been developed through various academics working in the field of history learning and teaching involving citizenship, predominantly in the compulsory schooling field (Simon 2005; Barton, 2006; Barton and Levstik, 2004; Chinnery, 2010, 2011; Seixas, 2006) and it is thus a summary of the ways each of these writers has defined the field. It has also been set out in writings with my supervisor (see Biesta and Cowell, 2010). Although they are writing from within the perspective of schooling, I consider the

framework is useful in representing the ways these theorists have conceptualised history's connection to citizenship and public life, and that it could contribute to adult learning. In what follows I have adapted these ideas for the field of adult and community education because they usefully break down the different implications for the teaching and learning of history for both the 'citizen' living in, and the 'educator' working in, local communities.

The first two approaches (or 'modes'), I connect with Biesta's socialisation mode of civic learning; the third, the civic approach, connects to the subjectification mode of civic learning. I am not arguing against the notion of a traditional or cognitive approach to history teaching and learning; after all, each fulfils its usefulness in relation to history as a subject in which much knowledge can be imparted and gained. I am instead attempting to make a connection between each mode of history learning and teaching with its *direct implications for citizenship*, that is, the ways in which the teaching of history might be involved with different ways of encouraging a citizen to learn for, from and through engaging in local matters. However the framework is useful to understand what history *does* or *might do* in terms of the civic dimensions of history learning and teaching and its implications for citizenship. Thus, I am focusing here on the ways in which these approaches connect to forms of adult learning and teaching with a concern for the civic dimensions, history's capacity to spark or close down political agency, the focus of my thesis.

3.3.2.1 Mode 1: Learning *about* the past / teaching *about* the past

This approach to history teaching and learning is bound up in the traditional notion of history as a subject of facts and narratives, where it "…aims to produce rational agents

who possess a breadth and depth of historical knowledge sufficient to guide them in their moral decisions and actions." (Chinnery, 2011, p.2). It is also connected to the ways in which history is taught as objective truth about the past, whereby individuals then 'consume' these and where multiple perspectives are detrimental to the pursuit of accurate historical knowledge facts (cf. Chinnery, 2011). It is also in this way that Barton and Levstik (2004) contend that this form is connected to 'identification', whereby the subject is integral to encouraging individuals to align themselves with, for example, a national past, the official record, our personal past, cultivating a collective memory and sense of national identity. This connects to learning histories 'of', as pasts already existing for us to take up (see Biesta and Cowell, 2010).

Thus, this way of involving history encourages individuals to align themselves with pre-defined identities prior to their participation in such issues, which as Barton and Levstik (2004) claim, "…we take part in these groups because we identify with them." (p.59). It is in this way they warn that encouraging identification with particular histories can lead to the exclusion of other ways of understanding and engaging in the past, which is also discussed by Chinnery (2011) who argues that collective memory and national identity is used in a way that encourages citizens to align themselves with particular groups in society, towards the 'official record' (cf. Chinnery, 2011). It is in this way that this form is considered to exclude certain perspectives and is "…largely neutral with regard to public participation; if students are to take part in deliberation over the common good, they must move beyond such inward-looking identifications." (Barton and Levstik, 2004, p.64). This also connects to accusations of maps as official records and as static objects with a history of encouraging nationalism because as I discussed in chapter two, these pasts are under the direction of agencies with a

particular agenda – sometimes relating to the heritage industry, sometimes to encourage a particular form of citizenship through celebrating the national past - set prior to encounters with local people. It might be possible to identify aspects of 'community heritage', as processes of remembrance connected to identity and the collective. In these aspects, the orientation is on encouraging cohesive practices that foreground social consensus through 'our history', whereby this notion might be central to attempts by educators at moderating human behaviour in community settings (Simon, 2005). Edensor (2005) is particularly scathing of the commodification of remembering: "The heritage industry tends to mobilise specific ways of remembering the pasts of places. In servicing the requirements of commodification and the need to tell a coherent, seamless – and regulated - story about the way things were, heritage banishes ambiguity and the innumerable ways of interpreting the past to compile a series of potted stories and spatially regulated displays." (p.133)

3.3.2.2 Mode 2: Learning *from* the past

This approach frames history in terms of its role in developing our capacity to 'think historically' through a cognitive approach which seeks to produce 'historically literate citizens' (Chinnery, 2011). This involves an identification with particular events in history, which Barton and Levstik (2004) refer to as teaching about what happened in the past in order to guide what we must do today, predicting the future through analysing the predictable patterns of history. These capacities include establishing historical significance, using primary sources, identifying continuity and change, and analysing cause and consequence (the approach of, for example, Seixas, 2006). This strand also includes historical empathy – the learning from the past necessary for us to make decisions about our role as citizens today and in the future (Chinnery, 2011).

Barton and Levstik (2004) argue the past generates discussions about the issues that matter to our public lives in order to teach students to understand the past as a linear trajectory which demands a study of past decisions and their effects on present structures, patterns and situations. Thus, learning from the past is oriented towards encouraging citizens to learn the 'correct' form of historical knowledge to guide them in the present. The 'historically literate citizen' emerges from this process, who has developed the capacity for historical empathy as a moral position, whereby the past provides lessons to learn from that make demands on us in the present (Chinnery, 2011; Seixas, 2006), suggesting universal laws. This strand forms part of a justification for history's contribution to citizenship, where it is argued this leaves little room for moving in other directions which are central to an individual's agency (Barton and Levstik, 2004, p.81).

It is possible to argue that both approaches I have outlined above involve strands of Biesta's socialisation conception of civic learning, whereby the learning necessary for the citizen to function adequately in an (equally pre-defined) society is already pre-determined. Further, history as a subject is both used as a conduit with intentions for students to learn particular 'lessons' from the past towards generating 'civic competencies', and as knowledge generated from and about the past, or histories 'of' and histories 'for' the past (Biesta and Cowell, 2010) that have been formed outside of citizens' own experiences, needs and demands for history learning. It is in this way that socialisation is implicated in the traditional and cognitive approaches that set out forms of history learning and teaching that precede action, towards a pre-determined definition of what should be learned, as well as in what ways and why. These two frameworks have the capacity to fix individuals to a 'heritage', to a historical map of a

specific world outside their own understandings, where history dictates their world back to them, towards socialisation modes of civic learning. If, as I have argued previously, aspects of both space and time are encountered in the everyday, and that they equally have the capacity to both fix individuals to an order as well as create circumstances for living differently, then the third element I set out next has a concern for Biesta's subjectification mode of civic learning. To remind ourselves of this, a subjectification mode of civic learning is involved with individuals' political agency, towards their own ways of 'being public' which can only be encouraged, not taught (cf. Biesta, 2011). It is in this way that the dimension I set out next, as the third part of the framework, has a concern for such subjectification processes.

3.3.2.3 Mode 3: Histories *by* the public

Departing from the first two frameworks, knowing here is not about an everlasting truth but is a temporal process where citizens experience the actualities of the public realm. As Simon (2005, p.8) argues, the collective is able to consider and evaluate its own past and the institutions that affect them in order to open up an as-yet-undetermined civic life. This includes the collective consideration, reconsideration and critique of pasts as active processes, opening an 'indeterminate future for civic life' as a process of 'inhabitation', which is defined by Simon (2005) "...as the way we live with images and stories that intertwine with our sense of limits and possibilities, hopes and fears, identities and distinctions" (p.3). Together with my supervisor, Gert Biesta, we have theorised this civic approach as a *history by the public* which also involves the 'making' of histories as opposed to the 'taking' (Biesta and Cowell, 2010). Here, history is a process where citizens represent histories that matter to an understanding of their place and its civic issues, where 'memory functions as a condition for learning necessary to

sustain the prospect of democracy' (cf. Simon, 2005), involving the 'encountered past' stemming from civic life, where history has a role in reformulating and redefining everyday, communal life. For Barton and Levstik (2004), Simon (2005) and Chinnery (2010, 2011) the civic approach is about reframing how we live in relation to the past, about forms of learning that unsettle the present, where there are no blueprints or moral lessons, towards opening up new ways of thinking and perceiving the multiple aspects of the past. Historical knowledge is rather a 'difficult inheritance' which demands a response in the public realm in the present (cf. Simon, 2005). It is the indeterminate aspects of this approach that connect it to the subjectification conception of civic learning; it is not known in advance what pasts, what histories need to be learned, but rather learning emerges through exposure to, and representations of, its traces rooted in the present landscape; here is the possible entry point for democracy.

The 'civic quality' of the ways individuals might together engage in the telling and receiving of the past in a shared physical location has possibilities for publicness, which in turn has a concern for democracy (Simon and Ashley, 2010). The interrelationship between contributing to life with others in matters of importance to a group of people wider than your own private concerns is a central concept within citizenship with a concern for the public dimension of life. Simon and Ashley (2010) articulate history as a contemporary *activity*, whereby history has the capacity to: "...initiate the transformative actions necessary for living in a changing, increasingly inter-dependent society." (Simon and Ashley 2010, p.248). The idea of 'transformative actions' is central to the civic approach, because it connects history with acts; not just any act, however, but ones with a concern for the collective, where history links to the issues and challenges encountered by citizens through their engagements with the past in their

locality. It places history – as the people, industries, moments, events and landscapes that have gone before us - as being capable of motivating particular 'acts' with consequences that have effects on others; history in this sense demands a response (Zinn, 1990). It is in this theorisation that provides a more explicitly public dimension for history. Moving forward with this definition, Simon (2005, p.3) considers history is bound up with the: "...political character of remembrance; more specifically, how and why a social, and often conflictual, practice of remembrance might be central to establishing the conditions necessary for democratic life." (Simon 2005, p.3).

It is in this way that history is capable of being encountered in the features and characteristics of the landscape visible or invisible in the present, where we are confronted with its issues, changing how we live with the past and how we involve it in our lives in the present. I discussed in chapter two the ways in which history is bound up with the notion of citizenship; where the geographical as well as historical composition of places has the capacity to affect 'geographies of local citizen action' (cf. Desforges, Jones and Woods 2005, p.441). Here the political dimensions of history can be uncovered, exemplified by Simon and Ashley (2010) who ask: '*whose* history is being referred to?' and '*who* is defining it for *whom*?' This connects with my argument in chapter two referring to how history is used and for what purpose, and where the civic approach is a move towards "...a reappraisal of the links between civic life, historical memory, and the educative force of various practices of remembrance." (Simon 2005, p.2), whereby history involves a particular set of practices (cf. Simon, 2005) occurring *by the public*. Further, Simon connects learning with such civic dimensions by arguing that history has the capability of displacing our certainties about the past, where our stories are shifted by the stories of others (cf Simon 2005: 88) as the

central point to this process. Thus, Simon argues that "Remembering requires us to attune ourselves to the power of certain testimonies to 'rupture our invested understanding of ourselves, our government and the regulating political, economic, and technological frameworks we unconsciously use to negotiate our world." (2005, p.102). Thus, particular testimonies refuse "...to remain assimilated to terms of dominant historical understanding...Rather, this testimony keeps returning, provoking deep questions about what it means for us to understand the lives of others. It calls again and again to attend, hear, and respond responsibly." (2005, p.103).

3.4 Conclusions

In this chapter I developed a theoretical framework that sets out processes of maps and mapping and the three levels of history learning central to citizenship-as-practice within the core aim of understanding civic learning in relation to space and time. Because civic learning is a framework involving the socialisation and subjectification dimensions of citizenship practices, I defined space and time as central to the conditions within which people live their lives, as central to my empirical research. I argued maps are objects, processes and used by civic groups in their activities, and drew connections between maps as being central to socialisation and to subjectification modes of civic learning. Equally, the ways history is involved in socialisation and subjectification forms of civic learning was explored through literature making connections between history learning and teaching and different forms of citizenship. I positioned history as having the potential to disrupt traditional forms of learning which we might see as socialisation processes of 'learning about the past' as accumulation of facts, and 'learning from the past' as empathetic, moralistic understandings of the past to guide us in the present (Barton and Levstik, 2004; Simon, 2005; Simon and Ashley, 2010; Chinnery, 2010,

2011). I explored the possibilities for the public potential of history, where it is about the ways history might be implicated in civic processes generative of subjectification practices that stem from histories by the public where histories are made rather than taken in the form of adapting to existing histories by others (Biesta and Cowell, 2010). In the next chapter I set out my research design which stems from this theoretical framework.

4   Chapter 4: Research Design

4.0   Introduction

As discussed in chapter one, the aim of the research is to understand the complexities of processes of civic learning of individuals and social groups living together in the same geographic area. My empirical study involves two case studies, each an investigation of local civic action groups in two locations: (1) Bonnybridge, a post-industrial town in Central Scotland, and (2) Cumbernauld Village, a Conservation Area in North Lanarkshire. I explore how residents of both places relate to the spatial and temporal characteristics of their locality, towards understanding the forms of civic learning emerging from the ways residents interact with, and represent, their environment in spatial and temporal ways. This chapter is organised into three parts. The first part describes and justifies my research design, including a discussion of my research aim, objectives and research questions developed from the theoretical framework set out in chapter three. I then move forward with discussing my choice of case study design, which works within an interpretive framework and set out my two cases. I justify my use of an interpretive framework which seeks to provide an *understanding* of the ways individuals engage in civic learning through their local spatial and temporal environments. This approach argues that understandings of human action, in terms of how individuals make sense of the world around them, takes precedence over any form of causal or natural explanation or description; in short, the insider's view. My methodology of psychogeographic mapping is also central to my design, and I discuss the ways it underpins individuals' engagements with the spatial and temporal characteristics of their place. Thus, my approach centres respondents' perspectives in

my data collection, analysis and interpretation work, which forms part two. Here I discuss my three data collection methods based within my case study design: document analysis, psychogeographic mapping interviews and observations. I demonstrate in detail the method of psychogeographic mapping interviews, which I developed with my supervisor, and which stems from psychogeographic mapping theory. In part three, I move forward with exploring questions of validity, reliability and ethics.

4.1   Justification for Design of Study

In this section I discuss the ways I centred my data collection and analysis on respondents' engagements in civic action processes involving space and time, through the theoretical framework of Biesta's theory of civic learning (2011). This theory makes a distinction between a socialisation mode of civic action and subjectification mode of civic action which I have argued structures also how I might understand civic learning as it relates to space (through maps and mapping) and time (to learning about, from and through history); I described this theoretical framework in chapter three. This is an interpretative study towards understanding the perspectives of those engaging in the actions I explore, which forms the 'ground' of my psychogeographic mapping methodology, which is a methodology that comes with theory connected to the ways individuals live in their locality as they are exposed to and navigate its spatial layout and encrypted histories and events. This is central to my interpretivist standpoint in terms of understanding the dynamics of processes of civic actions by residents involving the spatial and temporal characteristics, or 'conditions' of their location. The three methods I use, document analysis, psychogeographic interviews and observations, are situated within my case study design framework. My research questions and the overall purpose of my research have guided my choice in methodology and associated

methods, which I discuss first before moving on to a description of the case study design, and then a discussion on interpretivism.

4.1.1   Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

4.1.1.1 Aim

The main aim of this project is to deepen understanding of the complexities of processes of civic learning of individuals and social groups living together in the same geographic area through an investigation of the ways in which residents (as individuals and groups) construct forms of public space through interactions with their physical environments in spatial and temporal ways.

4.1.1.2 Objectives

1. To undertake a contextual exploration of local community civic action groups in two geographical locations in Scotland in the form of a case study.

2. To identify the particular spatial and temporal contexts of each locality through the interplay between each place and its residents.

3. To examine interventions, actions and participation by residents as they emerge as representations of the spatial and temporal characteristics and contexts of their place through a framework developed from psychogeographic mapping.

4. To explore the civic learning that emerges from residents' representations.

5. To explore the possibilities for alternative understandings of public history as it emerges from place-based interactions with temporality.

6. To evaluate the implications, challenges and possibilities of civic learning as a form of public history within place-based public pedagogies for the field of community education.

The last objective above, and third research question below, relate to my conclusions chapter, and thus will be dealt with there, rather than here.

4.1.1.3 Research Questions

My research seeks to answer three questions:

1. How are public spaces constructed through the interaction of individuals and groups with their physical and temporal environment?

2. How do different configurations of public space promote or impede civic learning?

3. What are the possibilities for public pedagogies within the field of community education towards the support and promotion of civic learning involving spatial and temporal contexts and settings?

4.1.2 Case Study Design

I chose to investigate my research questions and associated objectives within a case study design, rooted in my overall methodology of psychogeographic mapping as a theory involved with the objective, subjective and intersubjective aspects of geographies. I involved the theory of psychogeographic mapping with associated methods that position the individual as connected to their urban environment, constructing and reconstructing their place through the creation of 'situations' as

particular acts. My overall design allows for a variety of methods suitable for exploring the dynamics of individuals engaging in actions within their locality; by this I am referring to the methods I use: (a) analysis of documents such as reports and statistics to build up a 'picture' of a place within which residents operate, (b) interviewing respondents face-to-face as well as conducting mapping exercises with them, and (c) observing their actions as they carry out projects in their place. These methods are based within a case study design, which seeks to investigate phenomena within its real-life context, allowing for multiple methods that allow an investigation into the phenomenon at hand; in my research a case study design is relevant when involving a theoretical framework that directs data collection and data analysis (Stake, 1998), this framework set out in chapter three. As I show within my data collection, analysis and interpretation sections in this chapter I use the theoretical framework structure to construct my approach to the data.

Simons (in Thomas 2011, p.512) argues that a case study is "...an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in a 'real life' context." This forms the basis of my justification for using the case study method, within a 'location' where it might be possible to engage in broader questions. Thomas reminds us, through the work of Simons that case study is not a particular method in itself but a 'design frame' (cf. Thomas, 2011) that can integrate different methods: i.e. the different methods that help to build up 'the case' as the centre of our inquiry. I decided upon this method for its capacity to draw in multiple methods towards generating highly detailed, in-depth data on a specific unit of study. For Hammersley and Gomm (2002), a 'case' might consist of an individual, an event or an institution, for research investigating a very small

number in considerable depth over a longer period of time. They define it as "some unit, or set of units, in relation to which data are collected and/or analysed." (Hammersley and Gomm 2002, p.2). The case itself is defined by its boundaries, the 'of' part generating what the research is a case *of*, as its analytical frame (Thomas, 2011). This drawing of boundaries around a phenomenon is argued by Stark and Torrance (2005) as also an issue of epistemology: what is included and excluded and therefore what knowledge claims are made. Deciding what the research is a case of, and whether it is capable of generating knowledge dealing with singularity and generalisation (within the case rather than in an external sense) was central to my investigation of specific phenomenon in both locations. Thus, a case study method was the most appropriate design frame than attempting to join up one or two methods together without the structure of the case study. This design choice allowed for a deeper exploration of the spatial and temporal context and background of each physical location that forms each case, set alongside the interview, mapping and observational data from individuals themselves, rather than representations of a more extensive population. I also use the case study design in order to set up cross-case comparisons, specifically how each case provided an understanding of the ways respondents engaged with space and time in each of their varied contexts and circumstances.

Moving forward with the ways the case study design is defined as allowing for research in situ and from the participants' point of view (Stark and Torrance, 2005) I construct the two cases which are capable of inviting broader questions rather than attempting to represent the wider population (Mitchell, 2002). This builds upon Yin's (2009) argument that a case study is suitable for situations where a particular phenomenon and its variables cannot be separated from its context. This provides an entry-point to the

role of theory in case studies, and it is in this way that Thomas (2011) proposes a two-part typology that makes a distinction between each part: (1) the subject of the study – the case itself, and (2) the object, which Thomas defines as "...the analytical frame or theory through which the subject is viewed and which the subject explicates." (p.511). Thus the subjects in this case are two civic action groups engaging with the spatial and temporal characteristics of their environment. These subjects were chosen in order to illuminate the features of the object of this study: the theoretical frame within which the subject emerged, is Biesta's theory of civic learning (2011). Both are cases of civic action, where the socialisation and subjectification modes in Biesta's theory are used to understand civic action. Within this, chapter five involves a case of reconsideration of Bonnybridge as a particular form of civic action; chapter six is a case of the reconfiguration of Cumbernauld Village as a particular form of civic action. Thus, the theory of civic learning generates two cases towards a deeper engagement with the ways in which individuals learn for, from and through engagements in civic life. Before I move forward with justifying my interpretivist standpoint, I outline the two cases that are central to my empirical research.

4.1.2.1 The Research 'Cases': Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village

I engaged in data collection of two civic action groups: Greenhill Historical Society (GHS) in Bonnybridge, and Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community (CVAC) in Cumbernauld Village. I undertook an exploration of the physical and historical contexts both groups were operating in. Each case seeks to provide an understanding of the different ways the socialisation and subjectification modes of civic learning could be understood through the work of the individuals in each place. The geographical contexts for each of the two case studies are Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village. I

chose these two contexts deliberately for their differing geographical and temporal characteristics, the groups contrasting appropriately in focus and activities to assist in comparing and contrasting each case.

4.1.2.1.1 The Bonnybridge Case

Bonnybridge is a post-industrial location; I was a Community Learning and Development worker there from 2007 until 2012. My research involves participants of Greenhill Historical Society (GHS), a group I set up and provided support to, shifting my role to that of researcher during my data collection. This shift in role was made explicit to participants of my research, with whom I engaged with separately from my worker role. I planned to interview eight participants of the group, however two members – a husband and wife - became unavailable as one fell seriously ill and was in intensive care for a significant period of time, and his wife then understandably also became unavailable. I also interviewed a local historian who has written and spoken extensively on the area and is locally known, and had worked in the area's railway in earlier times. The purpose of this interview was to gain a background understanding of the history of the area from his perspective, gained from his use of archival documents, and to provide an additional layer of historical 'infrastructure' to the area. Thus, participants consisted of seven individuals who had lived in the area over 45 years, and five of these individuals aged over 50 who had worked in the heavy industry in the area. Five are men, and two are women. All individuals form the Bonnybridge case.

4.1.2.1.2 The Cumbernauld Village Case

The second case involves Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community (CVAC) group. In contrast to Bonnybridge I was not engaged in this case as a CLD worker; the

methodological implications of this are discussed later, in section 4.3. I chose Cumbernauld Village because of its very different characteristics from Bonnybridge, in that it is a Conservation Area, and interesting to set within and against Bonnybridge, which is a damaged town without protected status. I engaged with seven individuals from this group; one did not wish to take part. One member I interviewed left CVAC shortly after but I have included her as a member of the group. I also interviewed an additional two individuals who provided background and structure to some of the issues facing the area. Firstly I interviewed a local historian who writes and exhibits about the area, gathering data on the historical aspects of the area from his perspective. Secondly I interviewed a North Lanarkshire Council planning officer responsible for the Conservation Area Regeneration Scheme (CARS) and thus the Conservation Area elements of the village; from my early observations it became clear that CVAC was working within a particular structure – the 'official' configuration of their village according to strict governmental conservation rules. Six individuals are women, and three are men; the group itself has just one man with the others women. They are a variety of ages but all over the age of 50. All nine individuals form the Cumbernauld Village case.

4.1.3   Interpretivism

Interpretivism is the theoretical perspective underpinning my research involving both cases. Crotty argues that "The interpretivist approach...*looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world.*" (1998, p.67; italics in original). This quotation contends that 'social life-worlds' can be understood only from the perspectives of those who are engaging in these actions, thus my aim is to understand their interpretation of their own worlds from their perspectives (Schwandt,

2000). It is through following this line that I have chosen to reject any attempts at explaining or describing, which is a methodology hovering 'above' research subjects rather than from their own perspective. As my research aim, objectives and questions outline, my approach seeks to understand how individuals actively engage in processes of creating, adjusting and interpreting their world (Cohen and Manion, 1994). I discussed in my theoretical framework the methodology of psychogeographic mapping structuring my research, and which attempts to demonstrate the perspectives of those directly engaging in action. It is through this theoretical perspective of interpretivism, within the overall methodology of psychogeographic mapping, that I employed qualitative data collection methods of document analysis, observation and psychogeographic interviewing, within a case study design. I firstly discuss the methodology of psychogeographic mapping as central to interpretivism, then introducing the contexts that generated each 'case'. Lastly I discuss each data collection method in turn.

4.1.4   Psychogeographic Mapping Methodology: connecting space and time

In this section I discuss my use of the theory of psychogeographic mapping (Debord, 1955) as my methodology central to the types of data I collect, analyse and interpret within the constructs of Biesta's theory of civic learning (for a detailed discussion of psychogeographic mapping in civic learning see Biesta and Cowell, 2012). The definition for methodology has been outlined by Somekh and Lewin (2005, p.346-7) as "...the collection of methods or rules by which a particular piece of research is undertaken. However, it is generally used in a broader sense to mean the whole system of principles, theories and values that underpin a particular approach to research." Eisenhart (2001) is concerned that current ethnographic methods such as participant

observation, face-to-face interviewing and accessing archival records may no longer be relevant to researching contemporary life. Further, Eisenhart asserts that in order to transcend boundaries, networks and connections across "multi-levelled and multi-layered sites" (p.23) ethnographers need to explore beyond traditional methods. As Rodman (1992, p.642) notes, and which connects to psychogeography: "Places come into being through praxis, not just through narratives." I thus considered it important that methods applied in community research allow for an understanding of place enactment, which deserves to be investigated in richer ways than 'flat' methods predominantly used (Pink, 2005). Central to this process is researching with participants in interactive ways, using methods that can demonstrate the multi-layered aspects of respondents' engagements with physical space and temporal space together. This is the core of psychogeographic theory.

Psychogeography as a research methodology has been utilised in a very limited capacity within research (see Ulmer, Revelle, Tilson and Freeman, 2003; Pittard, 2009; Trubshaw, 2009; Lawrence, 2006; Trudgill, 2001). Most studies have taken place within gender, geography, race, art, culture, and psychology research. With the exception of Bassett (2004), there has been no research to date within education which explicitly utilises psychogeographic mapping. The term 'psychogeography' is attributed to Guy Debord (1955), a prominent member of the Situationist International group (1957-1972), whose aim was to overturn existing "practices of history, theory, politics, art, architecture, and everyday life" (Sadler 1999, p.1). Debord conceptualised psychogeography as a methodology for transforming urban life for increasingly political ends (Coverley, 2006) and describes it as "(t)he study of the specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and

behaviour of individuals" (Debord 1981, p.5). Its original development was part of the Situationist agenda to disrupt the group nature of the 'urban masses' which they believed was directed by the capitalist making of 'habits' (MacFarlane, 2005). Situationists thus developed concepts such as the 'dérive' (the drift) that encourages wandering in relation to what attracts you, encouraged to "(s)hed class and other allegiances and cultivate a sense of marginality" (Bassett 2004, p.401). As MacFarlane (2005, p.1) highlights: "By forcing an arbitrariness of route, and insisting on pedestrianism, the dériveur was, in theory, brought to experience astonishment upon the terrain of familiarity, and was made more sensitive to the hidden histories and encrypted events of the city."

Thus, this methodology – which is centrally concerned with the collision of space with time in present day landscapes - is compatible with the theoretical framework I outlined in chapter three which seeks to understand civic learning from a plurality of perspectives across different spaces and different times. Psychogeography furthers the idea of the map as a situation or a performance, mapping experiences in ways Situationists considered subverted official cartographic representations of different places, splintering their codes, symbols and knowledges. According to Sadler (1999), Situationists were concerned with the incompatibility of the logic of traditional maps with real experience, the ways maps 'floated above the city'; Situationist cartography developed to show how space is experienced as fragmented, subjective and temporal. Contemporary psychogeographers including most prominently Will Self, Stewart Home and Iain Sinclair take up these ideas in a multitude of ways in a variety of locations (see for example Home, 1991; Self, 2007, 2010; Sinclair, 2003, 2004, 2011). Their work centres on places threatened with disappearance, places no longer existing, and places

of the imagination, focusing on ways people actually perceive, understand and use the spaces they traverse. Psychogeographic maps in this way became capable of presenting 'situations', underworlds and overworlds, perceived not actual distances, removing and adding spatial elements according to their use and experiences of those territories. The psychogeographic tradition of map-making is demonstrated by those of Debord and Jorn in 1956 and 1957 (in Sadler, 1999) who cut up maps of Paris, demarcating working class zones and communication and travel between these zones (Figure 2).
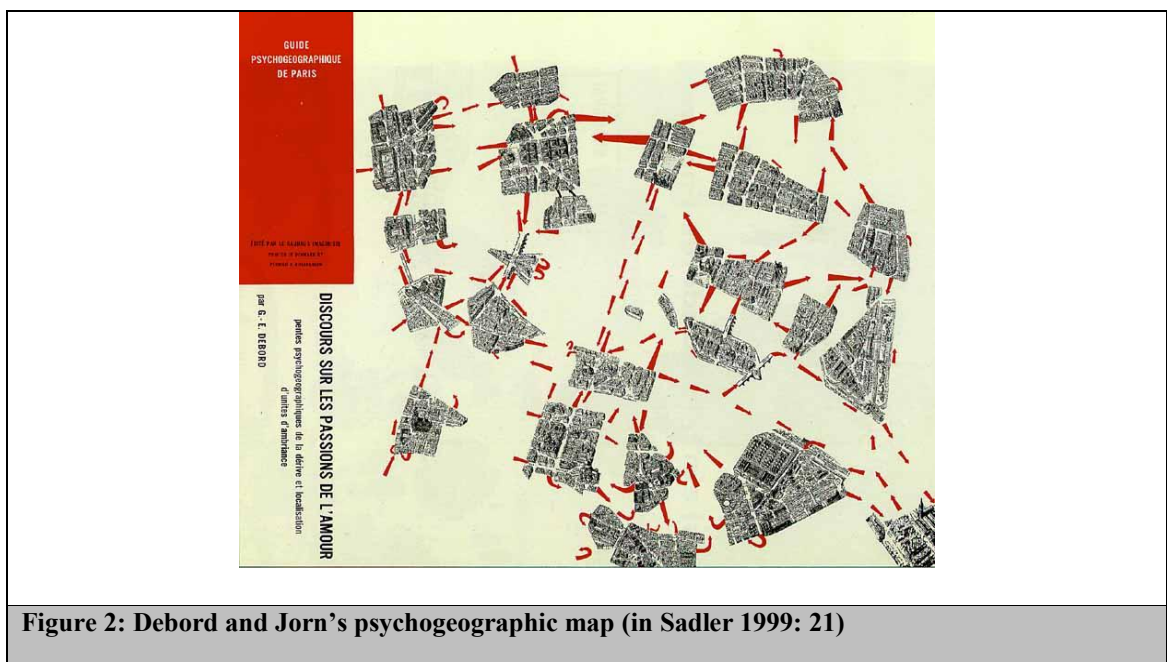
Figure 2: Debord and Jorn's psychogeographic map (in Sadler 1999: 21)

The visual representation of the psychogeographic map stems from the Situationist concern with the structuring of cities, the way that they are divided into quarters, based on class and occupation (Sadler, 1999). Seeking ways of illustrating and visualising the 'socio-logic' of the city twinned with the 'ordinary' habitual behaviour of residents was an important agenda for them. Debord and his colleagues considered that maps of Paris were too fixed, asserting that these official maps encouraged navigation around areas predetermined by town planners and cartographers (Sadler, 1999). Debord and Jorn considered official maps were an impediment to creativity and to following one's own

path and the paths of others. Debord and Jorn (1999a; 1999b) in creating 'Naked City' maps of Paris (Figure 2), cut up official maps, demarcating working class zones and communication and travel between these zones. Arrows between zones indicated paths of least resistance; distances between zones reflected perceived or experienced distances rather than physical ones (see Bassett, 2004; Pinder, 1996). The scattered pieces on the map and the arrows between the 'zones' show the places of importance - at ground level by users of these places – as well as routes between places. The distances between zones have no resemblance to physical distances. Thus it is possible for one zone that is miles apart from the other to be close together in a psychogeographic map, and vice versa, as this depends upon the experienced connections between those zones for the individuals concerned.

Debord (1984) argued that urban and political forms are not fixed and to go deeper into the 'psycho-spatial rhythms' of the city one must navigate it according to what attracts us; this is a central point of this methodology in terms of engaging with individuals who live and interact with their physical location. In this way psychogeographic maps following this tradition should show how walkers personalise their places and routes and portray a sense of the humanity inherent in the place, removing the official order imposed by the cartographer, exposing these orders by firstly making them visible and then understanding how people live in and act upon their place. Fighting against the habitual and one-dimensional use of space, psychogeographers argue that experimenting upon and confronting the logic of the city is the point at which space opens up its alternatives, allowing individuals to experiment with its hidden histories and events (Macfarlane, 2005). In this way, psychogeography is a methodology capable of taking into account the past, present and future as overlapping and ever-present.

Considering maps, places and time in this way allows for the possibility of understanding movements and actions by individuals within their landscape as they relate and respond to its spatial and temporal characteristics. It is through these understandings of space and time, and connections to the theory of psychogeography, that I developed with my supervisor the method of psychogeographic mapping, and to which I refer with my other research methods integral to my design framework in later sections.

4.2 Data Collection, Analysis and Interpretation

In what follows I describe the methods employed in my study which allowed for the collection of data and my analysis and interpretation. I will firstly summarise the overall research design set out and then situate each method within this, then discuss each method in detail. I will move on to provide a description of my data analysis process.

4.2.1 Data Collection: design decisions

Figure 3 below describes the data collection process. As can be seen, I engaged firstly with observations of the group in the early stages of constructing the focus of my interview questions, observations and the materials I would gather for my document analysis stage. From these early observations I moved forward with psychogeographic interviewing which then provided the focus for subsequent observations of their projects and my conversations with respondents in their meetings. I then went back to gather more documentary materials, the whole process developing the case that form chapters five and six. I firstly discuss the timetable of my data collection and then each method.

Observations part 1:
- Refine interview questions based on contexts, group members' activities, first stage observation of active projects, group meetings.

Interview
Part I: traditional questioning
Part 2: psychogeographic mapping
- Filmed discussions on their activities through exercises based on map of their area.
- Places their understandings of place and time, and activities onto the local landscape.
- Allows for discussion to move forward with spatial and temporal 'locating' of activities on a map.

Observations part 2:
- Further observations of the activities respondents discussed in interviews.
- Placing of observations within psychogeographic mapping exercise data

Document-gathering:
- Group materials, maps, photography, local authority reports, statistics.

Document-gathering:
- Further group materials, maps, leaflets.
- Historical writings, maps, photography.

Figure 3: Data Collection Process

4.2.1.1 Timetable of data collection

I began the data collection process by observing both groups from January 2011, then conducting two pilot interviews in February 2011 to test and refine my methods. I interviewed individuals once, each interview varied in time from one hour to around two hours depending upon the discussion. I involved three methods within my data collection: document gathering and analysis, observations and psychogeographic interviewing. I interviewed respondents individually, once only, involving the psychogeographic interview method, from March 2011 until May 2011; throughout the time prior and post I continued to gather observational data. I utilised an observational method of data collection, in the first instance to informally gain an understanding of the environment within which I would gather my data, gathering data on a formal basis at each group event, activity or meeting in their own neighbourhood contexts that I considered would be important for my case, in January 2011 until February 2012. These observations began earlier than data collection so that I might use them – with specific

reference to Cumbernauld Village because it was relatively unknown to me - as an opportunity to refine the questioning for the interviews to occur later. I also considered it important to get to know future respondents and their work, and that they got to know me and were used to me being around before they agreed to be part of the research, prior to formal data collection. For the Bonnybridge case I was already known to respondents, and I began early on in the process to develop my question schedule in line with the Cumbernauld Village case, and to approach possible participants to ensure they were clear about my shift in role from their community worker to my position as researcher. I will firstly set out the framework that structured my data collection, and then detail each method I used.

4.2.1.2 Data Collection Thematic Framework

I structured the data I would collect through each method by a framework which consisted of four themes which were generated from my theoretical framework and psychogeographic mapping methodology, and which broadly correspond to the analysis coding structure I will outline in my analysis section. The framework was as follows, and used this for collection of data through all methods:

1. **Background:** where they are from, the kinds of activities they are involved in, the purpose of their activities, their audience and relevance of work for other residents outwith their group.

2. **Spatiality:** their place and their positioning within it, spaces past and present engaged in, perceptions of the place to those living inside and outside of it; how they understood their place before being involved; their geographical

knowledge and extent their environment has changed over time, related to this whether their activities have changed.

3. **Temporality:** discussion about their historical knowledge of the area, extent to which their current involvement contributes to knowledge of place over time; the role of history in the work they do/ what history is 'doing' in their projects.

4. **Changing locations:** positive and negative aspects of living in their place past and present, extent to which they feel they have changed things in their neighbourhood over time; extent to which they have changed as a result of their actions in neighbourhood; the extent to which they feel they have the power to change things in their neighbourhood through their actions.

4.2.2   Methods used in data collection

4.2.2.1 Method 1: Collection of documentation - 'official' and respondent-
generated

I engaged in collecting documents consisting of informal and published materials providing information on each context. These documents were also used to generate information on the places I was researching, how they were referred to and constructed by official agencies, historians and cartographers over time. This also involved materials from respondents in the form of leaflets, maps and reports that they were working with, as well as utilising statistical data on each physical context and its population, published by national and local government sources, specifically the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation, useful to understand the economic, educational, health and housing issues facing the wider population in each area. I was also able to use detailed postcode data from the SIMD to create a picture of the areas I was

researching, even to street level. I also gathered 'official' published histories on each context, allowing an understanding of the changes occurring in each place culminated in the configurations of the locations I was engaging with now. Overall these documents allowed me to demonstrate patterns in government activities in each place, connecting changes in the areas over time as well as the ways each local government report, specifically Local Area Plans, positioned and wrote 'about' each area including the main challenges, regeneration and conservation plans for the future, and what has gone before. Rather than setting this data against respondents' data, I used it to form an impression of the geography, history and statistical makeup of each place, setting respondents' data 'within' its own particular environment.

I introduce my documentary analysis here rather than my analysis section, as it makes sense to discuss the ways in which documents assist in case studies. Krippendorf (in Robson 2002, p.350) argues content analysis of documents is useful as "...a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context." Using documents develops potential relationships between the content of the documents and the context referred to. In my study I used documents in several ways. Documents formed an 'official perspective' of each place, including representations of places by local council officials working there; I argue that local council officials who work in the Conservation Area projects in Cumbernauld Village are equally official historians as those published and unpublished historians who have written on the area. I also analysed official reports including the local municipal councils' Local Area Plans, the Cumbernauld Village Conservation Area Regeneration Scheme (CARS) funding bid to Historic Scotland, local population statistics from the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation and population statistics held by each local council. This was to understand

how each place and its residents were constructed - through being written about and reported on. Also included were Local Area Plans setting out the local council's vision for the spatial and temporal landscape of each locality. In the Bonnybridge case this involved analysing the council's priority areas, specifically the derelict and ex-industrial sites scattered around, plans for new private house-building and town centre upgrades. I also examined public communications by local elected officials relating to local campaigns relating to the geography and history of the place. Other sources included historical writings as representing the 'official pasts' of each location, as well as photography, maps and writings showing changes to each area as they progressed from past to present. I also took my own photographs of each area as a visual representation of the areas respondents were intervening in; these representations were later connected to the Ordnance Survey maps I would involve in my collection and analysis, described later.

With regards to the ways I used and analysed the documents I gathered, Robson (2002) argues that content analysis is similar to structured observation, and it is in this way I approached my analysis of the documents forming the background to each case. I analysed each document – map, photograph, statistical set, government report, publicity materials – in terms of the ways they allowed an 'outside' understanding of the physical location and its characteristics, and the location as it has been challenged and developed over time in terms of its past to its present, and plans drawn for its future. This documentary analysis placed the official historical and spatial stories, official interventions, photography, historic and contemporary maps of the area, which fed in to the development of my cases. For example, from the Cumbernauld Village document analysis emerged a place with significant official interventions by active local and

national government agencies in the preservation and conservation of its past in the built environment through funding and legal infrastructure; on the other hand, for Bonnybridge there was a very low level of such interventions, where Local Area Plans for dealing with the ex industrial sites had not developed into concrete programmes. Thus, documents allowed comparison and contrasts of each place against the other, particularly in terms of its local agencies, physical and historical context and infrastructure. This work allowed for a positioning of respondents actions, data collected through observations and psychogeographic interviews, which I deal with next.

4.2.2.2 Method 2 - Observations

As discussed I sought to explore how residents of both Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village dealt with local civic issues, specifically involving space and time. I therefore involved the method of observation to examine respondents' practical activities in their local environment: projects they were working on, physical areas central to their work, ways they were actively representing their environment in a variety of ways. It was in this way I adopted the method of observation, which involved being a marginal participant, defined by Robson (2002) as observers with a lower degree of participation than participant observer but still an accepted participant of a group; from this he argues that the process of data collection involves being open-minded in terms of what might be observed so that there is not so much structure that other observations are excluded from being relevant. Equally, respondents are made aware of my researcher status, and can choose to invite or disallow me from observing their activities. I recorded my observations through taking written field notes based within my data collection framework. I did not digitally record any conversations, although I did take photos of

the location (but not participants themselves) which as well as using within my analysis to show the physical context of each case, were also given to the group. Although I have termed this 'observation' my activities were more in the form of active conversations, in keeping with my interpretative stance.

Disadvantages of the observational method outlined by Bryman (2004) include the risk of imposing potentially inappropriate or irrelevant frameworks on the setting, difficulties getting at the intentions *behind* behaviour, the issue of generating lots of 'bits of data' (cf Bryman, 2004), and a potential neglect of the context within which the observations take place. An additional disadvantage has been described by Jones and Somekh (2005), where the researcher's construction of meaning from observational data might not match participants' constructions of meaning from their experiences of taking part in the events observed. However, I argue that in terms of addressing both arguments against observation, I sought to minimise these issues, arguing that my observations did not seek to deny participants' own meanings, but rather to contribute data on interesting practices of civic action through participants' engagements 'in the field'. Equally, I involved my observations within individual interviews with participants to add a layer of conversation with respondents. Further, as my project looks at the ways respondents related to the spatial and temporal characteristics of their environment, I argue this can be done through direct observation.

I involved the data collection framework for my observations highlighted at the beginning of this section, paying particular attention to the development of their key projects, how they engaged with official authorities (specifically their local government officers), the ways they altered, adjusted and progressed with their activities as they

traversed through the official, government-controlled landscape and their own pathways as they constructed their own place. I also made short notes in my observation notebook from the individual interviews that were occurring around my observations, in terms of particular themes to look out for. I used observations in three ways: firstly to attend group meetings prior to the formal start of data collection, to allow participants to get to know me and ask questions, as well as for me to get to know them, and give me some background information on the issues and challenges they were facing through their activities. It also generated information on their planned projects which I asked permission to attend. Secondly, the events I was permitted to attend were held in the wider community, giving me observational insights into the ways they actively engaged in actions within particular spaces and locations, in turn becoming more familiar with these. Thirdly, their meetings and events, including progression of certain issues, gave me a better understanding of the issues they were dealing with, stemming from their local physical environment and the historical characteristics rooted there. I was then able to bring this understanding to the interview process I will discuss next, asking for further detail on their activities but also leaving the discussion open to allow for new insights and projects from participants to emerge. As can be seen, these steps were not linear, but fed recursively back into each other through each stage of data collection. Robson (2002) discusses this from the perspective that data collection and analysis can occur simultaneously, where data analysis can occur in the middle of the enquiry, helping to shape the development of it, revisiting and reformulating each observation, keeping in mind that my observations stay within the lines of my research questions and data collection framework.

4.2.2.3 Method 3 - Psychogeographic Mapping Interviews

One of the main methodological difficulties in researching civic learning – in terms of the ways I seek to understand it as emerging through interactions with space and time – relates to demonstrating these interactions. Part of this involves ways that I have articulated spatiality as being involved with maps and mappings as processes, evoking what is 'there' and can be seen with what is not there, particularly the temporal aspects. Also argued in my theoretical framework was that space is intricately connected to the temporal, particularly memories, histories and landscapes of the past; past and present thus exist simultaneously. It is in this way that psychogeographic mapping as a methodology - generative of the method of psychogeographic interviewing - had the capacity to allow for the emergence of the spatial and temporal dimensions through respondents' discussions and their enactments (see Biesta and Cowell, 2012 for a thorough discussion of this). I argue these engagements are not simply 'there', existing as objective (i.e. observable and 'seeable') occurrences ready for observation and investigation. Allied to this, I also consider that it cannot be articulated in language alone, through what respondents discuss in the interviews (hence my observations discussed earlier). Rather, I argue that civic learning – in the ways I engage with it in spatial and temporal situations - emerges in, from and through the interplay between subjective, intersubjective and objective elements involving space and time; that is to say, its experiential, temporal and spatial dimensions, and the ways such elements and dimensions are experienced and enacted. In order to understand the dynamics of civic learning taking place across spatiality and temporality, it was therefore important to utilise the methodology of psychogeographic mapping, sensitive to such dynamics.

The psychogeographic mapping interview applies aspects of psychogeographic theory discussed earlier to a traditional individual interview situation, developed with my supervisor Gert Biesta as a method for civic learning (Biesta and Cowell, 2012). The method has two parts: the first part involves traditional in-depth individual interviews; the second part involves an A1-size Ordnance Survey map of the location being explored and exercises conducted involving the map. Both stages allow for data that involves respondents' own understandings of their place-based engagements, as well as the siting of these engagements upon the map, generating 'layers' of experiences, actions and relations to particular places and histories rooted there. Thus, psychogeographic theory gives a specific role to processes of using, adapting and adopting maps and mapping that also allows for histories to surface. Maps in this sense are objects respondents interact with in a research situation (encouraging an orientation towards space-based discussions) as well as uncovering the actions involving spaces and histories. Thus, the map acts both as a memory prompt and a navigational tool, towards demonstrating place-as-constructed. Based on a conceptualisation of psychogeography I discussed earlier, I used it in relation to its 'political capacities' in order to understand the interplay by residents of the official and unofficial aspects of their place, their navigations of acting within, upon and against these to develop their own ways of relating to their location through space and time. It is in this way that Debord (1981) has argued that the geographical environment can affect the behaviours of individuals, whether they are consciously aware or not. Thus, psychogeographic mapping as a methodology is at the centre of all of the methods I used, towards understanding the ways space and time are experienced and inspire actions by participants.

Psychogeographic concepts such as the 'dérive' encourage wandering in relation to what attracts you, the dériveur as brought to astonishment on the terrain of familiarity, made more sensitive to its hidden histories and encrypted events, are central here. Thus, rather than engage respondents in a traditional interview situation only, I considered it to be important that given there were place and time dimensions to my research, it was necessary to involve cartography. This connects to my theoretical framework that articulates maps as a tool individuals use, as well as being capable of generating knowledge of processes and practices by individuals as they relate to their place. These relations, or 'situations' (as actions) allowed for data to emerge that highlighted the ways residents navigated through the spatial (the places and routes on the map), the temporal (what a map cannot portray, nor what a cartographer can mark) and the relational (residents relations to each other, to 'external' agencies and individuals, and to particular spaces). It is through the ways that psychogeographic theory positions the map as a situation or a performance, towards mapping experiences in ways that add the official understanding of the map as a static object with the idea of a map as capable of revealing and inspiring activity, that this theory has been adapted to the research situation towards generating data that allows for the application of official cartographic representations of both Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village within an individual interview situation, with the intention of layering respondents' understandings of particular spaces and histories that are central to their place-based engagements. Next I discuss the two parts of the psychogeographic mapping interview process.

4.2.2.3.1 Psychogeographic Mapping Interviews: Part One

The first part involved semi-structured interviews, including an interview schedule (see Appendix A for the complete interview questions and mapping exercises I used) which

corresponded to the data collection framework I outlined earlier, and which matches my analysis and interpretation framework. I reserved the right to change the order of my questioning and to allow for new questions to be added towards flexibility and responsiveness. Interviews are regarded as appropriate for circumstances where processes within an overall 'unit' – in this case the individual members of one group – are studied prospectively, and where the study focuses on the meanings they generate (King, In Robson, 2002). Advantages and disadvantages of interviews are discussed by Robson (2002), who argues that face-to-face conversations can allow for modification of the researcher's line of questioning, following up responses and underlying discussions that had not been accounted for. Disadvantages relate to this in the ways that the flexibility of the method, and thus its lack of standardisation, implies reliability issues. However, used with other methods – as I have done – allows for topics and themes to be generated from different ways of engaging with participants.

4.2.2.3.2 Psychogeographic Mapping Interviews: Part Two

The second part of the interview process involved exercises conducted by respondents on a large paper map of their area (one map per participant so that it could be drawn on). The maps incorporated a wide area as I was unsure what constituted the location within which they were operating. The exercises built upon the first part, the interviews, but were intended to generate data of a spatial and temporal nature involving activities upon and within a paper map – which is a cartographer's representation of their place - and where I sought to generate data that had the capacity to weave the spatial with the temporal. The purpose of this was for participants to engage in mapping journeys across time and space, towards representing their own actions in the present which have a concern for space and time. Further, the purpose was to locate the areas they were

actively engaged in representing, towards understanding the context as it was formed through their actions 'upon' the paper map (in terms of disputing, adding to and removing different features). Through these exercises, combined with the interview data, I sought to understand how respondents mapped their place both within the research situation and outwith the research itself in terms of their actions 'in the field'. Exercises were conducted upon the map and each respondent had their own map and were asked to respond to my mapping exercises by drawing and placing stickers directly onto the map; they were provided with their own colour of pen and stickers so that I could identify each respondent by colour rather than name later on. The exercises are detailed in Appendix A along with the interview questions used in part one. However, broadly the interviews and exercises consisted of the following three-level spatial and temporal categorisations, which again formed part of my coding framework within my analysis for this method and the others:

1. **Spatiality: Bordering -** pinpoint the border of your neighbourhood, and what is inside and outside that border. Place a sticker on the map of places strange to you / places you don't engage with in your work. **Actions -** place a sticker on the map denoting the focal points for your work in the neighbourhood, and a discussion of these activities.

2. **Temporality: Historically significant space -** places you consider historically significant personally, and why, and to the activities within your membership of the group; places you have been told are historically significant and why; the proximity / distance between participant and history (i.e. which histories form an important dimension in your work?).

3. **Spatial and temporal change:** place a sticker on the map denoting changes to the area over time, towards discussion on their understanding of spatial/temporal/relational change and their positioning within these changes; discussion on how they have changed whilst living in the area over time / contributing to particular community activities, etc.

In chapters five and six I provide further detail and evidence of the ways in which I analysed these maps through splitting the map into sections, or 'interaction points' that demonstrate a combination of the mapping exercises, observation and conversational data and interview data, together splintered official space and official time, generating alternative understandings of each place through civic action. Below (Figure 4) I provide a diagram highlighting the Ordnance Survey maps I used with participants in the mapping exercises and the results of one mapping exercise. I explain in each analysis chapter that the stickers are specific shapes and colours which correspond to the questions asked. Gathering together all maps from participants I connected them to the interview discussion, field notes, plotting the patterns of each of the dots and building up a map of each place that was representative of the ways in which respondents represented the spatial and temporal aspects of their place through their civic actions, foregrounding and backgrounding pieces of the map according to their actions. In the analysis and interpretation section next I detail this further.

Figure 4a: 'Blank' Ordnance Survey map of Cumbernauld Village (used in psychogeographic mapping exercises)

Figure 4b: Process of psychogeographic mapping outputs and subsequent analysis 'map' of data from one participant
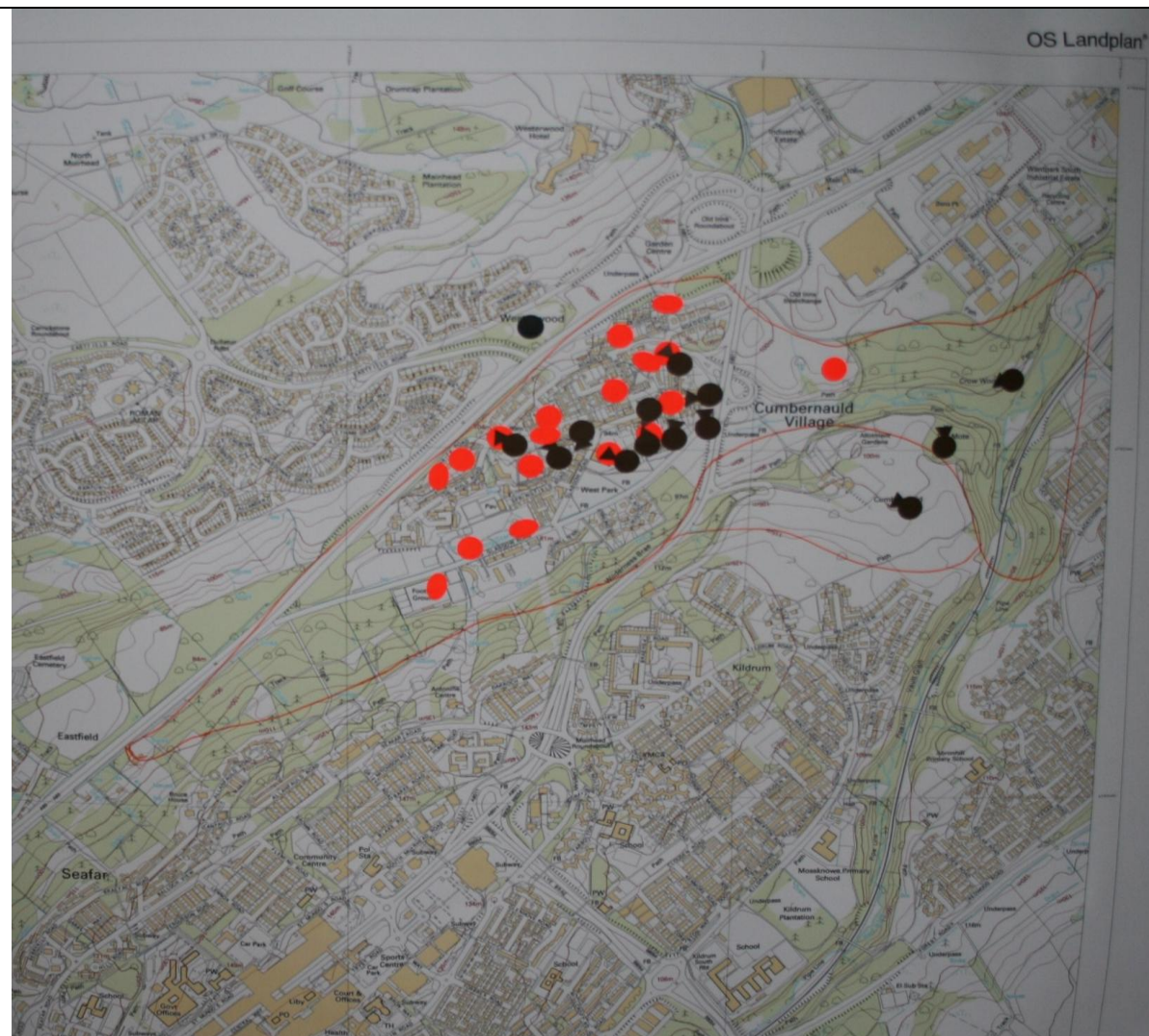
4.2.2.4 Recording and Storage of Data

I audio and video recorded and transcribed all interviews, producing transcripts of interviews to make the analysis and interpretation of emerging themes and topics possible, as well as allowing me to use quotations and to understand the data across each stage of the research as I read and re-read it over time. I filmed the psychogeographic mapping exercises, focusing on the map without identifying respondents, the main purpose of filming to engage fully in the mapping exercises with respondents instead of having to take notes. I was also able to watch the films later to gain a deeper understanding of the ways respondents navigated the map through the exercises, how they articulated their place (its boundaries, its history, what they do there), and which areas they were involved in actions upon. As well as transcribing the discussion from these exercises, as I mentioned each participant generated a psychogeographic map which I also analysed. The ways in which the maps and mapping exercises generated an understanding of the ways each place was 'made' through the research data – including my observations, content analysis of official documents and psychogeographic interviews – fed recursively into each other towards the analysis stage of my design, which I discuss next.

4.2.3   Data Analysis and Interpretation

In this section I describe and justify the ways I analysed and interpreted my data. I engaged in qualitative analysis and interpretation in order to explore the ways individuals related to their locality in spatial and temporal ways, through their actions in the local civic groups they were part of. Within this activity I moved from understanding what individuals were doing in their location as part of my analysis of

the data, towards why they were engaging in these activities as part of my interpretation stage. I did not use a computer package despite generating a significant amount of interview and observational data; rather I followed a staged manual analysis and interpretation procedure. Firstly I gathered my data together and organised it through coding, summarising and discarding irrelevant data (without erasing it in case I needed it later). By irrelevant data I am referring to the conversational discussions I had with participants that were not related to the questions I was asking or the subject of my thesis.

4.2.3.1 Data Analysis

To begin with I repeatedly read the transcripts, my observation notes and watched the short mapping films extensively, forming an impression of what residents were saying and how they were moving across their map. I organised my transcripts into data sets towards thematic analysis based on the structure I identified previously in the data collection thematic framework section. I firstly formed the data into overarching 'topics' and then into smaller 'themes', placing these themes onto the cartographies of each place (*where* the themes occurred, and across what time zone, the histories located there and how they were being evoked). These activities demanded that I shifted from attempts at summarising or describing the data towards analysing and interpreting the data to develop a nuanced understanding of the interplay between landscape, time and resident - within the civic learning frame of socialisation and subjectification relating to space and time. I conducted data collection and data analysis concurrently, because, as I outlined earlier each method fed into the other and revised, excluded and deepened some themes over others.

With regards to the pursuit of coding, codes are described by Miles and Huberman (1994, p.56) as "...tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes are usually attached to 'chunks' of varying size – words, phrases, sentences or whole paragraphs." I ascribed initial 'codes' to the data generated from observation, interviews, psychogeographic maps, and documentary analysis - led by the spatial and temporal categorisations of civic learning theory. From the early stages I used the following structure, which stems from my data collection framework, to organise the data in both analysis and interpretation:

1. **General:** the activities respondents are involved in, relating to the physical and spatial aspects of their location, what the aims of their activities are, the extent to which their activities have a concern and generate responses from other residents outwith themselves as group members. This was to understand if their work was translated into wider public issues.

2. **Spatiality:** locate the physical spaces they were using in their activities and what kinds of projects/activities and tasks they did there; the extent to which these spaces were historical towards what histories they attached to these spaces. Whether respondents stated these spaces were visible or no longer present in the landscape, and if they stated their activities sought to bring these spaces back (in new ways or back to their original layout) or leave them as they are but interact in another way (and whether they discussed having the power to do so). How they talked about their place in terms of how outsiders might see it, and whether these articulations have any connection to their work in terms of dealing with negative or problematic issues in the present; their knowledge of the geography

around them specifically to what extent their local environment has changed over time, and related to this whether their activities have also changed; their responses to the cartographic mapping exercises – how they brought particular pieces of the map to presence and how they discussed their landscape changing or otherwise, their campaigns, issues and projects situated in certain pieces of the map and what they were doing there. Their discussions of the map as a representation of their place and how they discussed its errors, misplacing, and the map as sparking new recollections not discussed elsewhere. Structures encountered by official agencies and how this affects their work. How documentary materials frame the place in a particular way and the maps created and used by public agencies map the area - official boundaries, the areas these agencies work in and what they do in these areas, in terms of collaborations with residents.

3. **Temporality:** from documents the histories mentioned of the area, and the ways that reports by local government agencies discuss their work on the historical aspects of each location. Analysis of historical and contemporary maps of each place to understand if and to what extent each area has changed over time, and how each place was once portrayed through maps and historical writings. Discussions with and observations of participants involving the history of the area: what they know about it, how they use it in their work, their work inside/outside/against any particular structures placed upon them by, for example, official agencies, extent of decline, the extent to which their current involvement in the place has contributed/is contributing to their own knowledge of the place over time; the role of history in the work they do/the purposes of

history/what history is 'doing' in these projects (e.g. taking history already present in the form of conservation for example, generating alternative histories that are not already known, how that connects to the landscape in terms of configuration and consideration).

4. **Changing locations:** the different historical moments presented by documentary sources, maps to show what has changed/stayed the same over time, respondents' discussions on the positive and negative aspects of living in their community past and present, th**e** extent to which they feel they have changed things in their neighbourhood over time; the extent to which they have changed as a result of their actions in their neighbourhood; through their work the extent to which they feel they have the power to change things in their neighbourhood through their actions.

Within this framework I organised the data into a table, adding comments and reflections to these codes in the form of memos. I then gathered my interview data, field notes, documentary materials, photographs I had taken myself and photographs I had found through my research, maps from the exercises and the official maps in the form of historical and conservation maps and activity maps used by groups. From this I generated patterns, topics, themes, relationships and differences; I compared and contrasted the data from both Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village in order to generate the cases of each place, and to assist with my interpretation where I would position each case against the other. I formed the main sections of my two analysis chapters (five and six), organised into 'temporalities of' and 'spatialities of' respondents' engagements with their place specifically involving the socialisation and

subjectification modes of Biesta's theory of civic learning. I then organised these overarching sections into topics with associated themes and sub-themes centred on my theoretical framework of civic learning involving space and time. As Figures 5a and b shows below (for Cumbernauld Village and Bonnybridge respectively), I used one large map to organise the interview data and field notes from observations and discussions, and placed 'tags' onto the map, each tag a shorthand note based on my coding table that refers to the work by respondents in these physical sites, and the related historical aspects of this work. This allowed me to generate patterns and pull out specific sites that are interacted with the most, relegating those that were not part of their engagements, following the configuration of Debord and Jorn's psychogeographic maps discussed earlier.

Figure 5a Cumbernauld Village: Mapping all interview transcripts and mapping data: each 'tag' refers to larger pieces of data relating to the place on the map.
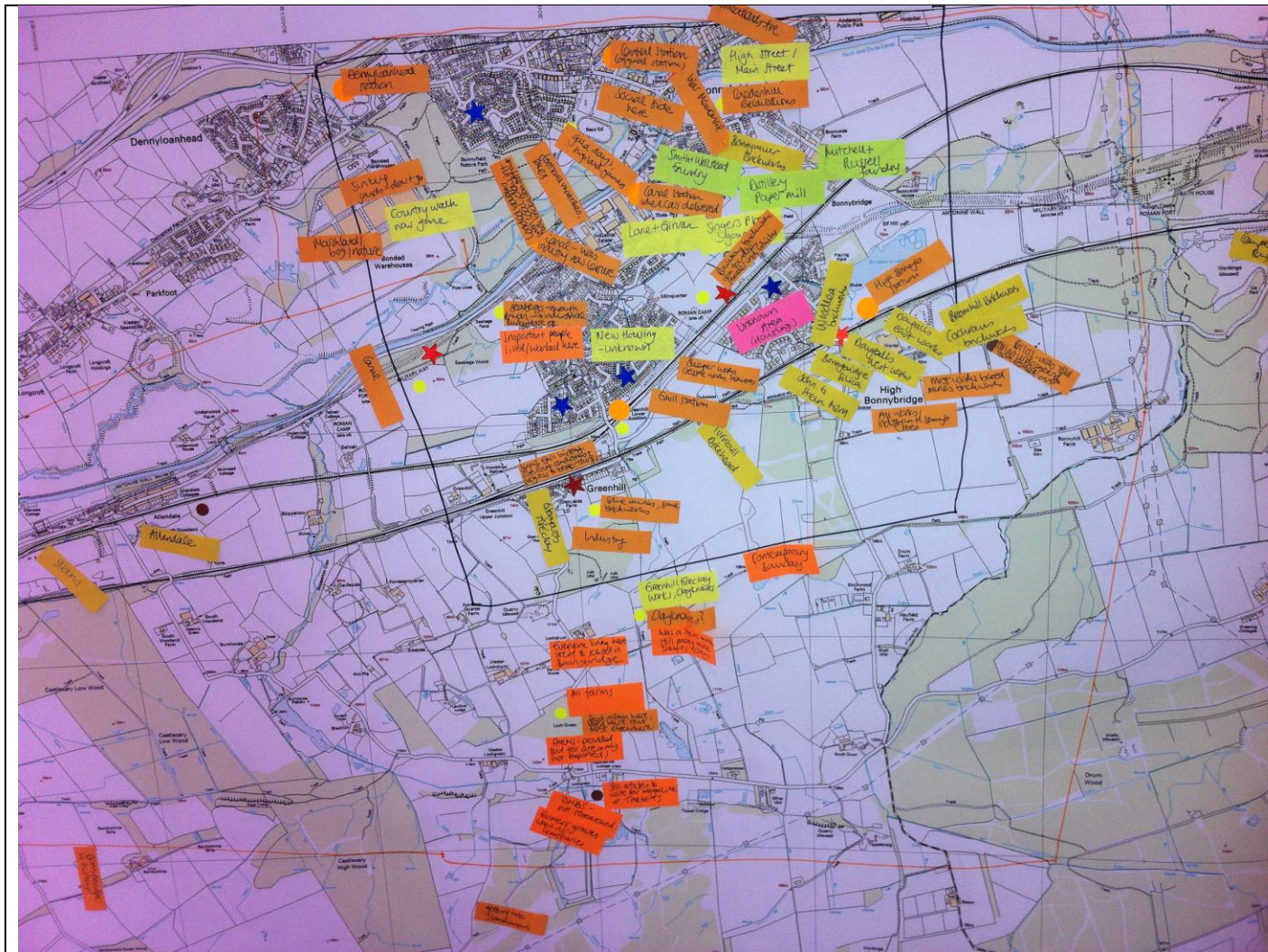
Figure 5b Bonnybridge: Mapping all interview transcripts and mapping data: each 'tag' refers to larger pieces of data relating to the place on the map.

In relation to my analysis work, the overarching sections with the associated topics, themes and sub-themes generated from the data are listed below, which formed the sections of my analysis chapters.

Bonnybridge

Section 1: Official representations of Bonnybridge from documentary analysis: cartographic representations; official historical publications on the past of Bonnybridge; official statistical representations of Bonnybridge by public agencies.

Section 2: Temporalities of Bonnybridge – history-making as civic action at ground level: Topic 1: Representations of Bonnybridge by respondents: an unstable present, a significant past; Topic 2: History-making – Bonnybridge Multiplied

Section 3: Spatialities of Bonnybridge – Topic 3: Remapping – representing lost Bonnybridge.

Cumbernauld Village

Section 1: Official representations of Cumbernauld Village from documentary analysis: cartographic representations; Cumbernauld New Town emerging from Cumbernauld Village; Official historical publications on the past of Cumbernauld Village; Official representations of Cumbernauld Village by public agencies: conservation and preservation 'interventions': official statistics, official historical representations: Cumbernauld Village as a Conservation Area; recipient of Historic Scotland's Conservation Area Regeneration Scheme (CARS).

Section 2: Temporalities of Cumbernauld Village – from history-taking to history-making as civic action at ground level: Topic 1: Representations of Cumbernauld Village by respondents: a place 'under reconstruction'; Topic 2: History-Taking to

History-Making - from the 'taking' of pre-existing history to the making of alternative histories as civic action.

Section 2: Spatialities of Cumbernauld Village - Topic 3: From 'being mapped' to 're-mapping' - spatial reconfiguration as civic action.

These activities generated the cases of my research, which I outlined in the introduction as a case *of* reconsideration as civic action in Bonnybridge, and reconfiguration as civic action in Cumbernauld Village. Further, the development of patterns and themes allowed me to compare and contrast each case, which contributed to forming both analysis chapters and subsequent interpretation, towards demonstrating my understanding of the ways each spatial and temporal context promoted or impeded different forms of civic action. It is within every stage of these coding processes that I involved my theoretical framework as it has been outlined in each stage within this chapter; this consisted of the overarching theoretical concepts of socialisation and subjectification within Biesta's theory of civic learning. The framework also generated the spatial and temporal characteristics emerging through the engagement with the socialisation and subjectification modes of Biesta's theory: as generated through maps and mapping, and learning about history, learning from history and histories by the public.

4.2.3.2 Interpretation

Moving forward with interpretation, the topics, themes and sub-themes generated through analysis were central. My analysis involved organising the data based around my theoretical framework which sought to demonstrate *what* respondents said and did, towards interpretation which sought to demonstrate *why* they discussed and acted as

they did within their location in spatial and temporal ways. Kvale (1996) discusses that interpretation seeks to shed light on and expand the meanings of the data from interviewees but in a way that does not inflict meaning *on* them. My data collection and analysis approach focused on understanding the perceptions and actions of individuals, rather than attempting to ascertain causality, which assisted me in my interpretation outlined in chapter seven. As I will demonstrate in chapter seven, my study shifted from understanding civic *learning* to understanding civic *action,* predominantly because of the ways the data emerged that made it more appropriate to focus on action than learning. My analysis of the data collected developed stronger 'cases' for emphasising civic action over civic learning as being more central to respondents' relations to their location. In this way my interpretation activity occurring from the analysis allowed me to put forward an understanding of the ways in which they engaged in socialisation and subjectification modes of civic action, organising the data analysed into the following framework:

1. Histories of, histories by as civic action
2. Mapreading and Mapmaking as civic action
3. Public Histories

Thus, the civic actions that form my analysis chapters were developed into an interpretative schema that organised the data into the socialisation and subjectification modes of civic action in relation to spatiality and temporality. Here, socialisation is understood as a passive form of citizenship, subjectification is an active process whereby respondents refused to be defined by pre-existing spatialities and temporalities. Dealing with my interpretation of the civic actions of respondents in

relation to the temporal aspects of their location, 'histories of Bonnybridge/Cumbernauld Village' became my interpretation of the ways in which through their actions respondents were 'taking' already-existing historical aspects of their place and following them almost as a blueprint for their own actions. Histories of became my interpretation of the socialisation processes at work in each place. In terms of subjectification processes, histories by, on the other hand, became my interpretation of the ways in which respondents represented histories not already existing and in this way developed their own ways of acting within, upon and against their landscape in the present day. In relation to spatiality, 'mapreading' was the overarching category I developed from my data analysis that set out the ways in which the map – as a physical object and a process – could interpret the actions by respondents as living 'within' the boundaries and confines of outsider-generated and controlled representations of their physical location. Mapreading became my interpretation of the socialisation processes inherent here. Mapmaking, as my interpretation of subjectification forms of civic action, discusses the ways in which respondents developed their own representations of their place, working outside these boundaries and outsider representations to generate their own place that worked alongside or against spatial structures. Lastly, 'public histories' as a category deals with the socialisation and subjectification processes as central to a new understanding of public history, as an active process of engagement with the public, shared characteristics of places. Public history is therefore my final interpretation of a process with political and democratic potential in terms of the ways in which respondents were able to use particular spaces and histories to speak in ways that allowed for new, alternative and previously unrepresented pieces to become present.

4.3   My Role as a Public Pedagogue

In terms of my role in this research it is assumed that as I designed and carried out the research itself I influenced both case environments in particular ways. Also, I engaged with each respondent on an individual and group basis over a period of time up to a year, and in the case of Bonnybridge I was known to the respondents as their community worker; two of the respondents I had worked with since 2007. In the Cumbernauld Village case I was known to two of the respondents but was not engaged in this case as a CLD worker. My research focus was undoubtedly influenced by the issues I observed that stemmed from my broader work with residents in Bonnybridge in its post-industrial state, bringing my experience in adult learning specifically relating to working with adults exploring the past in different ways. I also set the aims, objectives and research questions which fed directly into the cases I chose, the designing of the questions and exercises I would engage respondents in, and the ways in which I would analyse and interpret the data I collected. It must be stressed that although I was a central part of this process, I have tried to ensure that my research was independent from my community worker status, in the sense of keeping both activities separate to ensure the residents with whom I worked understood the role I was undertaking in their dealings with me. More generally I attempted to make clear to respondents that my research did not seek to test their responses as either right or wrong but rather to understand their perceptions of their work from their point of view. The trust and respect I sought from respondents throughout my spending time with them in their environment, and my professional behaviour as a researcher, I hope went some way to collecting data that was at a deeper level to that which would ordinarily be granted to an unknown individual who sought only to answer pre-defined questions without engaging in their work at a more detailed level.

In greater detail, it is important to discuss my role as a CLD worker with Greenhill Historical Society because I both promoted and supported the activities of members of the group. My work with the group both connects to my earlier discussions on the ways public spaces are constructed through temporality and spatiality, and to the discussions I will undertake in my conclusions relating to the aspects of 'public pedagogy' involved here. This role had as its central concern working with local people to open up spaces for public engagement in local issues set by residents, through the creation of different exploratory groups of people towards dealing with these issues they identify. I discussed in my introduction that this began with walking the landscape with residents who set their own course in advance, and brought to attention the different neglected and misunderstood areas of their place. I engaged in regularly questioning residents about Bonnybridge, culminating in a variety of groups being set up (photography, walking and history) which attracted the attention of, and contributions from, the wider community navigating between what their place 'was' and currently 'is'. Projects that residents decided to set up took as the starting point their own understandings, uses and experiences of living in the place, and what mattered to them in a variety of different spaces.

How residents responded to my engagements with them, and equally how these processes might occur, were entirely outwith my control because I resisted defining in advance what the place 'is', what the issues in the community are, and how they might be dealt with. The issues are unforeseeable-in-advance. Indeed, I chose not to begin with my definition of the place, nor did I have any other plan other than a motivation to encourage opening space for debate and interaction between residents. This had the aim

of encouraging residents to share their differing experiences and understandings of their place in order to begin processes of (potential but not guaranteed) active participation at ground level.

Thus, I considered it necessary to start with no preconceived ideas about what was needed in terms of local community projects, nor in terms of what residents need to 'learn' about the conditions which I considered they face, their present-day exclusions from the past, for future progression of the place. Nor could the residents' *own* pedagogies towards other residents be controlled or planned as they had their own issues and ideas to communicate. Thus in this way residents own pedagogies could not be predicted as they were unable to control how their ideas and issues would be taken up by others (if at all). Moving forward, it was necessary to encourage residents themselves to create and project their own images and experiences of their place and to set up their own interventions that had the capacity to generate new activities - towards projects that allowed them to speak and act in new, unforeseeable ways. The only demand I could make was that residents reflect upon the state of their place today and position it in relation to where they were, who they were in the past and what they might be in the future. For different places and different residents it is presumed that there will be a huge variety of responses to the community worker's demand that they reflect upon their place towards developing their own place in relation to others with different perspectives. I will go into this in greater detail within my conclusions chapter.

4.4   Reliability, Validity and Ethics

In this section I outline the issues involved with reliability and validity as they relate to my research, in terms of assessing the reliability of my data and the validity of my

interpretation. Reliability and validity are interdependent, where it is hoped that reliable research can contribute to increased validity, both integral to my methods. For Bassey (1999) reliability involves the capacity for the research to be repeated, and in terms of validity, Carmines and Zeller (1979) argues research is considered more or less valid if it has been successful in measuring what it set out to do in its aims, objectives and research questions that underpin the research. The ways I have carried out my research, with attention to the issues of reliability and validity, also introduces a discussion on ethics, defined by Koro-Ljunberg (2010) as the researcher's ethical responsibility to conduct 'meaningful and trustworthy' research through being responsible in their practices and towards their research subjects. As my research uses no quantitative instruments, I sought to make my research reliable through making it transparent, setting out as transparently as possible how I conducted my research, the data I gathered and a justification of my analysis and interpretation strategies, towards demonstrating how I arrived at my conclusions. Furthermore, I utilised a variety of methods that attempted to research in a more democratic and interactive way, particularly the psychogeographic interviews and my conversations with participants, which I argue made my research participatory in nature. I deal firstly with reliability, then move forward with validity and ethics.

4.4.1 Reliability

Reliability is a central concern of research, involving the extent to which the tools used to gather the data produce consistent results. This infers that reliability relates also to the capacity for the work to be replicable, presuming that it can be followed and thus replicated easily as a result of the methodology used. LeCompte and Goetz (1982) argue that reliability is a particularly difficult issue in qualitative research, involving the

work of Hansen through their articulation of reliability: "Reliability in ethnographic research is dependent on the resolution of both external and internal design problems (Hansen, 1979). It is thus in the way that the design is constructed that is crucial. External reliability addresses the issue of whether independent researchers would discover the same phenomena or generate the same constructs in the same or similar settings. Internal reliability refers to the degree to which other researchers, given a set of previously generated constructs, would match them with data in the same way as did the original researcher." (LeCompte and Goetz 1982: 32). It is through the involvement of my own research design as involving a variety of methods that could address the spatial and temporal interactions of residents and their place towards ensuring my findings are *representative;* that is to say, that my data-analysis and data-interpretation work minimises my misunderstandings and misinterpretations as much as possible through the data collection stage. I do not seek to ensure replication of my study but to attempt at representing respondents' experiences and understandings of their place-based actions in order to contribute a new understanding to processes of civic engagement. I have tried to ensure my data has been gathered, analysed and interpreted as accurately as possible, through being attentive to what respondents have said and what I have observed them doing in situ, and the ways in which other adult educators might firstly be more attentive to such processes where they occur, and secondly create circumstances for encouraging subjectification forms of civic engagement.

I set my work against a framework developed by LeCompte and Goetz (1982) for dealing with the reliability question; I consider that I have involved each of these within my research – where appropriate and relevant to my own research focus and design. Firstly, they encourage the recording of the data as well as taking field notes and

providing verbatim examples of narrative, meaning setting out what people actually said in response, their word-for-word discussion. They also argue that respondents should be participants in the research; in each group meeting I observed I was able to question respondents about issues I was unsure of or needed further clarification on, towards checking their meanings and understandings against my own and to ensure I was not assuming anything. The method of psychogeographic mapping was interactive and a detailed conversation with participants themselves, understanding participants in depth, their activities as well as the contexts within which they operated. My position as an outsider but with participatory roles ensured I was not passive but rather actively engaging with respondents. Further, once I had completed my analysis and interpretation I fed back my results to participants to check my argument represented them adequately.

4.4.2 Validity

Validity "...attaches to accounts, not to data or methods...it is the meaning that subjects give to data and inferences drawn from the data that are important." (Cohen et al 2005). Validity therefore involves the range of data collected, the participants involved, the richness of the findings (Cohen et al, 2005) and the trustworthiness of the data (Lincoln and Guba, in Bassey, 1999, p.75). Robson (2002) defines validity in terms of whether the findings are what they appear to be about, that is to say whether the research is accurate. Kvale (1995) discusses the issue as often attached to 'truth' and 'untruth', the extent to which the validity of knowledge corresponds with an objective reality. However, Kvale argues against looking at validity in this way, and posits that research validity might engage in a focus on local and community forms of research, where the social construction of knowledge is a position taken with construct validity. Construct

validity, to Kvale, is open for interpretative, critical and deconstructive approaches towards developing more resonant interpretations of observations as public discussion. He uses the work of Rorty (in Kvale, 1995) to argue that conversation is the context within which knowledge should be understood, from observation to conversation and interaction. Considering knowledge as a construction in this way, allows for a new way of considering research as constructing an alternative form of social reality rather than claiming that research can ever be 'true'. It has been argued there are a number of ways researchers can establish the validity of their research, including as Carmines and Zeller (1979) outlines, construct, concurrent, discriminant or predictive validity, though there are around eighteen forms of validity according to Cohen et al (2005). My research was influenced by construct validity, that is, the dimensions of my construct related to the theory of civic learning, whereby my research is focused around this theory and its modes of socialisation and subjectification which organise the collection of the data, as well as its analysis and interpretation, around the 'frames' of the theory.

4.4.3 Ethics

With regards to the way in which I conducted my research, in particular my engagements with participants, requires a discussion of ethics. Piper and Simons (2005, p. 56) discuss the ethics issue as follows: "Ethical decisions are the result of weighing up a myriad of factors in the specific complex social and political situations in which we conduct research. Frequently sets of principles are drawn up to guide our actions in the field as well as protect the rights of participants in the research." I followed the University of Stirling's 'The Code of Good Research Practice' (2008) which sets out ethical guidelines and responsibilities required to undertake research. Ethical issues in my research relate to the ways I sought access to the research situations, gained consent

from participants and tried to ensure that my research purpose was clear to them, as well as being clear respondents could opt out at any point. Of equal importance here was my explanation to respondents on the ways I would use their data in my thesis and journal publications or conference papers. This was so that they understood, and could opt out of, their names and activities being identified or made confidential if necessary. I stated that their identities would remain anonymous but that the place could not be, due to my use of cartography. My ethical obligations to respondents were at the centre of my research process, and prior to empirical data collection I engaged in ensuring I followed the School of Education's ethics guidelines for PhD research. I have at all times ensured that I have behaved ethically and taken my role seriously, respected respondents and valued their contribution; without their kindness and time, this thesis could not have been possible.

4.4.3.1 Ethical issues specific to my thesis

The ethics of this project were important because Greenhill Historical Society knew me as their Community Learning and Development Worker. I therefore had to keep both roles separate, and ensure that they were aware which role I was taking. I made this clear by creating two separate consent forms: one to gather their acceptance to my use of the interview data and mapping transcripts, and another to ask permission to use my observational data which included their role in the active and ongoing projects I observed (see Appendix B). Equally, managing confidential and personal information from participants was fundamental to ensure credibility and trust. Participants knew me for five or six years in some cases, and so I had already gained a high level of trust and a good relationship. I ensured at all times I did not abuse this nor conflate my researcher role with my role as their community worker. In this way I kept both roles separate.

With both groups I presented my research purpose in a larger forum; for the Bonnybridge group this meant that I asked for a special meeting at which I could present my research and ask for approval of my activities, and for Cumbernauld Village I presented my aims at the wider community council meeting and explained who I was and where I was from. Participants filled in an agreement form at the beginning of the project asking for basic contact details and checking their interest in being involved, as well as an information sheet which they also took home and were encouraged to telephone me if they had any questions. I provided interview transcripts and mapping outputs to every participant and asked them to edit or remove any statements they wanted to; only one respondent edited their transcript to correct some of their statements, and I remained faithful to these corrections.

4.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I outlined and justified my research design, organised around my theoretical framework involving the socialisation and subjectification modes of civic learning involving space and time, as outlined in chapter three. Setting out my aims, objectives and research questions, I explained that my research aim and questions guided my choice of a case study design and a psychogeographic methodology with three interconnected methods. Within this interpretivist standpoint, I set out my methodology of psychogeographic mapping, a methodology sensitive to the complexities of the spatial and temporal dynamics of individuals' engagements with their place. I justified my research design which was organised in order to answer my research questions. Following from this I demonstrated my research is situated within an interpretivist standpoint.

I then outlined the three research methods I used to gather data: documentary analysis, psychogeographic mapping interviews and observations. I set out the structure of my data-collection framework, generated from my theoretical framework in chapter three. I explained my use of secondary data in order to set out the official spatial and temporal context I was researching and which respondents were faced with, which involved exploring how each place was represented and positioned in 'official' historical writing, local and national government interventions, maps and photography. I then discussed the ways I sought to layer 'over' this context data from the participants of my research. I involved the psychogeographic interview method as a way of exploring the spatial and temporal engagements by respondents with their place, and in this case the first part of the interview consisted of a traditional interview format, with the second stage involving a series of exercises on an Ordnance Survey map of their location. I also involved observations of, and conversations with, respondents as they engaged in practical projects in their location in order to gather data on the ways they conducted their projects outwith the interviewing situation. My data analysis and interpretation used a framework corresponding to my data collection framework, ensuring each stage was organised around my research aim, objectives and questions, and overall structure of my theoretical framework. I discussed from my analysis I generated topics organised into themes and sub-themes relating to the temporalities and spatialities of each place, towards presenting how respondents engaged within and against official structures, and engaged in citizenship practices. In this way, my analysis of these civic actions was developed into a schema that then organised my interpretation of the data. In the penultimate section I explored my role as a CLD worker involved with the Bonnybridge case, and lastly discussed the reliability, validity and ethical dimensions of my work.

In the three chapters that follow I present my data analysis and interpretation. Chapter five involves the reconsideration of Bonnybridge as civic action, and chapter six involves the reconfiguration of Cumbernauld Village as civic action. My interpretation of both cases is presented in chapter seven. Chapter eight involves my last research question on public pedagogy.

5   Chapter Five: Case One - Reconsiderations of Bonnybridge by Greenhill Historical Society, Bonnybridge, Central Scotland

5.0   Introduction

This chapter presents my data analysis of case one, in the form of a case study of Greenhill Historical Society in Bonnybridge, and sets out the themes that emerged. My research aim, objectives and research question relating to this chapter were central to the data collection process. Three objectives are dealt with in this chapter and the next: (1) To undertake a contextual exploration of local community civic action groups in two geographical locations in the form of a case study, (2) To identify the spatial and temporal contexts of each locality, and (3) To examine respondents' interventions, actions and participation as they emerge as representations of the spatial and temporal characteristics and contexts of their places. These objectives link to my first research question which seeks to understand how public spaces are constructed through the interaction of individuals and groups with their physical and temporal environment. My methods of data collection were outlined in chapter four and form one 'case'. Reconsideration forms the case I will present in this chapter, demonstrating respondents' engagements with the spatial and temporal aspects of their location through their civic actions, involving the public (and shared) dimensions of their locality.

This chapter is in four parts. The first part relates to my analysis of secondary data which describes the ways Bonnybridge is represented in official terms. In section two I provide my analysis of the 'ground level' ways respondents engaged with the temporal

characteristics of their location as involving civic action processes of 'history-making'. Section three engages with the spatial dimensions of the data from respondents which involved civic action processes of 're-mapping'. Section four concludes my data analysis; I argue that the spatio-temporal civic actions by respondents, as they emerged from the data as history-making and re-mapping practices, provide an understanding of the ways respondents enacted their citizenship through the actual 'conditions' of their lives – that is to say their own ways of actively representing their place involving space and time.

5.1   Official representations of Bonnybridge

5.1.1   Greenhill Historical Society (GHS)

I discussed previously that this chapter forms a case study on Greenhill Historical Society. As the Community Learning and Development (CLD) Worker in Bonnybridge until mid-2012, amongst other activities I set up adult education projects which took as their inspiration the context within which residents live their lives. I set up Bonnybridge Camera Club in 2007 and Greenhill Historical Society in 2008. GHS is the focus of this chapter and relative to other historical societies in the UK is at a relatively early stage in their explorations, being just four years old. The group itself predominantly consists of retired adults over the age of 60 who have lived in the area most of their lives and have therefore experienced its change over a long period of time. Its activities are complicated by the fact that there are few written historical accounts of Bonnybridge upon which to build their work.

My own understandings of their work as outlined next have been generated from my engagements with them as their community worker, and are therefore observational in nature. As part of my data collection process, from November 2010 until November 2011 I observed and analysed a number of their activities. Their work consists of gathering historical materials, in the form of original and copied artefacts and materials, both between themselves and those donated and lent by local people. They began this collaborative process of gathering historical material on Bonnybridge, which had not yet been done on this collective scale, using the artefacts and knowledge gained as the basis for their events and projects. Their emphasis is predominantly on the industrial past of the area, receiving and archiving donated or lent historical materials from local people, generating new subject matter and perspectives on the place. The topics relating to these materials are decided in collaboration between the group in terms of what they consider to be important to research, and the kinds of topics that local people bring to their attention. They publish a 16-page magazine three times per year, Bonnyseen, which is a combination of short historical articles by Society members, memories from local people either sparked by these articles or introducing a new historical topic, as well as calls for information on unknown elements of the past, contemporary and historical photographs, maps and suchlike. Throughout the year they display, in the local library, community centre or social club, their collaborative archive of artefacts gained through engagements with the wider population, opened up for viewing. They generate high interest at these exhibitions whereby local people add to, dispute and discuss the materials from their own perspective, which generates new perspectives based on the materials.

As discussed in my design chapter, I interviewed six members of the group as part of this research, where all but two of the individuals interviewed were originally employees of the heavy industry, generationally involved with industry in some way, or previously living in the workers housing tied to these companies. I also interviewed a local historian who writes about and presents his work to the public about Bonnybridge but is not a member of GHS. I also gathered extensive field notes on the group from its inception to the present, and received permission from members to involve their active work which provided data outwith the interview process. In the section that follows I provide an analysis of official, outsider representations based on engagement with secondary data involving activities of official agencies. I do this in order to outline the context within which respondents live. I will move forward from this to layer respondents' representations of their place, and their work within the official context, and then introduce the themes of History-Making and (Re)Mapping.

5.1.2   Representations of Bonnybridge

This section involves the ways Bonnybridge is represented in official terms. I do this in order to present the context within which respondents are acting in the present. These official representations emerged from my analysis of secondary data relating to available official histories, public reports and interventions by public agencies operating in the area, in this case Falkirk Council and local government representatives. My analysis of official and ground level representations demonstrates that its forgotten past and public agency disinterest, as well as the general effects of time and decline, connects to, and is impacted by, the ways in which respondents articulated their place in the present, and in the ways they responded to it through their work in the history society, which I outline in sections two and three.

5.1.2.1 Secondary Data Analysis: Representations of Bonnybridge

This section is based on an analysis of secondary data on the area, with particular focus on official publications on both histories of Bonnybridge and statistical reports by public agencies. These writings evidence a place that has had little concentrated and detailed representations in terms of official written histories or concerted regeneration by public agencies.

5.1.2.1.1   Cartography of Bonnybridge

Figure 6: Bonnybridge and High Bonnybridge (Google Earth 2012)

As can be seen in the map in Figure 6, Bonnybridge is surrounded by greenbelt and both working and defunct industrial sites; networks of smaller roads connect Bonnybridge main to High Bonnybridge. Greenhill is not marked here but I have added it; it was at one time a railway village separate from Bonnybridge itself but is now considered to be part of the town. I have also marked the current railway network

running through Bonnybridge, although these trains, coming from Glasgow, Stirling and Edinburgh, do not stop in Bonnybridge. Similarly, I have marked the canal which runs parallel to Seabegs Road and goes from Glasgow to Falkirk.

5.1.2.1.2   Official Historical publications on the past of Bonnybridge

I conducted a search for books and reports published on Bonnybridge – its past and present - and found only a small number. In fact, there are no published official historical accounts dealing solely with Bonnybridge. Aside from this there are paragraphs existing in a small number of books that deal with broader historical topics more widely, for example, the Scottish refractory (brick making) industry (Sanderson, 1985), or studies dealing with Falkirk as a district (Scott, 2006). In both examples, Bonnybridge appears as a subset or smaller 'case' within a wider subject. Aside from this, there are two unofficial resources, both unpublished: a comprehensive account on the history of Bonnybridge, 'Vale of Bonny' by Reverend J. Waugh, written in the 1980s and last printed in 1994 (Waugh, 1994) and a history of Bonnybridge iron foundries (Ure, 2008). The unofficial publication by Waugh, of several hundred pages in length, was never formally published, but is distributed and sold as an A4 photocopied book by Falkirk District Libraries. It is a highly detailed account of the industries of the area, its geography and social history. There is also one picture book, written and produced by Falkirk Museums, of photographs of Bonnybridge in the past with short commentary underneath (McIntosh, 1994). Besides these two resources Bonnybridge is mentioned briefly – in almost all cases just a paragraph or two - in a number of different publications dealing with Scotland-wide heavy industry and general history (Andrews, 2004; Bailey, 2008; Martin, 2000; 'slag heaps' of Bonnybridge, Miers, 2006; Scott, 2006). It has been described as "…a largely nondescript settlement"

(Andrews 2004, p.1059) and "Visitors to Bonnybridge look in vain for scenery or architecture to justify the word 'bonnie' in Bonnybridge" (Co-operative Press Agency, 1922). Falkirk Local History Society members have published several articles on aspects of the Bonnybridge past in their journal, Calatria, and one of their member conducts a regular talk entitled 'The Baronies of Seabegs and Castlecary' (referring to the old historical configuration of Bonnybridge as two 'baronies', or divisions) to groups in the Falkirk area (Reid, 2003).

5.1.2.1.3 Official statistical representations of Bonnybridge by public agencies

Sitting alongside this lack of a particularly in-depth body of work relating to official historical representations of Bonnybridge, my analysis of public agency statistics and planning reports a place articulated as in decline since the 1970s and in need of regeneration in the present day. In terms of the definition for a post-industrial location, I argue that Bonnybridge is indeed 'post-industrial'. Post-industrial locations are those that have experienced marked decline of industrial production which has been replaced by the dominance of the service sector (Shaw, in Paddison, 2001). A local council report (Falkirk Council, 2010a) outlines the extensive decline of the area's heavy industry, which accelerated to significant closures by the early 1980s. Given half of the jobs in the 1970s in the area were in the foundries and brick making industries this caused considerable unemployment and subsequent public spending on land rehabilitation and job retraining was undertaken (Falkirk Council, 2010a). Bonnybridge is a semi-rural small town of around 9000 people in Central Scotland, in the municipal area of Falkirk Council (Falkirk Council, 2010b). Bonnybridge suffers from significant social problems including higher than the Falkirk and Scottish average of benefit claimants, pension credits and income inequalities (Falkirk Council, 2010b; 2011).

Similarly, the area shows higher than Falkirk and Scottish averages for socio-economic, health, education and maternity indicators and is classed as an 'area of concern' (Falkirk Council, 2010b). According to the SIMD, 37 postcode areas in Bonnybridge are placed within the top 25% most deprived areas in Scotland (some narrowly missing out on being 20% most deprived by a few points). In the present day, specific policies and statistics represent the area as in need of regeneration, particularly the derelict industrial sites (Falkirk Council 2010a) but so far there is little evidence of this, aside from a new network of walking routes.

In the latter part of the 1990s and into 2000, the area attracted a wealthier class to large newly constructed private housing estates as the local council encouraged private regeneration through private house building (Falkirk Council, 2010a). The Strategic Plan for Bonnybridge and Banknock highlights a plan for: "1100 houses to be built in the area from 2001-2020 with 819 in the Local Plan period to 2015." (Falkirk Council, 2010a, p.99). Little public sector regeneration has taken place; on the contrary, most of the town's public buildings, as indoor meeting spaces, had been slowly demolished (taking with them a significant number of community activities), replaced by one community centre that functions mainly as a sports and youth centre. Falkirk Council's Open Space Strategy (Falkirk Council, 2009) highlights the lowest quantity of open space in the Falkirk area, where around half of the area's households have access to open space (p.2). Additionally, there were several failed campaigns in the area: to reinstate a train station and regenerate the town centre, both projects part of the area's Strategic Plan (Falkirk Council, 2010a). The local MSP, Michael Matheson, called for a station to be located in Bonnybridge (BBC, 2009); previously there had been four and now none. It failed for a variety of reasons, one of which being lack of agreement

between councillors in local government about the costs for feasibility studies and the possible disruptions to the high speed service between Falkirk, Stirling, Edinburgh and Glasgow – all of which services run directly through Bonnybridge. It is also alleged in a blog by the SNP councillor for the area that there were several votes against it by the independent councillor for Bonnybridge (SNP, 2010, 2012). In his public blog, the local SNP councillor for the area argued that the failed plan to regenerate the town centre of Bonnybridge was due to voting against the allocation of resources for this potential regeneration (SNP, 2012).

This complicated picture highlights an area of historical significance in industrial terms, as well as a place that is in a transitional state from heavy industry to post-industrial commuter town. I have drawn a picture of a place forgotten by history in terms of published writings on the past of Bonnybridge, and in the present is subjected to relatively low levels of interest by public agencies in its present and future, whereby planning intentions have not translated into tangible physical regeneration projects. In section two next, I will argue that this context has influenced respondents' own ground-level relations with their spatial and temporal location through their work within this location.

5.2   Temporalities of Bonnybridge: History-Making as civic action at ground level

In this section I will outline the ways in which respondents related to the temporal characteristics of their environment. Within this I will introduce two topics: representations of Bonnybridge by respondents from the 'inside', and history-making, both emerging from my interview and mapping data analysis, as well as my

observations of their work. From this I gained an understanding of their relations with the temporal aspects of their location, which emerged as a place existing in the present through its past.

5.2.1 Topic 1: Representations of Bonnybridge by respondents: an unstable present, a significant past

After conducting the documentary analysis outlined above, I analysed my interview and mapping exercises as well as my observational data involving the participants of Greenhill Historical Society. There are a number of themes emerging from the topic I deal with here of ground-level representations; this involves respondents' own articulations of Bonnybridge as having an unstable identity in the present and their acceptance of its decline. However, there is also the theme of time and decay shifting respondents 'out of place'. From this process, respondents' articulated a place struggling in the present but hugely significant in the past.

From the interview data with respondents, Bonnybridge emerged as a place without substance in the present. Respondents predominantly described it as a commuter town in the present, as: "...a place for bed and breakfast, you travel out it" (B1), and "...what has happened to us now that we're well suited as a commuter town" (B2). One respondent brought up the issue that in the past being from Bonnybridge meant you were considered to be less fortunate than those in surrounding areas: "And I remember you know at school Bonnybridge pupils were regarded as being a bit poorer than everybody else, they were maybe a wee bit rougher than everybody else" (B2). Additionally, it was also mentioned that people associate Bonnybridge with the high number of reported UFO sightings: "Well now we've got a reputation of having the

UFOs which is a bit annoying when you know there's so much history in the area or as an industrial area of the past, especially maybe older people outwith the area know about Messrs Smith and Wellstoods and the brickworks and suchlike" (B4). It was described as 'transient' by another, who qualified this by saying that, "It's more transient now than it was and when I was young people lived in Bonnybridge, they started and ended their days in Bonnybridge. Now I feel it's transient and you're getting all sorts in Bonnybridge now that probably you'll hear people if you're in Falkirk they'll say I wouldn't live in Bonnybridge if you paid me, but why has it got that reputation? And they say that High Bonnybridge is a no-go area; there's nothing wrong with High Bonnybridge." (B6). Further, when asked what they consider to be the perceptions of Bonnybridge from the 'outside' there was overwhelming evidence that they thought their town was perceived negatively; four interviewees mentioned they were called 'Dirty Bonnybrig', a label given as a result of the heavy industry in the area. One interviewee highlighted that, "It's like a lot of places in the post-industrial age. It has suffered as a consequence of the industry reducing. Having said that it's quite remarkable when you see places like Moffat's engineering, that's still going strong, and the other wee businesses along the canal side. For its size it does its best, it's reasonable." (B5)

I asked respondents if it was possible for aspects of the past to be reflected in new projects in the area in some way. There was disagreement that any kind of physical project could be based on some of these old industrial sites, although they appeared to mention their admiration for several industrial open air museums in surrounding areas. Through my observations subsequent to the interviews they had visited Summerlee Industrial Museum in Coatbridge and Dunaskin Brickworks in Ayrshire, as well as

Grangemouth Museum, Croy Museum and Kinneil House to gather possibilities for creating some form of project themselves: "I think it's too late, you would need to start building it from scratch. The time to do it was before it was knocked down. There was talk at one time of doing a similar project up at High Bonnybridge Stein's at Milnquarter, and one of the guys I had worked for....he said if I was looking for work I could probably go in a display cabinet as 'now extinct brick worker'!" (B1). B1 was the only participant who articulated the future of these sites: "They should be tidied up and landscaped. They're too far gone, there's nothing left of any building, as we saw up at Castlecary. This map just shows the substation there, it was terrible, it's all gone." There is thus evidence to suggest that respondents consider there could be no physical projects that might create some kind of museum due to the 'bulldozing' done throughout the village in terms of the removal of the industry, the siting of new housing estates in their place. I asked if anything is still there of what individuals remember it to be, with the response "No, absolutely nothing. You've got to accept it, it's progress but it's sad as well." (B1) One interviewee considered, contrary to others, that it was possible for Bonnybridge to become industrial again: "I think Bonnybridge could become industrial again in the future because it's heading that way; because the canal's reopened...probably not in the type of industries that were here but coming up in the more modern industries I think that will happen." (B6). Taking this further, B6 was hopeful that the history society might provide "...an alternative view of Bonnybridge."

There emerged several examples of the acceptance of industrial decline which has affected their place in negative ways; through a discussion in the interviews about several ex-brickworkers in the society visiting some of the sites they have been re-mapping they articulate how difficult that had been: "Actually I thought it was very sad.

Having been part of it at one time and there it was gone. Like most folks not just the brickworks but most folks in my age when they started in a place there was a reasonable assumption to think you would retire from there. But then the whole thing collapsed and disappeared. Some of the places I'm talking about have been on the go since the 1850s, 1870s, 1880s. When I left in 1959 I started up there, it had been going for years and there was no reason why it should not go but then the whole thing collapsed." (B1).

I have attempted to show here the ways in which gradually respondents have found themselves located outside their own familiar and knowable Bonnybridge; it appears to have shifted from being recognisable (and where they have a firm place within it) to being unrecognisable (and thus they seem to have been placed outside it as a result). In the next section I present the second topic, that of 'history-making' by respondents.

5.2.2   Topic Two: History-Making – Bonnybridge multiplied

This section involves the second topic involved with the reconsiderations respondents put forward involving the temporal aspects of their location. My analysis of interview data with respondents generated four themes within this topic, dealing with the ways in which, through their discussions of the purpose of their work and the activities they engaged in, they involved history in particular ways. The data generated the theme of 'history-making' – as a form of civic action - through their representations of the past which for them pieced together Bonnybridge in ways they considered important.

5.2.2.1 Theme 1: engaging in historical society activities - defining the present

  through a 'lost past'

In order to introduce the ways respondents relate to the temporal aspects of their place through their actions, I will discuss how they articulated the purpose of their work. I asked participants to articulate their activities involving the history of the village. They described Bonnybridge as an important place in the past, and used this past to describe it as an important place in the present: "I hope that it's going to stimulate a lot of the young people and the people coming into the village to look more into the history of Bonnybridge and want to know more about where they live and let them know that they've not just moved into a commuter area, they've moved into a very important place in Scottish history." (B6). Additionally, it was important to "...keep a record of our past so that it's not lost to the people of the future, and people gain knowledge of the area and appreciate the area because everything's evolving so why lose our roots?... it's letting people know of what's there in Bonnybridge, what's been in the past...it's letting people outwith the community who have been at some of our workshops, slideshows, that Bonnybridge is not just a place to stay, it has got a community spirit." (B4).

One interviewee realised they had a lot to offer prior to joining the group: "I decided I wanted to join because up until then a lot of my memories had been forgotten. And I felt that there was so many young people in the village that had never realised what a lot of the parents and grandparents had gone through...and remember things, and don't let them die. The history of Bonnybridge and High Bonnybridge is absolutely amazing and I didn't realise just how much I had remembered about it...that's the main aim, bringing the past to the present and don't let people forget what we were and what we

now are." (B6) There is a sense of a desire for the pasts they are telling to shape and define the present, even though much of their understanding of what the village 'is' has gone: "...I feel that you shouldn't forget the past because it's the transition, it shows you what used to be so productive in this area and then all of a sudden there's not at lot of production in this area, it's all small units. But it brought a lot of people into the village and I feel the past you just can't let the past go away...Bonnybridge is a very important area and it's contributed an awful lot from the past and towards now and the future and I feel that the children and the people that's coming into the village should be aware of that." (B6). Further, one participant's engagements with the past was articulated thus: "I think history kind of informs your future as well. What is it they say about history, if you ignore the lessons of history you're destined to relive them again...I'm not sure if it can do anything, but it's totally relevant." (B2) My analysis of these statements provides evidence for the ways respondents relate strongly to a 'lost past', a slight sense of concern that their self-articulated important past could be, or has been, forgotten. They express attempts at bringing back what has gone in order to both make Bonnybridge a relevant and important place in the present and to ensure its important past is remembered in ways they consider vital to its future. These statements are examples of representing Bonnybridge contrary to its commuter and post-industry label; respondents put forward hope that bringing new historical knowledge to light will create a different understanding of the place than exists today. This brings up the second theme emerging from this in terms of the ways in which they seek to engage others in this process.

5.2.2.2 Theme 2: Articulating a desire to teach history to young people and new

residents; instead engaging with those who 'know the past'.

This theme emerged from the discussions on the purpose of their work and as was discussed in the previous theme they articulated this mainly in terms of seeking to inform or induct people who do not have an understanding of the past of the area – young people and new residents – which has an added dimension. Contrary to their discussions about the purpose of their work as seeking to 'provide information' to those who they perceive have no knowledge of the past, most interviewed and observed appeared to be doing something else. When asked what kinds of activities they engage in, there was little evidence of engaging with young people or providing 'information to' newer residents. What emerged most strongly through my observations of their activities outwith the interviews was the strong attraction to their work from older residents who had lived in the area a considerable length of time – the highest proportion of individuals who attended their events regularly, and who contribute to their magazine most often – a few hundred individuals of this age range. So, despite a desire by members to engage with those who 'do not know', they were attracting those who 'do know' - those living in Bonnybridge for a long time. My observations at events evidenced the presence of this group of people attending and contributing to events. There is no explicit evidence of 'transfer' of knowledge from older residents to newer and younger residents despite their desire to do so.

This lack of a 'transfer' of knowledge from those who know (historical society members) to those who do not know (the young, the new residents) allows an alternative understanding of how respondents were actually using the past in their work. As I will show next in theme three, there emerged a more nuanced and complicated

relationship with the histories of their place and with the wider public. Removed from a traditional 'history teaching' mode they were involved in 'history making' activities, which involved gathering and exhibiting histories that were not currently represented. These multiple histories were placed in the public domain as a way of engaging with the wider population of similarly older residents living in the area, towards creating the conditions for participation in, and limitations of - local issues stemming from these historical aspects. Thus, in what I present next I will argue that the past became multiplied through the ways in which they uncovered the lost and the forgotten pieces of their place.

5.2.2.3 Theme 3: Uncovering multiple histories – the past as not 'already represented' prior to their engagements with it

Respondents articulated many different pasts over many centuries and industries, involving different ways of relating to it. As I will show next, when asked in interviews about the histories that they considered were part of their work, some were focusing on the brickworks in the area, others on the iron foundries and the engineering works, one on the ancient archaeological Roman sites; some were attempting to evidence the multitude of lost streets, public buildings, squares and houses, social activities of the industries, and mapping the underground mines and shafts. One individual was conducting public walks around the industrial areas, evidencing the industry-made lochs and mountains of old clay built up; another was researching the industry present today. From my analysis of the interview and observational data they predominantly relied on original sources in their research: interviewing local people, scrutinising donated and lent artefacts and materials handed in to them, asking questions to the public about periods in time and publishing requests for information in their magazine.

My analysis of this is partly articulated as a result of this work never having been done before in any significant way, so they appeared to be 'starting from the beginning'. One example of this emerged through a discussion by one respondent about the ways they gather historical information: "B6's came up with a couple of points that I never knew. B7's came up with more and likewise I've come up with one piece of information I don't think B7 had about Rollo's and that lady we visited filled in some bits that I wasn't sure of, I couldn't get proof of what was said in one of the books and she established it...that old map [B4] showed me, that was another old brickwork up there. It was an old, I never get it right, it was either an old paper mill or a distillery and it went from one use to another but I can't remember what use it was. But that's by looking at that old map B4 gave me." (B1) This quotation highlights that this information is not readily available; it has to be sought out.

Furthering this theme of the multiplication of histories through activities involving seeking out and evidencing forgotten aspects, it was discussed by one respondent that they want their history-gathering activities to move Bonnybridge from being unknown and dispersed to a knowable and articulable place: "...it was a closer community, now the closeness is missing and I feel that's needing to be created again...I think the history society has got a great role to play in it because I think we are creating an interest. We know that by the feedback we've had from the magazines, the feedback we've had from the exhibitions we've run, that I feel that we are creating a community again." (B6). Further: "...the conditions people worked in years ago and a lot of these people are still alive today and they can tell stories about how absolutely horrendous the conditions were. There were no unions or they were absolutely useless, they were not allowed to protect them and people who were actually injured in industrial accidents lost their job,

they lost their home because they were in tied housing as well...even though the industry has gone Bonnybridge is still a growing community." (B2) B3explained that it is important for people to see an alternative Bonnybridge to that which might be perceived to be 'there', using the example of the Society's exhibitions in the local library: "...if people were to just call into the library most days they're stuck there, they would look at it, they might get a different view on Bonnybridge." (B3).

5.2.2.4 Theme 4: Beginning a conversation, demanding a response

Adding to the ways I have demonstrated that respondents are attempting to gather new histories on the area that are not currently widely represented, there emerged the fourth theme. This theme is involved with the ways respondents sought to develop new spaces and opportunities for other residents to represent themselves and the parts they themselves played in the industries of Bonnybridge in the past. As highlighted by one respondent: "...in a relatively short space of time we've found just by walking round the area, find out where places are, and then you can either go back home or go to the library and discuss it with the likes of us." (B3). This is further evidenced by respondents' surprise at the high number of individuals coming forward to add their own knowledge to the wider project of 'gathering the history of Bonnybridge'. A few examples of how their work appears to be stimulating others outwith the Society to contribute stories and anecdotes to their magazine, and for their artefacts to be displayed, are: "....a lot of people stop you in the town and say I read your bit in the magazine, when is the next one coming out? I think people are really interested, I think it's really sparked a community interest...I think it's making a lot of people who wouldn't normally talk to each other talk to each other and share memories and you know anecdotes...and like Mandy's dad you know he was desperate to share the

information and I mean it was only weeks before he died. And it's amazing the people who have said to me, oh it's just a shame my dad's dead because he had all this in his head...you know it's so difficult to get a hold of all the information." (B2). Further, without having much pre-existing official histories to begin with, they have had to start collecting small pieces; there emerged the ways they started off with one photograph, one idea, one map, and this sparked discussions with their wider sphere of friends and acquaintances: "I came across this old photograph and I had a good idea where it was and took it into the guys, about half a dozen of us and I say exactly where was that taken, and the conversation around that...then someone said 'Oh I remember I used to walk up there' and someone said was that a brickwork, that's where I used to play." (B1)

As well as more issues emerging relating to lost knowledge, there is also a desire to continue displaying the knowledge they do have that will spark new memories: "What I'm hoping to do is take it onto the net and off the books, and put it to where at least some people might be interested. If you get some people interested in it then you're looking for a snowball effect, and I like doing it just for the sake of doing it, but I like to think there's an end result you're looking for as well: education." (B1). Despite B1 stating above that he would like to take the information 'off the books', he appears to contradict himself when he discusses that: "It seems an awful lot of information that I think is there already is not really in the public domain; I've been encouraged to put it there. I always say just go around the corner there and lift Kenneth Sanderson's book, it's in there. But a lot of what we want is not in that book." (B1). This book is a comprehensive history of the Scottish refractory (brickmaking) industry from the 1980s. This highlights a 'starting from the beginning', adding in what they consider to

be pieces of the past that are, crucially, missing. Not only is this another example that the histories they consider to be important are not recorded or available, it is also evidence that they are missing in the landscape itself; this provides a sense that a large part of the identity of what they consider to be Bonnybridge – its industry – has been removed from being seeable in the landscape too: "Because all the sites have gone, most of them have been built on with houses, there's very few sites left. And there's only one working brickwork left that doesn't make anything that even resembles a brick... going into the detail and interest in the stuff I never concerned myself with when I was working there. Now I've been forced to think about it and try and explain what was going on down there." (B1).

Thus far I have discussed the ways in which an absence of detailed pre-existing representations of Bonnybridge – in official histories combined with an absence of regeneration attempts or conservation of the past – has provided opportunities for multiple entry points for respondents to engage in reconstructions of their place through particular aspects of the past they strongly relate to. In this way I argue that representations by participants and the ways in which they were involved in civic actions of 'making history' are forms of reconsideration. Reconsideration in this way involved processes of redefining Bonnybridge as a place of significant history, as a place that should be remembered and responded to. It is also a place that was articulated through its history in a multitude of ways, precisely because its history is not already 'there' to be taken or adopted. It is in precisely this way that reconsideration formed processes of taking control of representations of their place through histories meaningful to them. In section three I bring the discussion into the spatial domain, and discuss the main topic of 'remapping'. Processes of remapping further demonstrate the

ways in which multiplied histories reveal a more complicated relationship in terms of the spatial aspects of their place.

5.3 Spatialities of Bonnybridge

5.3.1 Topic 1: Re-mapping – representing lost Bonnybridge

This final section brings together the previous two topics of representation and history-making and explores these in relation to respondents' engagements with the spatial elements of their locality. In what follows I will provide my analysis of the spatial aspects of respondents' civic actions as 're-mappings'. This topic emerged from data gathered from the mapping exercises and associated discussions conducted as the second part to the individual interviews, as well as my observations of their work in situ. I discussed these mapping exercises within my research design chapter, the purpose of which was to understand how respondents related to particular spatial aspects of their location, and the ways in which they represented these areas through the ways they talked about and acted upon particular sites. The map I present in Figure 7 is a visual representation of the patterns and boundaries I plotted from the mapping data where respondents mapped and discussed their understanding of Bonnybridge. I discuss these mappings as resulting from their layering of the lost and abandoned histories once present in their spatial environment, over the present landscape. It is in these ways they were engaged in reconsideration practices involving representing alternative spatialities that constructed alternatives to Bonnybridge today. Spatial reconsiderations took the form of two themes which I set out next: (1) boundary-drawing: the ways respondents made invisible places (lost and damaged historical) visible (represented, representable, articulable) in the present, and (2) Multiplying Bonnybridge: the ways respondents split open the smooth cartography of present-day Bonnybridge to represent many different

places, rather than one place, each with particular access points for rendering hidden or invisible spaces visible again.

Figure 7: Analysis of mapping exercises with respondents in psychogeographic interviews.

Legend:

- Historical boundary of Bonnybridge
- Resident-articulated boundary of Bonnybridge
- Areas of historical importance to GHS
- Areas of significant change over time
- Spaces in which GHS engages in activities
- Spaces in which GHS do not engage in activities/places not ventured into
- Original boundary between two 'baronies' of Bonnybridge.
- Areas of intervention by Historic Scotland
- Formulation of each map 'piece' through mapping journeys

Map labels: Central orientation point, Barony of Castlecary, Barony of Seabegs

5.3.1.1 Theme 1: The interplay between 'official' historical boundaries of Bonnybridge and respondents' boundary-making practices at ground level

Prior to discussing my analysis of respondents' boundary-making (see Figure 7 above), I will firstly discuss the ways in which a local historian provided his understanding of 'Bonnybridge' in its past configuration. From this I will then layer the data from respondents' mapping exercises. I discussed in chapter four that I also interviewed a local historian who has written about and presented on the history of Bonnybridge. The purpose of this was to understand how the borders of Bonnybridge were constituted in the past, towards understanding the ways in which they have shifted over time as well as through respondents' articulations. The historian marked his understanding of the boundary in earlier centuries, shown as a red line in Figure 7, which he constructed from original sources, including old maps. His boundary takes in the entire map I provided for the research: Castlecary to the west and just before the Falkirk Wheel to the east. In greater detail, it goes from Castlecary (not the Village of Castlecary, but Castlecary Castle and the barony belonging to it), tracing the boundary along the Red Burn on the west going all the way to the Rowan Tree Burn on the east. The southern boundary was termed the 'county border', demarcating the northern part following the river Bonny. Although he discussed that north of the Bonny most people consider is Bonnybridge, historically the northern side of the burn was not part of it. The historian highlights that originally the area consisted of two estates, or 'baronies' – Seabegs and Castlecary – whereby the Skipperton Glen formed a 'natural boundary' that split the two parishes (Figure 7). It is possible to argue that what was Bonnybridge in the past was formed by its natural features: the northern part defined by the River Bonny, on the east the Rowan Tree Burn, the Red Burn to the west, and the south defined by the

'county border'. As can be seen, the area was once quite substantial. In what I discuss next, respondents drew their own boundaries around their place in the present day, boundaries that formed, through their actions, spatial reconsiderations of Bonnybridge.

My analysis of the data gained from participants' engagements in the mapping exercises and discussions of their mappings, generated patterns and shapes that heavily involved some areas and sidelined or removed others. Through the mapping exercises I asked participants to place dots on the map to show where their activities within the historical society are based, as well as dots to show historically significant areas. It is in this way that Bonnybridge emerged as three distinct but interconnected 'districts' through the flow of activities from the centre out to the periphery. These districts presented next, which I describe as 'interaction points', multiplied Bonnybridge rather than tying it down to one definable place. This multiplication aspect developed from the ways in which respondents understood their place of the past, the ways they excluded new and unknown areas, and through their civic engagements with the place and its people placed back on the map the areas of historical importance to them that had disappeared. Bonnybridge was multiplied through their engagements with present day cartography and from their activities within and upon the landscape itself. I therefore argue that these processes of drawing boundaries and remapping histories are processes of reconsiderations of their spatiality – engaging in process of redefining the borders of their place and revealing hidden and lost places - as particular civic actions involving space.

Respondents' reconsiderations – in terms of the ways in which through the data they formed three distinct areas which gave the impression of Bonnybridge multiplied - are

represented in Figure 7 above through three black boundaries. In what follows I justify splitting Bonnybridge into three areas, formed through the identification of sites of activity by respondents and the areas they considered to be historically significant to alternative understandings of their place. These three main 'interaction points' are: (1) Bonnybridge; (2) Greenhill and High Bonnybridge, and (3) Deeper Bonnybridge. Each theme contains sub-themes within the overall topic presented here of boundary-making.

5.3.1.2 Interaction Point 1 – Bonnybridge, a place without a 'centre' - lost

        buildings, streets and iron foundries

Figure 8 continued: area as it emerges in present-day cartography. Older image gathered from GHS showing Bonnybridge 'centre' in 1960s prior to demolition of industries around there (canal can be seen to the right).

5.3.1.2.1 Sub-theme 1: Excluding the New, Including the Old

I observed that in order to orientate themselves within the mapping exercises, respondents mostly began their mapping journeys in the centre of Bonnybridge – the Toll and surrounding areas – working their way 'out' to surrounding areas. Only a small section of housing here was discussed as being part of Bonnybridge, and all the newer (ten years old) housing was excluded from being connected at all: "...what I think of Bonnybridge isn't much more than up there, because I keep thinking, that Bonnymuir is that new? I mean that whole expanse in there I haven't a clue about any of it, the streets in there at all....all the sites have gone, most of them have been built on with houses, there's very few sites left...I have to say these huge estates I don't know my way around them, I don't know the name of the streets. It's terrible when I've been here for sixty-six years...I've no reason to go into them." (B1). Further, this demonstrates the issue brought up by most that there had been extensive house-building in areas previously functioning as, for example, a sand quarry and area of delicate nature and walks (now Woodlea housing estate, and the adjoining Bonnyfield Nature Park and Bonded Warehouses). These sites have rendered parts of ancient routes now unwalkable and buried underneath: "There's a path missing in this map, that'll be under the warehouse [Bonded Warehouse] and we'd go up to here, that takes us up to bankings covered in whin. Different types of yellowhammers and everything in there, then the old railway which would be coming along there. There was even an old house, let me get this right – about there – and that had its walled garden, you got every bird in there. And that was a super country walk with every type of wildlife imaginable, and it's not there at all in any shape or form." (B1). This highlights a different place from what is on the map,

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again the erasure of time, and to the erasure of places important from a spatial and a temporal point of view that were central to people's lives.

Wellstood Terrace prompted the remembering of the Central Station – one of four stations in Bonnybridge where now there are none: to the west of the map piece behind the industrial estate was Canal Station, and the other two in Greenhill and High Bonnybridge. Cowden Hill was also discussed as significant as the highest point of the village, once with an Ordnance Survey trig point at the top which in the present is not used. The various works along Seabegs Road, which runs parallel to the canal, were also central, partly because historically there was a lot of industry there, but in the present day there are major works there still. Similarly, it was articulated as an area of importance because of the Military Way (Roman Wall) and their extensive walking of this area. For participants this area runs west along the canal towards the Antonine Wall which they considered significant even though none of their projects revolve around it, and reaching Allandale as the furthest point. This particular map piece generated its own boundaries: participants considered that not much further north than the centre of Bonnybridge, the 'Toll', formed that section, and the canal splits it from the rest of the place to the south. To the extreme West and East of the map are situated the Roman Wall areas, and further than this participants did not include inside their boundaries. Thus, it is an area bounded by its natural and historic features – the canal and the Roman wall – than any other. Of the fifteen or so walks the Society has done over the years, very few have been located here. "...the wildlife park and the whisky bond, that's the only things that's really down this side." (B3).

5.3.1.2.1.1 Rebuilding the Lost Centre

As I discussed in my design I observed several projects by the historical society. In November 2011 I observed the development of a research project undertaken by several members. This observation was undertaken around seven months after I completed my interviews with respondents and became an interesting addition to the mapping exercise data outlined above. This project was based on a public talk by Mr Leith, a manager of the Smith and Wellstood iron foundry (closed in the early 1980s and now an area of private housing). It began with scrutinising the talk and ended in a public presentation of a large-scale slideshow to around 100 Bonnybridge residents. After extensive research into the different places discussed by Mr Leith in his talk, the work formed an interactive slideshow which the Society furnished with historical photography and maps. This slideshow went into extensive detail on the central areas coinciding with the data gathered and presented in the mapping exercises above, and compared the historical spaces around the centre of Bonnybridge to the present day configurations of these spaces. There emerged through this process a rearticulation of the area as a completely different place from then until now. The talk to accompany the slideshow was based on the transcript of the 'walking journey' written in words by Leith, expanded upon and 'made present' by Society members. It began at the western corner of Bonnybridge on the Main Street, weaving its way around to the eastern side of the High Street. This work succeeded in evidencing a vast array of missing streets, buildings, public walkways and landmarks; in this small stretch of landscape, fifty-seven places were mapped which are no longer present – both physically in the present, and reflected in maps today. Fourteen places – whether mansion houses, farm steadings, streets or general areas - had to be 'found' through a combination of engaging with historical maps, imagery, and other materials held by local people and in Falkirk

Council's museum archive. It resulted in remodelling the area completely to what it is now, adding in more public buildings, works, housing areas and shops than are there today. Culminating in 'piecing together' this area - recognisable in the past but unrecognisable today – it became necessary to intersperse their historical imagery and maps with what these sites are in the present. The project was a collective journey that attempted at reconnecting the place of the present back to its past, reducing the alienation that the passage of time has created.

5.3.1.3 Interaction Point 2: Greenhill and High Bonnybridge: the 'clay seam' and brickworks

Figure 9: Greenhill and High Bonnybridge - Placing data from participants onto map which forms pattern of distinct 'area'

Figure 9 continued: area as it emerges in present-day cartography.

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5.3.1.3.1 Putting the industry back on the map through archaeological practices

As can be seen in the larger map in Figure 7, the second area formed from the data was Greenhill and High Bonnybridge (Figure 9). These areas were created through their extensive walking and mapping work there, most of which fed into the writing of their articles in their magazine, Bonnyseen, calls for information on information they are missing, and more walks and events. It is interesting that the local historian interviewed discussed this area as follows: "Greenhill has changed because Greenhill only came into existence as a settlement because of the railways - it was a railway village. And before that it was called Above the Wood...High Bonnybridge doesn't even appear on the first editions of Ordnance Survey." (B5). This evidences an area that did not exist prior to industry, and where High Bonnybridge was not even officially mapped in the beginning. However, it emerged as a particularly 'strong' and fundamental place within the research. One participant articulated the area through the walks undertaken: "...when we started we done the walks...The likes of the brickworks and the foundries and all that, with walking round the place we were able to pinpoint where they were...we did about seven walks I think and you had them all on one side, not the other side of the village. Round the back here, that's where most of the industrial...Dougalls and Glenyards, the Puzzle, the Wellstood, Rollos which is still there, Dougalls is still there. Where the likes of the cigarette factory was, now there's industry there...How many people know that the Stone of Destiny was hid in Rollos? You've got a one-man brickwork just down the road from it, well what's left of it. But it's a lot, there's a lot we dug out before anybody else." (B3). This quotation highlights that much of this work is detailed and extensive, and at an early stage of being collected and mapped, which has not been done by anyone else, making it more complicated as no trail has

been left for them to follow. What is important to make present has therefore been decided by them, rather than any previous work from others. Further, one interviewee stated: "It's an area in which I think I can make a contribution, whether or not it's important to me, it's something to contribute to the Society and beyond." (B1). From this it is an area that has the capacity for residents to get involved in, at the level of its history; there appears to be still much that can be rearticulated from this place.

Considered by participants to be two very different areas historically, on arriving at this part of the map interviewees entered the area from Bonnybridge centre, travelling eastwards from the Chattan Industrial Estate which marks the beginning of High Bonnybridge. From there most crossed the railway line to Elf Hill, St Helen's Loch, and then swept westwards to follow the line of the brickworks right across to Greenhill in the west. For example, one participant's journey across the map went thus:

> "That's Central Demolition, St Helen's Loch that's just up the back of me there because that's a lot of the brickworks were up that way. That's what [anonymous] husband was talking about, he had to lower the sleuths there because of the water rates, the height was too high. Bonnyside House, that's the brickworks up here, brickworks Bonnyside House...where were they? That's the Chattan there, Bonnyside Farm, scrapyards, industrial estate along Canal Bank. There was brickworks all over the place. That there was the Hillview Road - Dougalls was there, that was Dougalls and there was more works up here because where the Hillview Road there was brickworks came off that way and brickworks went that way. And there, I think that's a brickworks." (B6).

Discussions by all interviewees pointed to the predominance of their activities in this area above any other. Extensive activities in this area focused mainly on the brick making industry which spanned both areas. Thus I have placed them together in one map 'piece' for their industrial connections and research by participants. It was discussed by participants that both of these areas (which runs as far as Allandale) were central in brickmaking terms, situated as they are along a long, narrow 'seam'. Along this narrow line interviewees inserted the brickworks that were once there, in double figures. "There's such a clump up here. I'll put two [stickers] there. I think we should stick these on where we can just to highlight how much there was here. As soon as I put these on you start to see the line coming right along where the clays were outcropping. That's why I put on so many stickers on the one bit. I'm not sure exactly but I'll put another couple here, the Greenhill ones. That was a huge one, I know it's outside the area that we're concerned with. See the line of the clay." (B1). The brickworks were connected to the iron foundries through the mapping discussions; the area was also famous for its natural supply of iron. These industries, all gone, were significant employers in the area and several labelled them all to include Lane and Girvan's, Mitchell and Russell, Smith and Wellstood. All were identified as located around the area of High Bonnybridge (with Smith and Wellstood at the centre of Bonnybridge).

5.3.1.3.2 Creating opportunities for a conversation

In terms of the ways respondents seemed to be defining themselves as gatherers and intermediaries of historical artefacts, rather than the custodians of 'the history', one respondent articulated it thus: "Nobody owns it, we're all making our own history and long may it continue." (B4) This was furthered by another respondent who discussed the ways Society activities were gathering interactions from local people: "I think

there's an awareness coming out of folks, who are wanting to know what happened there. I've worked all my working life in the brickworks of some description but now with spare time I've got into details I never worried about before, worked there for years with blinkers on basically...The guy next door saw the little bit about the brickworks that I put in [to the magazine] and he said to me, was that you who put that in? I said aye it was just a wee filler, not an article or anything. Then I said but we're going to do a bigger project on it, he said let me know when that's on, I'd like to come and see that...it's stimulated a lot of conversation but then somebody will follow up, they'll bring in something else. Somebody brought in stuff to give me this week; they said if you're interested in that you'll be interested in this. And I always think that's the important bit, when people start handing stuff in. If we achieve anything by getting stuff before it goes in the blue bin that's important I think." (B1). Through these processes of digging up the lost and bringing it back into the present, it allows for renewed discussions about the Bonnybridge that for residents lies under the surface of what you can see now; they shift from being spectators of history and of decline to being participants in remaking their place in different ways within their control.

5.3.1.3.3 Plotting extensive loss on the map

It was highlighted in the mapping exercises with respondents that it was impossible to demonstrate the effects of time on the landscape, which had a knock-on effect on their work in their location. A very difficult project already, given none of these industrial works survive in any definable form, it was made more difficult by present day maps labelling only some of these areas as 'workings (disused)'. Similarly, older maps were regularly disputed as to the siting of certain works, with all of these smaller projects

adding up to a virtual shifting of what is considered by maps to be 'there', and the confusing naming of places, new housing areas and suchlike, both then and now:

"See there's Milnquarter there [on current Ordnance Survey map as a new housing estate]. I saw an old map with Milnquarter down about here but to me that was Milnquarter works - John G. Stein & Company Milnquarter Works. It's one of these houses across there that Stein stayed in, that's where he could see what was happening to the chimneys, he could tell what was going on in the works. This was Broomside Road...so Milnquarter is originally there, now obviously it's a name that crops up around the place but Milnquarter Works isn't necessarily the only Milnquarter or even the correct one. Some of the things seen here, Bonnyside House back down here, the brickwork was there was Bonnymuir and that's Bonnyside Road. Now if you take Dyson's up here - Dyson Refractories, Bonnyside East and Bonnyside West - it's not Bonnyside. Bonnyside has always been up Bonnyside Road. I need to get the proper name of some of the works: along here that was Bonnyside West, and Bonnyside East, across here what was that...Broomhill Brickwork I think or sometimes just referred to as High Bonnybridge Brickworks. I'll get the right name of that. There's one of the confusing things I had here was Bonnyside Works; I knew that part of it but Bonny-something or others around the place and they are all inter-changeable." (B1)

This highlights the difficulty and huge work involved in trying to evidence where these works were and transferring them onto the present day map. Adding to the re-drawing and reconsideration of the area of Greenhill and High Bonnybridge as it emerged

through the interview discussions, I will present next my observations of one of their projects: (1) brickworks open exhibition in March 2011, an open display which attempted to make present the brickworks through public collaboration (Figure 10 below).
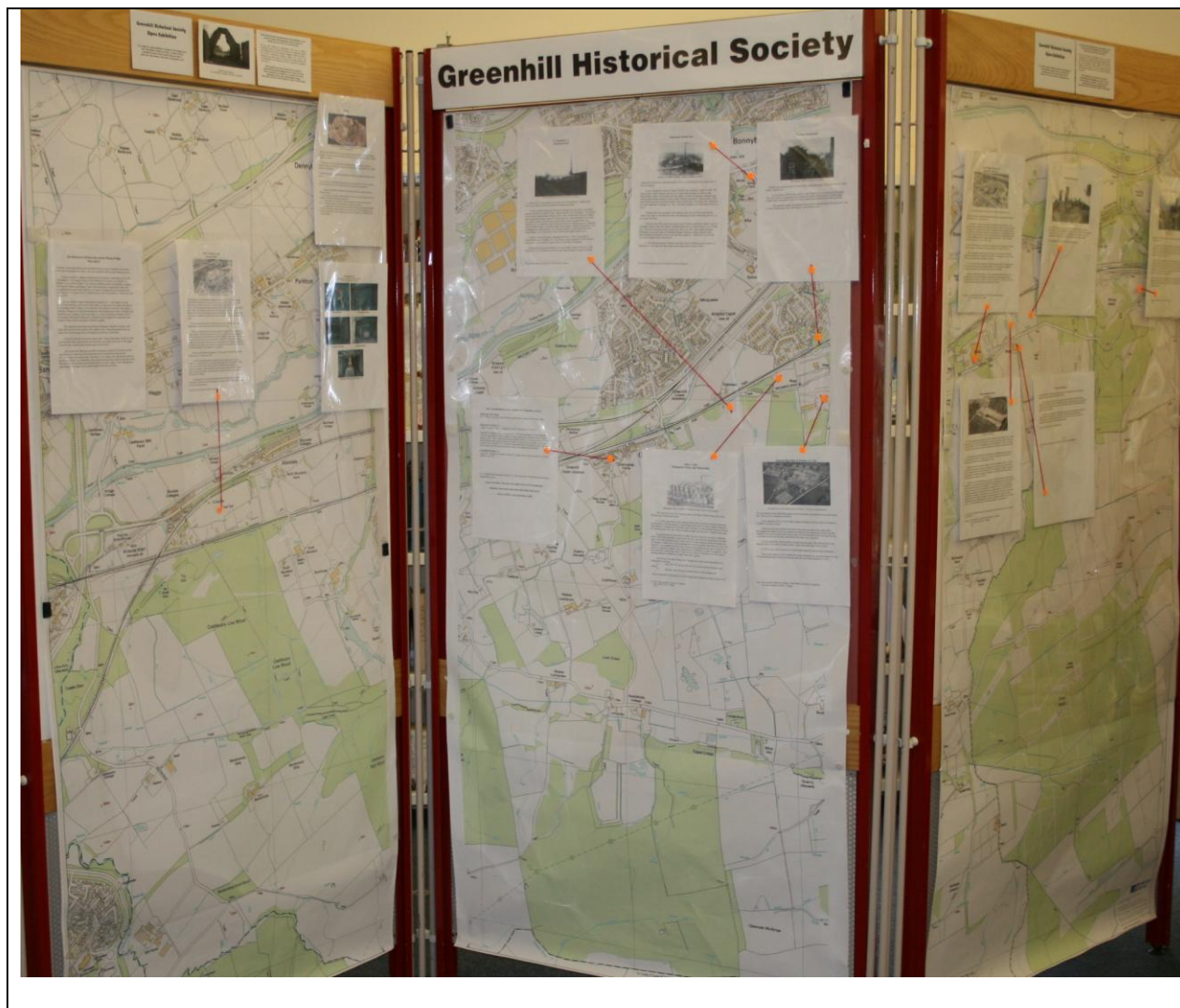
Figure 10: GHS open mapping exhibition in March 2011 – donated and lent artefacts on the brickworks and foundries.

Figure 10 continued: mapping of the historical Rollos Engineering (still present in the area) as 'industry in transition'

5.3.1.3.4 Brickworks Open Exhibition

As an additional data gathering exercise to the interviews and mapping exercises, I focus on one project I observed various which involved the areas of Greenhill and High Bonnybridge: in March 2011 an 'open exhibition' which was an open archive of historical artefacts involving mapping of brickworks and Rollo's Engineering (see Figure 10 above). In terms of the brickworks open exhibition it consisted of three panels where twelve brickworks were marked on a large Ordnance Survey map, with corresponding information sheets on each brickwork. Placed in the middle of the local library, people were invited to add to and dispute the basic information presented on the panels. Rather than being a traditional exhibition of static information distributing knowledge, it was constructed as a beginning to a conversation. As a result of their interactions with local people several of the brickworks 'shifted' on the map – re-sited in a different place or information as to ownership, products, etc. added to or disputed. Additionally, missing brickworks were added in over the length of the exhibition, through collaboration with the wider public. The exhibition was 'open' because it was formed through arguments between the Society and local people, visits to archives to rearticulate what had been missing, mismapped or incorrect. It sparked donations by local people of historical maps of the underground brick mines created by the major companies at the time, maps evidencing an extensive network of 'streets' beneath the present landscape, bringing to the fore mirror images of Bonnybridge under the ground as brick shafts and mines. Through both the research by the Society, and the subsequent interactive calls for information and displaying of this, means that many of these absent works are starting to emerge, as well as the underground clay mines that fed this huge

industry. From this work, a new map was drawn which tried to represent the industries

no longer represented on the Ordnance Survey map (Figure 11):
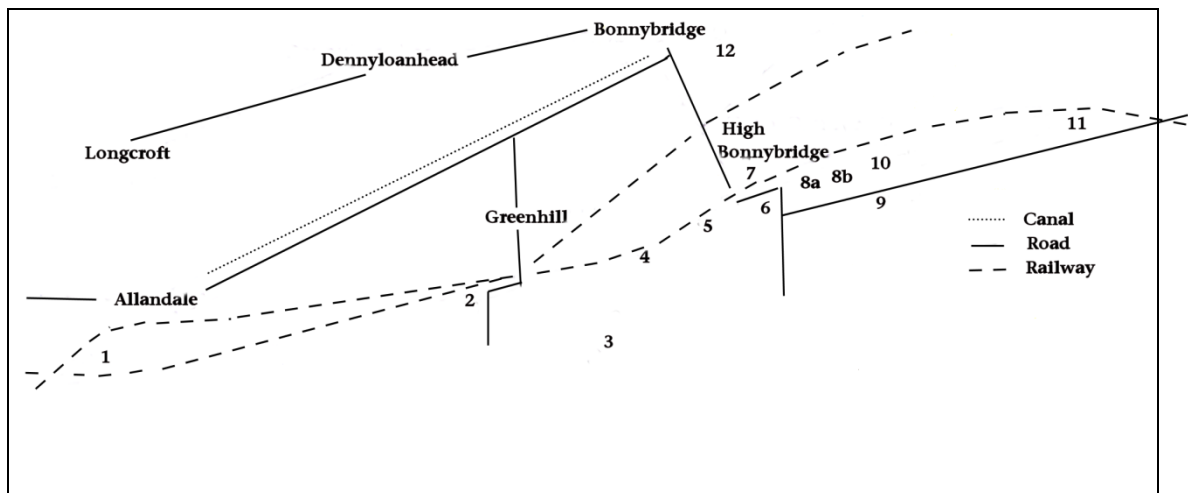
(1) John G.Stein, Castlecary Works, 1899-1980. (2) Glenyards Fireclay Co., 1880-1964. (3) Greenhill Fireclay Works, Clayknowes, 1860-1922. (4) George Turnbull, Dykehead, 1906-1962. (5) John G. Stein, Milnquarter Works 1887-1971. (6) Bonnybridge Silica and Fireclay, 1874-1972. (7) Woodlea, 1890-1892. (8) James Dougall and Sons, (a) West Works & (b) East Works, 1875-2002. (9) Cochran's Brickworks, 1906-1930. (10) Broomhill Brickworks, 1915-1970. (11) Campbell & Co. Roughcastle, 1892-1965. (12) Bonnymuir Brickworks, 1836-1960.
Figure 11: Cartographic representation of brickworks in Greenhill and High Bonnybridge, stretching to Allandale in the West. (Courtesy of WT)

5.3.1.4 Interaction Point 3: Southern Bonnybridge: The Targets, Clayknowes and other lost places
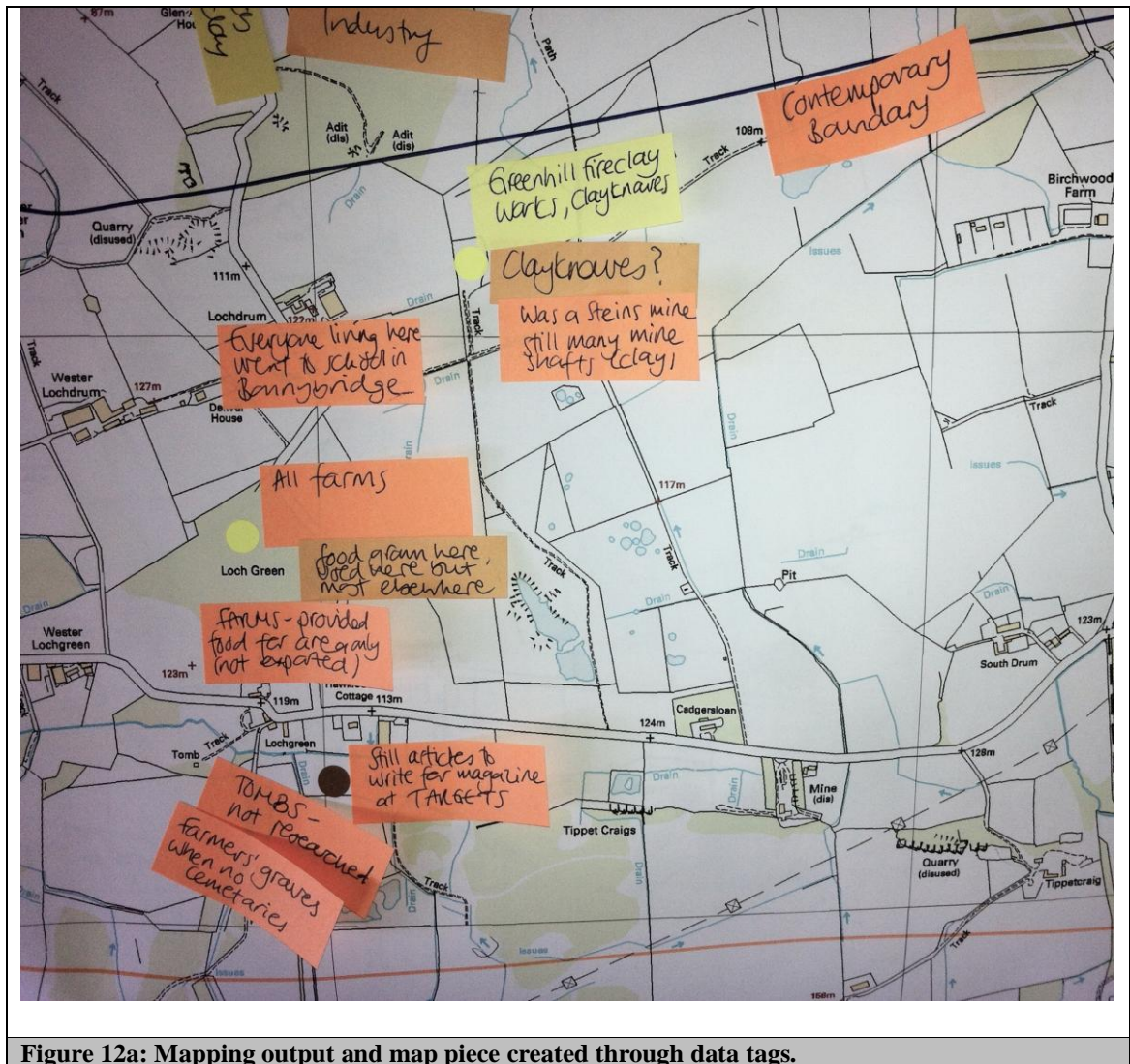
Figure 12a: Mapping output and map piece created through data tags.

Figure 12 b, c and d: 'Blank' map of southern Bonnybridge showing the absence of the Targets, Clayknowes and industrial past. Both 'gifted' and 'found' bricks from Clayknowes respectively; foundations of Clayknowes House based on several walks to map it.

Through the interviews and mapping exercises, respondents drew another 'boundary' between the intensely industrial areas of Greenhill and High Bonnybridge and the 'southern' parts of the village (Figure 12). Discussed as 'the wilds' and 'eerie' for its spatial remoteness from the rest of the place, nonetheless most interviewees placed it as part of their understanding of Bonnybridge and some of their work was centred around here. As an area littered with disused mine shafts and quarries, it was discussed as being connected in the past to the rest of industrial sections north of it in Bonnybridge, Greenhill and High Bonnybridge. It was pointed out that Greenhill Fireclay Works (brickworks) was located here - a Stein's-owned mine with many, now disused, clay mining shafts and workings around where all different types of clay were taken out; this brickworks appears to have been separated in spatio-temporal terms and not connected to the other brickworks to the north of it. All participants mentioned Clayknowes straight away when navigating down to this area, however only one interviewee was able to map it; its distance appears to have rendered it spaceless despite two walks being conducted in this area previous to find it (the latter walk successful after the finding of foundations of the mansion house). "I'm looking for Clayknowes but I suppose it's not marked on this map as Clayknowes...that was the path we went down, would that have been it? Because there's the track that takes you up to Tippet Craig, I think that would be it there." (B6). Indeed not marked on the map at all, despite being considered as a 'district' more locally, the area appeared to be of major importance to participants and part of their work on the area, often mentioned as a place of work and where many seemed to live at various points in their life. Since the walk in 2010 I observed over the last few years several objects were collected on the place, or donated by local people (see Figure 12 for examples).

Nearby 'The Targets' were also a focal point of their work, where several placed dots of activity. The use of the word 'obvious' as if the Targets were a given place that should be mapped is clear in this quote: "Well obviously the Targets, the mine, Feeney's Well that was the one up there. The explosive works..." (B4). Furthering this was the discussion from B5 that: "You knew all about this [Roman Wall] and you knew all about the stuff up the back roads [towards Lochgreen] and where the TA [Territorial Army] used to have their shooting range and all that kind of stuff. Nobody kens anything about that anymore." B1 furthers the mapping of this area by stating: "I'm going up there because I always think of that of historical interest because that's where the targets were for the home guard to practice. For me it's historical interest because of the stories from my father." (B1). Additionally, B3 considered this area crucial to his relationship to his place and his work in the Society: "We do Tippet Craig, come down there because that's the old workings of the old mine down there...that's all the open cast mines." (B3). Again, this use of language highlights the active nature of navigating across a map as a living landscape of histories.

5.3.2   Theme 2: Multiplying Bonnybridge

Through the different map pieces and corresponding artefacts, observations and interview data I have presented in this section, I consider that there appears to be no real sense of what Bonnybridge 'is' in spatial terms. Each respondent related very differently to each different part through their work in these areas; equally all individuals seemed to have no real relationship to its present-day configuration, which contrasts with the historian's singular boundary articulating a place that at one time had a sense of its boundaries. Only one participant drew a line that matched the historian's line exactly; another interviewee drew a large outline for Bonnybridge in the past, and a

much smaller one 'inside' to denote how much Bonnybridge had shrunk from what it once was. The reasoning behind each of their boundaries varied; for the participant who identified the entire map as Bonnybridge, they stated that: "I would go everywhere; if there was something relevant to something we were researching I would go, so there's no point in me putting a dot that I won't go here or won't go there. If I think it's relevant to anything we're researching I'll go there." (B4). Bonnybridge was made and remade through processes of shifting the boundaries and redefining it through its interaction points. This involved including and excluding, whereby their remapping practices became a collaborative 'event' involving respondents' processes of research and engagement with others, rather than singular private experiences or indeed through histories that remained private.

This had a profound effect not only on the places reported as historically significant, but also the areas visited and used as the central point of their actions in the Society. With no real understanding of what they were working 'within' the whole area appears to be a place of many boundaries – and simultaneously a place of no boundaries. We might consider that there is no such place as 'Bonnybridge' specifically (if indeed there ever was), or that there are many places within a larger sporadic and dispersed geographical area that has changed dramatically over time. It is possible to explain this alternatively as being related to the vast number of 'lost', damaged and hidden areas that are no longer represented in the landscape in a definable form. It can also be put forward that the majority of the absent characteristics that respondents related to – its industries, its housing areas, its walking routes – are only now in the process of being 'put back onto the map' through their research, exhibitions and public engagements. There is a sense that living in a presently unfamiliar place has motivated a seeking out the past of a place

in order to render it familiar again. These processes allow interesting forms of engagement which uncover hidden pasts that are layered over, or replace, the present landscape as participative actions in the present. It is interesting that the following quotation appears to be hinting at an attempt to tie the whole area back together again in the present, even though it was 'split' in the past: "Greenhill had its community, High Bonnybridge had its community, Seabegs, Bonnybridge Toll, Larbert Road, Woodburn, they all had their communities. But I think as the world is changing...it's getting wider and everybody is going into each other's community which is making Bonnybridge one big community...And I would say underneath Bonnybridge is a sleeping giant, the community is waiting to come out." (B4). It is possible to understand this quotation as a hope that Bonnybridge will come together as a place capable of being articulated, of being understood in ways that the respondents wish it to be represented.

5.4   Discussion on the use of psychogeographic mapping

The method of psychogeographic mapping developed in interesting ways within this case study. Although, as I outlined in my research design chapter, I used the method in exactly the same way for both the Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village locations, the approach itself manifested itself in quite different ways in the Bonnybridge case than the Cumbernauld Village case. I will deal with Bonnybridge here, and in the Cumbernauld Village case I will explore the development of the application of psychogeographic mapping. Firstly, Bonnybridge appears as a vibrant and dynamic location with lots of pockets for exploration, many different understandings of what constitutes the place through boundary-making, and also opportunities for local people to create projects such as walks, exhibitions and magazine articles. In terms of respondents' mapping (and re-mapping) activities residents articulated a significant

presence of change over time that equally I have been able to show a high level of interaction with their landscape, with few controls or restrictions placed upon them in boundary or official terms.

Thus, the psychogeographic mapping outputs I have presented are active representations of a place being remade by its residents in a variety of creative ways. It is worth noting, however, that this vibrancy has emerged precisely because of the abandoned and forgotten characteristics of the location by its local council. It is not a controlled area in governmental terms as much of its derelict sites have not been regenerated or removed, but rather are present (or are capable of being sought out) in the landscape to be interacted with in whichever way suited respondents. This is a positive and a negative, because partly it shows that residents are able to 'act' towards reconsidering their place in public in many ways, but it also shows that there is so little being done at a physical level that they are able to engage in these actions. Similarly in terms of the written histories available to the group, I have demonstrated that these are few; thus, the respondents have been able to dig up a wide variety of histories and past geographies that have never been placed upon the surface. Thus, the different map pieces that emerged through the data were multiples, highlighting not just one place but many places.

This is one of the strengths, and weaknesses simultaneously, of the psychogeographic mapping method, in that it develops in very different ways depending upon the present and historical geographic characteristics of the location being 'mapped' with respondents in a research situation. Its outputs are connected to the landscape and the extent and type of official physical regeneration (whether public or private), the types of

activities occurring by local people, the presence of many histories or few. The approach and application of the method itself does not change, but rather the data itself determines what form(s) emerge through the interplay between resident, geography and time. The Bonnybridge case has a higher number of map pieces emerging from the data precisely because it is a forgotten place; as will be seen in the Cumbernauld Village case the psychogeographic mapping process developed in a very different way, as a much more 'static' and 'known' place.

5.5   Conclusions

At the beginning of this chapter I outlined the ways my study was involved with understanding the complexities of processes of civic learning of individuals and social groups sharing a geographic area. The specific research question I sought to answer was: how are public spaces constructed through the interaction of individuals and groups with their physical and temporal environment? Through my data analysis in this chapter I developed this into a case of reconsideration, which was central respondents redefining their locality within the spatial and temporal conditions of loss and damage over time. My analysis probed deeper into the conditions for reconsideration to occur, in this case the impact of a forgotten and damaged place with multiple pasts. Reconsideration was defined as complex processes of redefinition and rearticulation practices involving space and time by respondents who put forward new understandings of their place through missing and unheard histories and geographies of importance to them, as civic action.

Putting forward reconsiderations of Bonnybridge through researching aspects of the past important to them, by comparing and contrasting past and present, gathering

artefacts from the wider public, seeking and obtaining additions, corrections and new pieces of the past from others who then take up these themes in public, all contribute to building up Bonnybridge – as acts in public. Alongside this, however, I demonstrated the complicated nature of the ways respondents were engaging with the historical characteristics of a post-industrial (and deindustrialised) place that has changed significantly over time. The data reveals a place of indifference by public agencies evidenced through a lack of intervention and also a place where much does not exist as it once did. Conversely it reveals a place multiplied, precisely through its precarious and forgotten nature in the present; this was demonstrated through respondents' difficulties in articulating the past in the landscape given its decline and disappearance. However, multiple actions were possible upon these encountered spaces and histories which then revealed a confusing environment of loss that was nevertheless more difficult to evidence. At the same time, however, the ways their history was not 'there' in the landscape and articulated in other forms, allowed for numerous access points for respondents who were in some instances free to begin processes of representing their place for themselves. Rather than considering their use of history as revolving simply around the 'learning about' histories already identified on their behalf, they were engaging in making histories for themselves: in uncovering old industrial sites and attempting to make them visible in the present. This making the unseen visible involved processes of gathering particular types of data (maps, photography, artefacts) and combining this with practical processes of analysis (walking the landscape, engaging with others, exhibiting, participating). These activities lead to their work shifting what Bonnybridge is in the present day; from being a commuter town and a forgotten place to one constructed by respondents through a patchwork of sites from the past brought into the present through their actions which are predominantly archaeological; history

as inhabited. These practices are manifestations of remembering the past, as foundational to respondents' engagements in civic life, in remaking the place as they see it, reconstructions of the past that make it present for others to encounter and take forward in their own way. I discussed lastly the ways that the method of psychogeographic mapping, applied in the same way for both cases, allows for respondents' work to be made visible at the intersection between space and time.

6 Chapter Six: Case 2 - Reconfiguring Cumbernauld Village: Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community (CVAC), North Lanarkshire

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents my data analysis of case two, Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community (CVAC), an environmental group in Cumbernauld Village, and sets out the themes that emerged. The 'case' of this chapter is the reconfiguration of Cumbernauld Village as civic action processes by CVAC. I define reconfiguration as the active processes by participants in the physical alteration of their local historic locations towards making these previously hidden and damaged locations visible and obvious in a physical sense, and thus capable of being mapped. It is thus a process with the conditions inherent in space and time as its central point, motivating actions that put forward alternative understandings of their place through its landscape and the histories contained there. As with chapter five, the first three of my objectives are dealt with here, linking to my first research question towards understanding how public spaces are constructed through the interaction of individuals and groups with their physical and temporal environment. This provides a definition for my use of the word 'civic' which involves respondents' engagements with the public (and shared) dimensions of their locations.

This chapter is in five parts. In section one I set out my analysis of official representations of the spatial and temporal context where this research took place. This context forms my understanding of the 'background story' of the issues occurring in Cumbernauld Village. From this I build a picture of a place – in official terms - of

significant interventions in its historic features by public agencies over decades. Operating within and surrounded by these official representations, in section two I layer data gained from interviewees involving their ground-level perceptions of their spatial and temporal environment. This brought forward a sense of a place that they fight to preserve in the present, a broadly stable geography and history articulated in identical terms by respondents but underlying frustrations relating to conservation – in terms of creating boundaries around their opportunities to engage with their landscape. In sections three and four I draw together these themes of preservation and conservation combined with data from respondents to show their interventions in the landscape in ways meaningful to them, operating within and against official conservation practices. Section three involves temporality involving a move from history-taking to history-making, generated from my analysis of the interplay between already-existing official conservation histories and respondents' own representations of the temporalities that make up their place. Section four, 'From Being Mapped to Re-mapping', involves the ways official conservation practices restricted respondents' actions but also allowed them through preserving pieces of land which could then be engaged with in different ways. My conclusions are in section five, where I argue respondents were both able to and constrained in representing histories and spatialities that mattered to them by local agency restrictions in terms of their area being conserved and 'mapped' on their behalf.

6.1 Section 1: Official representations of Cumbernauld Village

6.1.1 Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community (CVAC)

My analysis in this chapter focuses on civic action projects by members of Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community (CVAC). CVAC is one group of

several in the area which is actively concerned with the spatial and historical features of the Village. CVAC runs projects in the area focusing on the natural and historical features of their place. They are an active group in their locality, with a small regular membership of around eight people. I interviewed seven of the members (one member left the group due to work pressures shortly after I interviewed her but I included her as a member); one member did not wish to participate in this study. Members of CVAC live in the Main Street, Baronhill and Glasgow Road areas, which are within the Conservation Area boundary; two members live in the New Town architecture section of the Village (Springfield Road and The Auld Road which are outwith this boundary). Four of the members interviewed are originally from the Village and three have lived in the Village for over 30 years, describing themselves as 'incomers' from Glasgow, firstly moving into the New Town and then the Village. The age of participants interviewed varied from 40s, 50s and 60s; four are in employment of various types, and three are now retired. All members live in very close proximity to one another, exploring and experiencing broadly similar geography in the form of public spaces, routes, pathways and outlooks. In what follows I set out my analysis of the conditions CVAC operates in, towards situating their reconfiguration work within this.

6.1.2   Official Representations of Cumbernauld Village

This section begins with demonstrating official representations of Cumbernauld Village, generated from documentary analysis, involving an analysis of the spatial and historical aspects of the Village: (a) cartography of the Village; (b) official representations of the historical characteristics of the Village; (c) official representations of the Village by public agencies. The purpose of this is to provide a background to the ways the Village is articulated and understood by agencies working

in the area and individuals writing about the area. I will argue that over the last fifty or sixty years the Village has been subjected to major conservation of its historic features – specifically its built environment and 'village plan' – by successive local council departments and public agencies. This signifies a long-standing commitment to a place considered to have features worthy of preserving for the future. I argue that this interventionist and conservationist environment CVAC operates within affected respondents' opportunities to engage in their locality in a number of ways, which are discussed in sections three and four.

The original village of Cumbernauld has major connections to, and shares its name with, the more notorious Cumbernauld New Town. In this section I provide an introduction to the New Town and then introduce the Village as separate yet connected through the siting of the New Town around the Village. Although in my thesis I deal only with the Village and not the New Town, it is important to involve it because geographically Cumbernauld Village is placed 'inside' the New Town itself (the New Town was built around it). Therefore, based on documentary data and cartography I briefly highlight the distinctive characteristics of the Village versus the New Town, in order to show the challenges for the Village in terms of being connected geographically, and sharing a name with, a place which is often perceived negatively.

6.1.2.1 Cartography of Cumbernauld Village

Figure 13: Ordnance Survey map of Cumbernauld Village and surrounding areas (2011)

The map above in Figure 13 is a representation of Cumbernauld Village in 2011, and is the map that I utilised in my interviews and mapping exercises with participants of CVAC, discussed later. The map details features of the landscape that allow the mapreader to explore the different streets, routes and parks, and landmarks such as public buildings. From this map it is difficult to understand which parts of the geography are Cumbernauld Village and which are the New Town. In terms of a satellite image of the area, in Figure 14 below I have marked Cumbernauld Village in relation to the centre of Cumbernauld New Town. This highlights the way the Village is an 'enclave' inside the New Town. Taking the built environment for example, several 'new town' housing estates were built by Cumbernauld Development Corporation (CDC) inside the Cumbernauld Village borders and circle the traditional village

cottages. These include Springfield Road, The Auld Road, Smithyends and Roadside. Additionally, council houses were built in the areas of Carrick Road, Wigtoun Place, Stirling Street and Longwill Terrace from mid-War to post-World War II. At present there are around fifty private houses being built at the end of Old Glasgow Road. There has also been the 'sympathetic restoration' by CDC of the older cottages. Plotting these additions on a map you can see that they circle the original parts of the Village; there is first the outer circle of council homes, then inside that the new town homes, and inside that the village Conservation Area which is discussed in subsequent sections.

Cumbernauld Village surrounded by Cumbernauld New Town

Cumbernauld Town Centre

Figure 14: Cumbernauld Village situated within Cumbernauld New Town (Google Earth 2012)

6.1.2.2 Cumbernauld New Town emerging from Cumbernauld Village

Cumbernauld New Town was built between 1959 and 1974, due to developments in the 1950s surrounding: (a) overcrowding of the city of Glasgow after World War II, and (b) the development of new forms of planning to encourage a better flow and connection between people, the landscape and their living environment. The New Towns Act of 1946, alongside the Clyde Valley Regeneration Plan of the same year, recommended that 500,000 people should be removed from the overcrowded city centre of Glasgow,

with half that number allocated to the outskirts of the city, and the other half moved out to new sites (Fraser, 2012; Open University, 2012). Thus began the development of several 'New Towns', one of which was Cumbernauld. The ancient name of 'Cumbernauld', taken from the original Cumbernauld Village, was adopted to the New Town building project, forming Cumbernauld New Town. The New Town has attracted national and international derision over the decades for its town centre, receiving several unflattering awards for its architecture, including 'Britain's Worst Town' at one point. The New Town mirrored the Village layout, designed to encourage residents to come together and encourage walking to the centre. Some of the other surrounding villages retained their original features, including Condorrat and Cumbernauld Village; the Village developed connections with the New Town through its flow of people, some New Town house-building projects located there, and its geographical proximity.

Discussing the New Town allows for the introduction to the Village as working within, and yet also apart, from this. It is simultaneously the inspiration for the New Town and also uniquely distant in layout, architecture and culture. As Dame Roberts, the chair of the original Cumbernauld Development Corporation, stated about the New Town: "A healthy town pride and town spirit are already evident and with them has come an interest in the story of the area before the coming of the New Town." (in Millar, 1968). This highlights the unique position the Village has inside the New Town, but as a distinct place in its own right, historically and contemporarily. As I demonstrate next, throughout the change surrounding them since the 1950s, the original Cumbernauld Village has remained a separate place in spatial and temporal terms. The section that follows next builds on the documentary analysis to introduce official representations on

Cumbernauld Village: its history, its form through governmental statistics, public agency articulations and interventions.

6.1.2.3 Official historical publications on the past of Cumbernauld Village

This section discusses the ways Cumbernauld Village is represented in official historical writings by historians and an analysis of my interview with the North Lanarkshire Council officer responsible for the CARS project in the Village involved with its Conservation Area status. It also involves documentary data in the form of reports and maps generated from CARS. This section demonstrates the public sector projects in the area centring on the history of the village, projects initiated and funded to conserve and preserve the built and natural environment.

Official historical writings position Cumbernauld Village as an ancient pre-Medieval village, dating from the time of the Roman settlements on this site, their most northerly frontier, presently part of the local municipal council area of North Lanarkshire (Millar, 1980; Hutton, 2007). The characteristics and layout of the Village have remained stable over the centuries; this is predominantly due to particular moments of intervention by local and national government town planners, who have ensured its historic features are preserved as well as conserved, whilst simultaneously allowing for new homes to be built within its boundaries (VCC, 2012). Hutton (2007) argues that the new town attracted so much attention to the extent that the village that pre-dates it, and from which it gained its name, is still relatively unknown. As Provost Murray (in Millar, 1968) states: "The geographic considerations that played an important part in the selection of Cumbernauld as the site of a new town, have, since Roman times, caused Cumbernauld to be at the 'cross-roads' in a historical sense." Located in the centre of

Scotland, it was originally a small rural weaving community with brick making and farming also strong (VCC, 2012).

The village was situated at the junction of two important roads that brought commerce and also conflict (Hutton, 2007). Its strategic importance increased in conjunction with the growth of Stirling as the "...gateway between North and South." and where the influential Fleming family (to become the Earls of Wigton) built their castle (on the site where Cumbernauld House is now) and where "...the New Town came into being – a modern justification and expansion of a medieval theme." (Millar, 1968, p.9). Cumbernauld Village is a Conservation Area: a definable section of the village has been designated historically significant and is therefore protected under conservation law from being altered in the present. This is part of a wider scheme to retain the special characteristics of the village to preserve its uniquely historical state. Despite extensive house-building in the area over the last few decades, the Village still has its unique medieval configuration; this is precisely because Cumbernauld Development Corporation, the quango appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland to manage the building of the New Town, appointed an architect to both develop *and* preserve the character of the Village (Hutton, 2007). This architect, Philip S. Cocker, presided over a programme of building restoration which involved the rebuilding of houses behind their existing frontages, which was highly praised by the Royal Fine Arts Commission (Hutton, 2007). This has meant that parts of the housing in the main street and Baronhill areas and the langriggs within the Conservation Area have been restored from the 19th century (VCC, 2012), previously remembered by residents as being derelict in the 1950s and 1960s. Figure 15 below shows this explicitly, in particular the Main Street which has little changed over the last century in layout and building style.

Cumbernauld Village main street, 1927 © Sandy Stevenson, Tour Scotland	Cumbernauld Village, the original 'Cumbernauld - 'main street' 2012 © STV
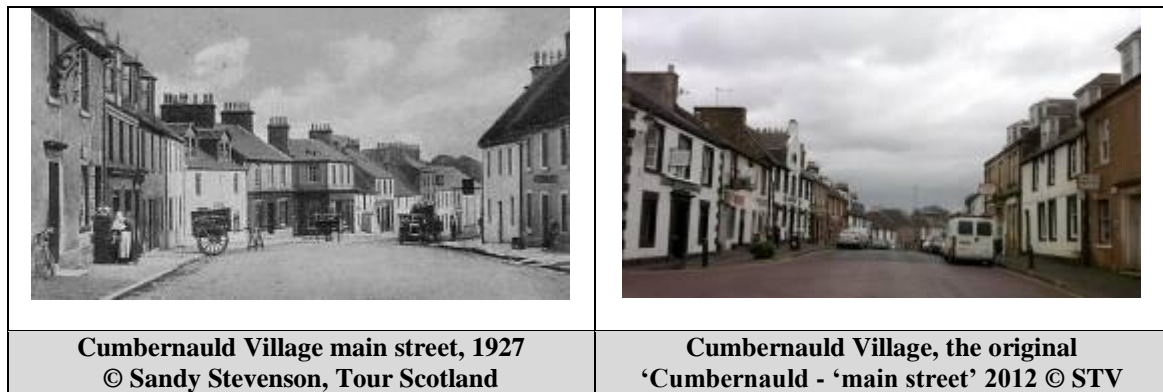
Figure 15: Cumbernauld Village Main Street at ground level, part of Conservation Area, showing little has changed in both street layout and buildings over the century.

6.1.2.4 Official representations of Cumbernauld Village by public agencies:

conservation and preservation 'interventions'

This section details an analysis in three parts of the data I gathered from official government statistics highlighing the area as deprived and in need of regeneration: official statistics, official historical representations (Conservation Area), and the Conservation Area Regeneration Scheme (CARS) operating in the area. I also provide an analysis of my interview with the Senior Planning Officer for North Lanarkshire Council responsible for the CARS bid stemming from the Conservation Area status of the Village and articulate this as evidence of an area with high levels of public sector intervention in its spatial and temporal characteristics rendering them with high levels of visible 'official history'.

6.1.2.5 Official Statistics

Statistics on the Village presented within the CARS bid that I was given access to by the planning officer responsible for writing it, evidence a complex mix of high levels of deprivation, evidencing a place struggling and subject to strict interventions in the form

of conservation of its historic features. Their examination of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD), a measure of multiple deprivation across seven domains including income, employment, crime, education, health, housing and access to services, shows that the Village contains three data zones within this, and one which falls just outwith the most deprived 15% areas in Scotland. Further analysis of the SIMD statistics highlights that all areas within the Village are situated inside the top third most deprived areas in Scotland. Despite not qualifying as a 'regeneration area' the statistics show nonetheless that there are particular and severe exclusion areas in this place. Due to its deprived status, coupled with its Conservation Area, has attracted funding from the Conservation Area Regeneration Scheme (CARS), which provides money to Conservation Areas which experience deprivation issues and the historic features are deemed to be in need of regeneration (North Lanarkshire Council, 2008).

6.1.2.6 Official historical representations: Cumbernauld Village as a Conservation Area; recipient of Historic Scotland's Conservation Area Regeneration Scheme (CARS)

Cumbernauld Village was designated a Conservation Area in 1993, meaning both the natural and built features of the village are of architectural and historic interest; by law its character and appearance are regulated and restricted under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) (Scotland) Act 1997 (see Figure 16). Conservation Area boundaries can be altered over time, bringing inside or removing areas from conservation attention; Cumbernauld Village is currently going through this re-boundary process now. A particular section of the village – not its whole area – is protected under conservation law from being altered. Within this area are twenty-three buildings of 'listed' status. As shown in the NLC Conservation Area map (Figure 16

below), the boundary dealing with the conserved area shows the houses and land positioned 'inside' and 'outside' its protection. The blue dots on the map are the listed buildings. The area which is the centre point for the work of CVAC which I discuss later, the 'lang riggs', is labelled in Figure 16 and situated in the Conservation Area. Thus their characteristic long, narrow configuration is protected by law from being altered.
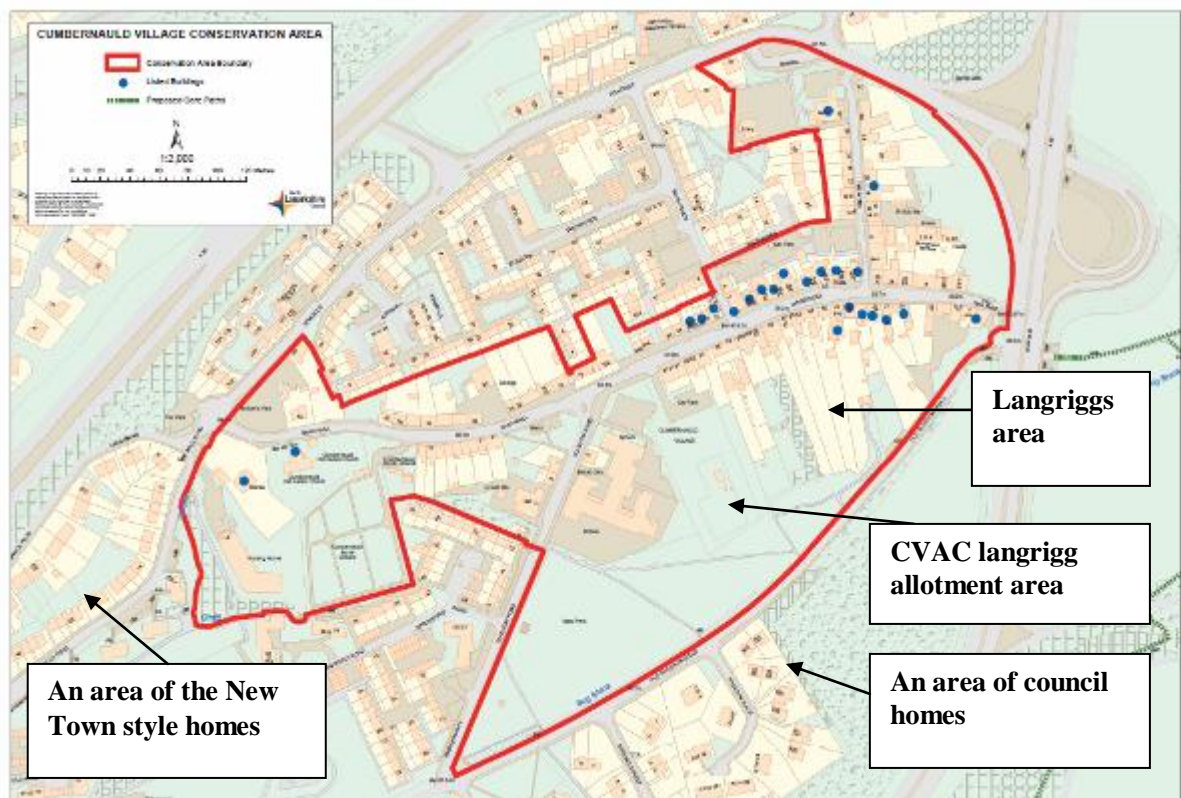
Figure 16: Cumbernauld Village 'Conservation Area'. Map includes the protection zones of both the built and natural (greenspace) environment, specifically relating to configuration and historical features of the Village (Map courtesy of CARS officer, North Lanarkshire Council).

6.1.2.6.1 Conservation Area Regeneration Scheme (CARS)

Through its protected status, coupled with its official deprivation (both in aesthetic form through 'at risk' and damaged listed historic properties, and through the poverty statistics of residents), North Lanarkshire Council's Planning Department was successful in gaining a Conservation Area Regeneration Scheme (CARS) grant. Throughout my time with CVAC I was fortunate to attend a number of Village

Community Council meetings, at which there were regular updates and information on the CARS project. Thus the following section details my filed notes and public information leaflets from these public meetings, and a report which was provided to me by the Senior Planning Officer responsible for CARS whom I also interviewed.

A scheme run by Historic Scotland, funding is awarded targeting physical and economic regeneration of deprived Conservation Areas through grants aimed at conservation and restoration projects. The CARS scheme grant of £375,000, matched by North Lanarkshire Council in project officer time, began in 2011 and finishes in 2013, operating within the Conservation Area boundary only which excludes the council housing and some of the other poorer areas in the Village, and the New Town-style homes around the periphery. Since 2011, CARS has been responsible for providing conservation grants in the Village on four main areas: (1) private homes – encouragement of repairs to historic roofs and chimneys, windows and other historic features of private properties towards the removal of 'inappropriate' features and the reinstatement of sympathetic improvements; (2) local business shop fronts – to enhance shop fronts and signage towards sympathetic refurbishment reflecting the historic features of the village shopping area; (3) the refurbishment and repair of targeted at-risk listed buildings such as the Village Primary School (now closed), the former library and museum, Ardenlea, and the Villager Public House; (4) public realm repair and improvements and interpretation/education, encompassing repair work to stone walling and paths within the langriggs (long, narrow strips of land previously the market gardens of the Village) and surrounding wynds (narrow pathways). This work is managed by NLC's Senior Planning Officer whose main specialism is restoration and conservation.

6.2 Temporalities of Cumbernauld Village: From history-taking to history-making as civic action at ground level

In this section I discuss the ways respondents related to the temporal characteristics of their environment, and introduce two topics. Firstly I discuss representations of Bonnybridge by respondents from the 'inside'. Secondly I demonstrate the ways respondents engaged with 'official' histories already present in the form of conservation; I call this history-taking practices. Then I demonstrate the way they used these official histories to represent histories that mattered to them, which I refer to as history-making practices. I argue these are both processes of reconfiguration, with temporality central to a reworking of their village towards making visible the unofficial histories colliding with official conservation rhetoric. Both themes emerged from my analysis of interview and mapping data, and my observations of their work. From this I gained an understanding of their relations with the temporal aspects of their location, which emerged as a place existing in the present through its past.

6.2.1 Topic 1: Representations of Cumbernauld Village by respondents: a place 'under reconstruction'

There emerged a complex relationship between residents and the spatial and temporal aspects of their local environment. Within this topic there is one theme and three sub-themes. From a ground-level perspective respondents struggled to function within the strict and unalterable configurations that come with living in a Conservation Area, including the ways in which the built and outdoor environments are 'owned' and managed by the local council. Firstly, in terms of their perceptions of their place, respondents articulated it from a variety of perspectives; from an outsider's perspective

several considered it is attractive but from their own point of view the pieces that make up the whole are damaged: "I think a lot of people who come in say it's a lovely wee village and the weird thing is they're not seeing the grotty bits that I look at and think that's embarrassing because they see it as a whole." (CV4). It was described as "struggling" (CV1) and "dilapidated" (CV7) and in significant decline in the 20th century and a concern that this is addressed in the 21st century: "I think that probably the village saw itself as a bit posh compared to the other villages back in the 19th century/20th century because it was weaving and the other villages were mining. So from a social class point of view it was posher and had more money...it had the castle originally of course. But I think right across the twentieth century it just went downhill" (CV1). In other articulations it was argued that it is a great place to live with abundant green space; a long established place with a significant history that is not yet really known by both villagers and outsiders. It was identified as a "...work in progress" (CV4), where, "There are so many good things in this village that a lot of people outside the village don't know about" (CV3). Some discussed the position the Village has alongside the New Town, occasionally suffering as a result of the reputation of the New Town, articulated as a "we were here first" attitude: "...and maybe even still a slight resentment that the New Town inhabited the identity of Cumbernauld." (CV1). CV1 considers that the historical characteristics of the place set it apart from its neighbour, however: "I think as a project they obviously bring the history side in, which I think is important in the village because it distinguishes it from the New Town...It's very difficult for the village to have a clear identity, I think it's near impossible at the moment. We'd need to do something quite distinct...before it had a clear identity that was distinct from the New Town." (CV1)

6.2.1.1 Theme 1: Lack of control in an officially controlled environment

Here I discuss the first theme involving the ways respondents positioned the difficult relationship they have with their environment. This theme has two sub-themes relating to respondents' difficult relationships with their local council, and feelings of invasion from external sources. Respondents perceived strongly that their local council has full control over decision-making particularly regarding spaces and buildings that are historically significant at a local level. The second sub-theme, involving feelings of invasion from 'outside' contribute to continued damage and decline of significant historic spaces that residents identify as having an effect on the aesthetic nature of their place. This second strand involves the local council again, as both the 'outsiders' and the officials responsible for allowing this decline.

6.2.1.1.1 Sub-theme 1: Difficult engagements with local council

Respondents discussed a historically important place containing historic spaces that are under regular threat. These threats come from a variety of sources, but mainly related to the fraught relationship respondents have with North Lanarkshire Council (NLC). There emerged a sense that through respondents' experiences in the past and presently with the ways NLC make decisions 'on behalf of' the area that residents have little control about what happens in their place. Respondents provide examples of this lack of control in relation to several sites; firstly most discussed their frustrations at attempts to remove the historic lang riggs, and their subsequent relief when local pressure 'saved' them. As one respondent discussed: "...there was an intention, a plan by the council, a proposal to allow houses to be built on the langriggs and there were public meetings held and I went to a series of them just as an individual resident. And I spoke out against the development of housing on the lang riggs specifically because of the historical

attributes of the sites and also because I knew that people didn't want that kind of development on the site...I made the points about the historical legacy..." (CV2). As discussed previously, these lang riggs are now within the protection of the Conservation Area. A second example of a site damaged and which respondents considered was the result of local council decisions made 'above' was the Victorian primary school: "....everybody at the beginning was so angry with the council about shutting the wee school...sometimes you get disheartened the likes of the school. It was hours and hours and hours of meetings and we've just had to walk away." (CV7). Further, another respondent discussed their feelings that it is not only the removal of locally-important buildings but the issue of the ability for others to remove these buildings in itself: "...it's the loss of the school but it was more I think the loss of what we could do with that school, what the community was losing, not just in the fabric of the building but we feel they're gradually taking everything away from us." (CV3). Further examples of a lack of control relate to other historic buildings: Ardenlea House as the former public library and museum currently lying derelict, with respondents discussing that: "...it's just a disgrace that the council have let that go for so long...why can they not compulsorily purchase them and get them updated, because Ardenlea especially it's the first thing you see as you come into the village...this horrible big building sitting all boarded up and derelict...If the council could just be a bit more proactive in taking them back into ownership" (CV7).

6.2.1.1.2 Sub-theme 2: Invasions of the historic characteristics of the village

The second strand of feelings of invasion from outside was articulated in the form of 'anti-social behaviour' from certain individuals living 'outside' the area, particularly young people: "...there's a bit of vandalism, there's a lot of drinking, there's lots of

drugs...we've got a lot of young people come down, cause lots of problems, again it's the lights, it's the pubs, the music in the pubs." (CV4). Further, this was explained as being related to the issue that one observed: "At one point I counted about eleven licensed premises in this village and I fought and fought. And it doesn't make any difference because there's nobody – no councillors in Cumbernauld Village – on the licensing board...so there's an awful lot of licensed premises...for a small village with one main street." (CV3). Similarly, "The Villager pub is an eyesore in the middle of the main street...There's a gap site down at the Spur and it's pretty horrible looking as well. And I think the families move in to the Auld Road at the flats and as soon as they can get a house they move on so there's not the same residents that stay for a long time now...now it's a lot of strangers." (CV7). These quotations are woven into the concern by respondents that the village itself is under threat, its 'village feel' and its closeness – as well as its historical characteristics - are gradually being eroded. And yet at the same time there has also emerged a strong sense of local council intervention over decades in terms of restoring and maintaining the built environment of the village. Thus, a conflict has emerged through the ways respondents discussed the lack of interest by – and even in some cases a complete neglect by - the council in failing to intervene in the decline and damage done to the historical parts of the village. At the same time, as I discussed in the previous section, the village itself has had many decades of high levels of intervention by successive municipal councils. These interventions have restored and broadly 'saved' the village aesthetic and medieval layout, albeit with several council-based threats to the lang riggs area that local people managed to save. Part of the issue relates to a tension that I have evidenced between official council decisions being bestowed 'upon' the village from above and the ways in which respondents of this study failed to relate to the council-articulated restoration and continued maintenance of

council-defined historic areas. It is through the tension between both positions that I consider are the entry points for the work of CVAC, and which I will move on to next.

6.2.2 Topic 2: History-Taking to History-Making - from the 'taking' of pre-existing history to the making of alternative histories as civic action

This topic discusses the ways respondents engaged with the temporal characteristics of their location, involving the interplay between: (a) reconfiguration from above: the 'official' local council-implemented conservation framework and restoration programme targeted at the Village built environment, and (b) reconfiguration at ground-level: the ways respondents both worked against and within these official frameworks, both in terms of the restrictions placed upon them by conservationist rules, and projects they developed from, and as a result of, these restrictions.

As discussed previously the history of the Village appears broadly stable in terms of its preserved and conserved nature rendering its official history visible in the present. Respondents also mainly articulated an identical history of their place. However, there also emerged an undercurrent of respondents' dissatisfaction and frustration involving the conservation practices of their local council; thus can be demonstrated a working against this through developing projects of their own, whilst simultaneously having to adhere to the rules of conservation. In what follows I present the ways in which the work of CVAC - as 'working against' and 'within' this environment - allows for demonstration of their ground-level engagements emerging in the tension between both states. Thus, the ways in which they failed to identify with the official historical interventions in the *built environment*, created a focus on intervening in practices that are conserving the *natural historic spaces* of their neighbourhood.

6.2.2.1 Theme 1: Working within a Conservation Area – lack of identification with official historical interventions by public agencies involving the built environment

As discussed previously there were tensions between the local council and CVAC in relation to the various official interventions (and lack of as residents perceive it) occurring in the Village. These tensions became evident through respondents' discussions of their dissatisfaction with the ways the local council intervened to conserve particular areas of their community. Respondents argued that North Lanarkshire Council focussed mainly on building restoration – predominantly involving the businesses and houses along the Main Street - to the detriment of other aspects that CVAC members consider to be important: "It is [important] on a physical level to reinstate windows and guttering and that's noteworthy but there doesn't appear to be a frame on which to hang it...where's the overall picture, I'm missing it and that's where I'm coming in with the historical stuff...and it's to say well why are you reinstating windows and guttering? And it's to pretty it up physically. Now it's good that the windows in the hall in the Wynd were done and a couple of wee other cosmetic bits, but why can't we use the hall in the Wynd?" (CV4). CV4 goes on to argue that the official aspects of conserving their village are not meaningful to local people: "So they're not doing anything on the major issues but are just skirting around the peripheral." (CV4). This is taken up by CV6 who articulates that: "...as much as I think historically the regeneration will be nice there's a lot of people in the village who are asking why is all this money being spent on that when they don't have this, they don't have that, they don't get their paths swept, they don't have a drain getting fixed, the bins aren't getting emptied but they can get money for flower baskets?" (CV6). Also discussed by CV7 was the lack of attention to ex-residential gap sites by CARS and NLC, which have

been left in favour of aesthetic restoration of a small part of the village. Equally official conservation practices were considered to be to the detriment of Auld Road, the council housing area: "...there's one street in the village with flats that were built for the overspill from Glasgow that has 360 homes on it, which is more than half the population of the village, but is totally ignored. The community council says it's got the benefits but it's not in the Conservation Area...the village will look lovely and I'm not disputing that...but it does concern me that other parts of the village are being neglected." (CV6).

As well as respondents highlighting a lack of alliance and relationship with official council interventions, other issues involving the buildings that respondents consider to be of local historic importance are 'being allowed to deteriorate'. Here the CARS project, and the local council more generally, are being blamed for not being attentive enough in ensuring various locally treasured buildings are preserved from ruin: "This is an old village, it's a historic village and I think we're ruining it to what they are allowing to happen...It should not take a community to have to fight for every single thing if they're doing their job right." (CV3) This relates in particular to Ardenlea House, which is a listed building and the previous museum and library in the village. The VCC has been asking for a long time for NLC to compulsorily purchase the property, which is in private hands now, in order to save it from ruin. So far respondents say they have been unsuccessful. CV4 discussed that local people are being forced to keep watch on this building because it has been vandalised several times. She states that "...these are pensioners as well and they're looking after this property because they don't want a burnt-out building." (CV4) A similar issue relates to the primary school closed in the early 2000s and lying dormant after several failed

campaigns by CVAC to retain it for community use: "Seeing it going derelict just every day passing it and it just got worse and worse and we need somewhere for a community to go...it's a shame, my grandfather went there to the school and my father and all his brothers and sisters. I went, my children went, it's just a shame. It's a part of my life." (CV5). The closure of the school by the council and articulations by respondents who perceive a failure to engage with local people on alternative uses for it highlights the lack of control and ability on a wider scale to intervene in saving building that residents relate to strongly as part of their history. Subsequently to this, several respondents discussed it as being damaged by fire and "...the feeling is because this has been going on since 2002, it's nearly ten years that the school has now been closed and I think that is so sad that a building of that age, especially when it could have been used, has been allowed to rot. And that is exactly it, it has been allowed to rot." (CV3).

These examples given by respondents put forward a representation of a place where residents are failing to identify with or understand the official conservation of particular historical characteristics of their place and feel strongly about the areas that should be involved in these practices but currently are not. I have also drawn a picture of a place structured and restricted, tied to an official representation of its history that makes interventions by local people more challenging. In the second theme that follows I will draw a connection between the aforementioned 'official interventions' and place 'ground-level interventions' by members of CVAC as operating both within and against these structures.

6.2.2.2 Theme 2: Working 'against' and 'within' the Conservation Area – freedom versus control

Within the Conservation Area, CVAC has been working inside and around it through the application of various outdoor projects. In this theme of working against the council's conservation activities I outline the ways in which the consensual nature of both respondents' understandings of the local history and their actions focusing on three parts are evidence of a 'singularity', a stable, known and preserved history of their place. Thus, there are not multiple understandings but rather a general sameness in both their descriptions of their village in the past and their practical engagements in these spaces in the present. Allied to this 'sameness' in a temporal sense, I will move on in sub-theme two to articulate the ways that as a group of people they are working towards the same goals involving two particular projects I will discuss here:

a) Development of the 'langriggs' as a public 'park': these long (lang) strips of land are situated within the Conservation Area and their configuration is therefore protected. They were once the market gardens of the properties along the main street of the village; most of these are now in the public domain, whilst others are still private, and a large section in the northern part of the village have gone completely.

b) Creation of twelve allotments on the site of one rigg, which will allow local residents to engage with each other through the growing of their own food as previous generations of villagers did.

6.2.2.2.1 Sub-theme 1: History-Taking

In the interviews and mapping exercises with respondents, they articulated a consensual understanding of the history of their place; few added anything different to the 'basic history' of their place. This contrasts to the multiple histories put forward by the Bonnybridge case. Further, they provided this history in a strongly geographical way; that is to say although they told stories of the village of the past, the majority of the local history was preserved and visible in the present-day landscape. I have already argued that this history has been conserved on their behalf by successive local councils and thus is capable of being 'adopted' by local people. The ways in which they discussed a stable past, coupled with the conservation practices outlined earlier, allow for the emergence of the concept of 'history-taking' in terms of the ways in which they utilised and identified with aspects of the already-existing and official representations of their place in conservation terms. I mean by this that they highlighted landmarks that had been conserved over time and which thus allowed them to provide a common understanding of their place. The stability at the level of history-telling predominantly emerged in the ways participants discussed broadly similar historical landmarks in their village. These landmarks of historic importance to respondents included, as one example of a common discussion with respondents: "...the school, the Wynd, the Church, the graveyard, the Auld Road, the langriggs...and the weavers cottages are just in here at the end of the langriggs. Of course over here is the house isn't it, and the other thing is the motte, because that used to be the castle as well you see." (CV4). By pointing out these historical landmarks respondents were also structuring the geography and providing a 'shape' in boundary terms to the place which appears not to have changed over the last century: "I mean here we've got the classic village layout from there to there, the church at one end and the house at the other, or the castle originally.

So that's the medieval access route, this is the shape it's ended up with all the housing in different early and late 20th century building...so actually there's the Main Street, it's crosscut in the middle of the Mercat Cross that would be here, the castle is somewhere here, and the church is that end and riggs that way and riggs this way so that's the original layout." (CV1). Below in Figure 17 I show how this stability is evidenced, whereby these sites broadly exist to be 'seen' in the present day. I have used a map of the mid-1880s and traced over this the route highlighted by respondents.
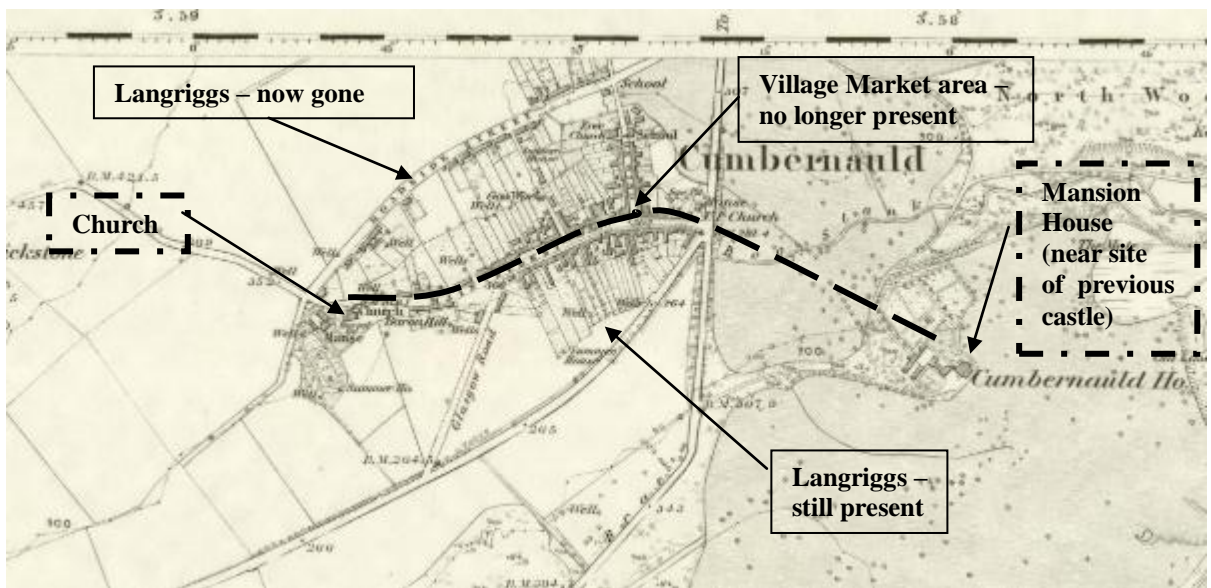
Figure 17: Ordnance Survey, 1843-1882. Dumbartonshire Sheet XXVI. Survey Date: 1859; Publication Date: 1864 (Copyright: National Library of Scotland).

6.2.2.2.2   Sub-theme 2: History-Making

Within this sub-theme I will outline the ways in which, from both my observations of respondents' practices in situ, and their mapping and interview data, they utilised this visible conserved history, but also developed new interventions from this and from alternative histories not represented already. Thus, what is represented in official terms, and what can then be represented by respondents at ground level provided entry points for their own reconfigurations of their village; these reconfigurations will be presented

in the next section on their spatial actions in terms of physically altering their environment through using aspects of the past not already represented in official ways. The ways they described a broadly stable history, partly due to the ways in which it has been preserved over successive decades, leads on to the respondents' creation of projects focusing on sites they consider to be historically significant, and not already represented in official historical terms. As discussed before, these sites relate to the natural environment of the area, set apart from the official Conservation Area restoration of the built environment which CVAC members appear to have little relationship or identification with. Notwithstanding, however, despite their 'natural' status, or at least the outdoor aspects of the areas they are engaging in, it emerged from the data that these areas are still restricted; as I will discuss next, these restrictions have implications for the type of work respondents describe they are able to undertake here, in terms of having to seek permissions to intervene on land that is complex for two main reasons: (a) it was saved by local residents from being destroyed; this saving has rendered it therefore (b) protected by law in its original configuration as a historic outdoor space. Simultaneously then I will show how this complex situation has resulted in partly respondents both 'hemming themselves in' to structured and restricted spaces and at the same time these actions to have these environments protected have allowed for the creation of projects that intervene in these sites in a variety of ways. Thus, 'history-making' is a broadly spatialised and physical endeavour where they actively reconstruct the landscape in line with histories that allow for an alternative village landscape to emerge. Thus, I site history-making in the next section involving physical space, connecting these practices to boundary drawing/remapping of Cumbernauld Village. These activities emerged as reconfigurations, in terms of the ways in which they physically reconstituted and evidenced layers of history lying dormant underneath

the conserved historically and thus stable configuration of their village. I will evidence the actions by respondents as forms of interruption to the conserved nature of their local environment; they simultaneously succeeded in both configuring and reconfiguring their area through the conflictual and difficult interplay between official conservation systems and land with the capacity to be open to interventions by local people.
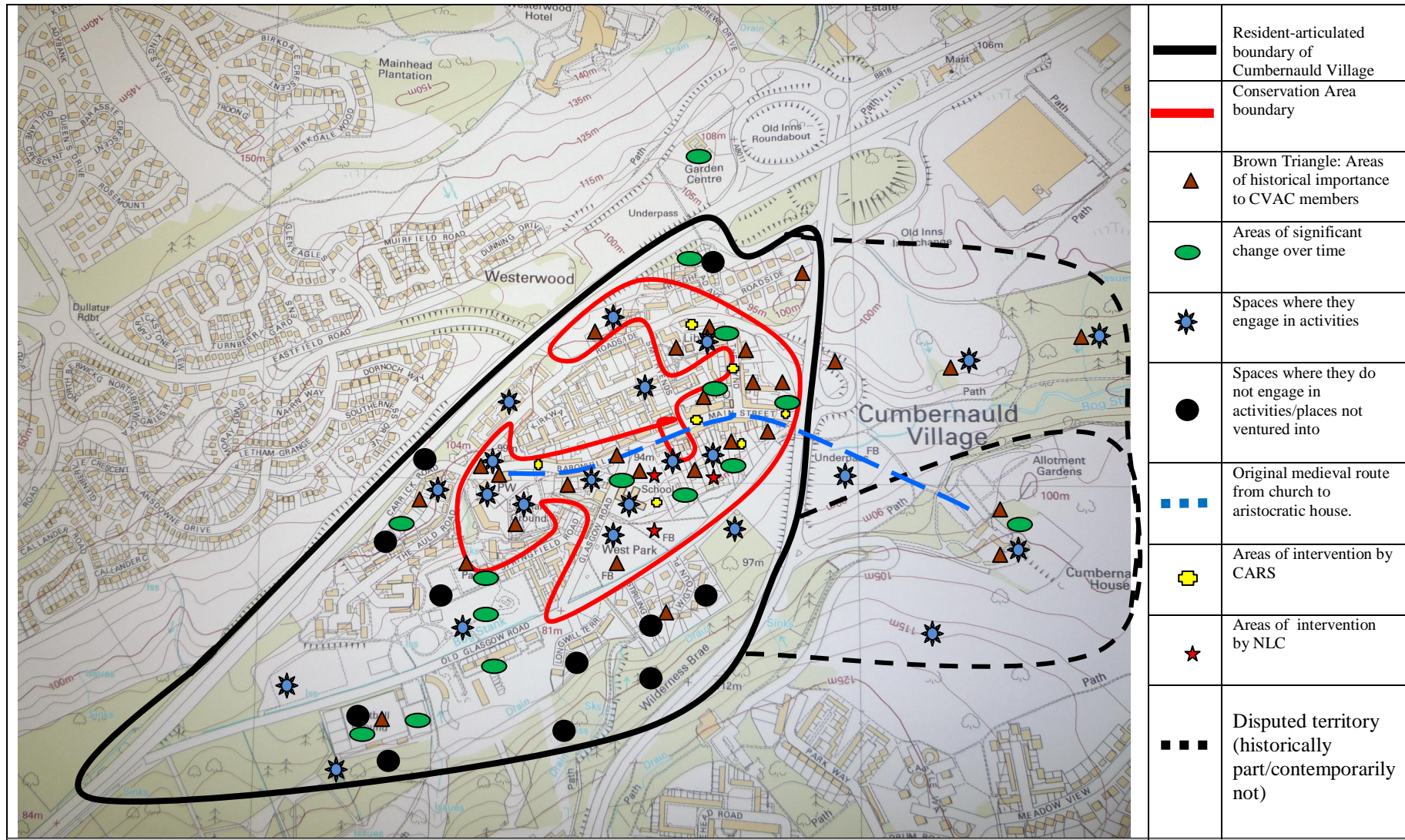
Figure 18: Mapping of boundaries, historically significant buildings and land, and areas of intervention

Legend:

- **Resident-articulated boundary of Cumbernauld Village**
- **Conservation Area boundary**
- **Brown Triangle: Areas of historical importance to CVAC members**
- **Areas of significant change over time**
- **Spaces where they engage in activities**
- **Spaces where they do not engage in activities/places not ventured into**
- **Original medieval route from church to aristocratic house.**
- **Areas of intervention by CARS**
- **Areas of intervention by NLC**
- **Disputed territory (historically part/contemporarily not)**

6.2.3 Topic 3: From 'being mapped' to 're-mapping' - spatial reconfiguration as civic action

The map in Figure 18 represents the data from interviews and mapping exercises with respondents. The key shows the various historically significant areas to them as well as the ways in which they drew the boundaries of their place. As I showed previously, the area is stable and known, partly due to the conservation and restoration policies by local councils. Respondents themselves also broadly articulated the same history in their descriptions of what they considered to be an expression of their place in the past adding to this sense of stability. Thus, Cumbernauld Village emerges as an area of restored, visible history – an area that still maintains its historic characteristics. However, as I have discussed in earlier sections, respondents did not identify with nor relate to some of the conservation and restoration practices of the local council; rather as I will show in this section they focused their efforts on particular outdoor spaces, which provided them with opportunities to represent their own landscape. These representations emerged from the historical spaces respondents involved in actions within and upon, namely the lang riggs, the allotments and the variety of orchards and food-producing natural spaces that have been present in the area for over a century. Within this topic I will explore these interventions as they sought to layer over an alternative Village scape – one that emerged at ground-level – over the conserved landscape. These layering activities towards making certain aspects of the past visible – which I define as furthering the case of reconfiguration – highlights the ways respondents were restricted from and able to act in and around these spaces. The topic is split into two themes: firstly I demonstrate the restrictions placed upon both Cumbernauld Village as a place and on respondents as they articulated it, in terms of the challenges they faced in intervening in officially conserved space managed by the

local council; secondly I present my analysis of the ways in which respondents intervened in two historic spaces they considered to be representative of their relationship with the spatial and temporal aspects of their locality, outlined in the previous section: (1) the lang riggs, and (2) the allotments project. Both projects occurred within the Conservation Area boundary, though the community planting took place in a wider space than this and included interventions in the non-Conservation Area spaces.

6.2.3.1 Theme 1: the Lang Riggs – reconfiguring the periphery as the village centre

The preservation and conservation of the lang riggs area around the Village is one of CVAC's priorities, and is evidenced in the map fragments in Figure 19 below. There are fifteen langriggs, most of which respondents pointed out were historically the back gardens of houses along the Main Street. The work by CVAC in the langriggs was discussed by all members, who articulated their activities and purpose in this area. Their activities take place in stages, including (1) developing the orchard, shrubs and green areas around the langriggs area; (2) situating public allotments on the sites of what are three public 'langriggs', historically significant long, narrow gardens, previously used as productive market gardens for growing crops, keeping livestock such as cows, pigs, chickens and sheep. Respondents described their engagements with these riggs as a central part of developing interactive public environment projects upon conserved outdoor space. This facet to their work provided a sense of engaging in a conserved area, an area both fixed to a particular point in time, but with opportunities to reconfigure the land inside these unmoveable boundaries. It will be argued that the conserved nature of the area is not only what allows the historical configuration of the area to be continuous in cartographic terms; equally, its 'saved presence' also allowed

respondents to interact with it. Thus their actions were formed in the interplay between restrictions and opportunities, towards the reconfiguration of an area of their community that allowed for entry points by CVAC as a group.

6.2.3.1.1 Sub-theme 1: Stabilising the lang riggs through public campaigning – from invisible and damaged to visible and 'preserved' - historical continuity in the present

The 'lang riggs' were located by all interviewees; Figure 19 below details the pieces of the map respondents related most strongly to in the lang riggs area, and the ways in which from documentary data I gathered on the area it has not changed significantly in the last 100 years. These map pieces and photographs point to the ways their configuration in cartographic terms has remained stable and unchanged since the mid-1800s; equally, respondents were also quickly able to pinpoint them on a present map because of their distinctive shape. They positioned them as central to representing their relationship with their village: "The likes of the langriggs is a very important part of this village, it's like the village square. A hub, if you can call it that." (CV3). Despite respondents considering them to be hugely important, some discussed that a lot of villagers are still not aware of them, specifically because they are hidden 'behind' the main street: "...a lot of people don't know about them as well so I'm not pretending they are the jewel in the crown of the village and everybody thinks they're fab and we've got to save them. They are kind of a ubiquitous treasure that is kind of ghost-like but right in the middle of the village, right off the main street" (CV1).

Through my analysis of documentary data on the lang riggs, particularly reports by North Lanarkshire Council, the responsibility for their restoration appears to have been

very much council-led; however as will be seen, respondents show they are equally able to intervene in the lang riggs by creating projects around them, to a certain extent. In 2007, Hutton discussed the lang riggs in a history of Cumbernauld Village that: "These walled enclosures survived into the twentieth century as a fine example of medieval Scots town layout, but when the village was modernised as part of the new town, the area was landscaped into a common parkland which has since suffered from vandalism." (Hutton 2007, p.5). Since Hutton wrote this, there has been extensive re-configuration of the layout and infrastructure of the langriggs by North Lanarkshire Council who 'own' and maintain them at an official level. Interviewees discussed that the langriggs are precisely allowed to continue in their present configuration because they were the target of recurrent campaigns in the 1970s and mid-1990s to save them from being sold by various local council departments to private house builders: "There was quite a big campaign...to save the lang riggs. There was a plan to take away a wee bit down at the corner for two or three houses and the community council fought it and took it to the kirk session and we certainly complained about it and local councillors all complained about it so we've been guaranteed it will not be built upon so that was a wee victory that we had too because it's the only example of the lang riggs that's left in Scotland I think. Not so many of the full size that are left there." (CV7). In 2008, the council's greenspace staff consulted local people on their views as to the future of the site. It was ascertained that "Over 90% wanted the historical integrity of the riggs to be assured and the area restored and preserved as quality, accessible greenspace." (NLC leaflet, 2010). As I will show next, the campaigning did not stop at their protection; rather, several large-scale intervention projects have been occurring on this site over the last few years by both CVAC and North Lanarkshire Council.

2011 Ordnance Survey map of langriggs (copyright: Ordnance Survey)	**1859 Ordnance Survey map of langriggs, Dumbartonshire Sheet XXVI (Copyright: National Library of Scotland)**
Conserved langrigg by NLC in public domain, with repairs to stonework and steps by NLC.	**Cumbernauld Village, clearly showing the 'langriggs' (courtesy CVAC)**

Figure 19: the langriggs 'from above' in map fragments; the langriggs at ground level

In terms of the ways respondents described their interventionist activities in this conserved area, one participant discussed: "[t]hat's just part of the continuity of history if you like, the kind of evolution. Places change but there's also continuity and I like that interplay of doing new and exciting things while at the same time preserving and retaining historical continuities." (CV1). This aspect of their work came through strongly, in terms of engaging with spaces of historical significance but altering them to be relevant in the present. Despite the evidence highlighting that the southern riggs have not changed at all, I argue that this historical continuity from old to new map has taken

place because of the interventionist restoration policy of local government, and presently high levels of funding to maintain these areas, sparked by continual campaigning by local people. Without these official and ground-level actions it is possible these configurations would not be represented in cartography in the future. As well as this, given the lang riggs had been saved from being destroyed several times sparked a nervousness that if particular green spaces are not saved they will be sold by the council and built on by private developers: "To me it's a beautiful green space that needs to be secured for the community...if we don't fight for the green spaces it will be built on. And we're losing a lot of our historical areas within the town." (N). Another discussed the ways in which the riggs are a gateway to the past configuration of the place: "They're magical because of the pattern of the past still being there in the ground in the landscape. And they are very beautiful so they're just lying there waiting for people…like a secret garden." (CV1).

6.2.3.1.2   Sub-theme 2: Protecting historic areas from external invasion and damage

Further evidence of the interplay between restricted (conserved) and open (space capable of local interventions) space within the lang riggs emerged through the ways respondents argued they have to monitor them: firstly fighting to protect historical space – protections which then call for official restrictions to be placed upon them as I have highlighted before - and then secondly developing projects on these sites to reflect their historical importance: "Because the langriggs is a historical area as well. And I know many years ago the likes of Jean Shaw she remembers, she's in her 90s, and they had to fight the council at the time, think it was CDC [Cumbernauld Development Corporation] because they wanted to build on it. They fought them and they won it

because it's the oldest and the most complete langriggs in the whole of the UK...In Linlithgow they've got two or one and a bit or something like that, whereas ours are two dozen or more so what we want to do is bring them back into what they were used for which is market gardens; now they're called allotments." [CV3] As one respondent described it: "Instead of passively wanting the continuance of the lang riggs or the freedom for the lang riggs not to be built on, what I wanted to do was make a much more positive use of the lang riggs for the benefit of the community by creating opportunities for involvement by creating particular projects like the allotments, to develop the allotments, the community orchard, just the general environmental improvement of the lang riggs through the planting projects. But also linking the horticultural which is what those three elements are: with the ecological, biodiversity type agenda." (CV2).

Thus, this work was described as organising projects that might act as "...a catalyst for positive changes in the area that others can participate in." (CV2). In this way, the allotment and community planting projects I detail next were designed to encourage contributions from local people. Generally, all members considered they are free to undertake whatever projects they think are important, and are not tied to any formal structure or group, though from my observations in their regular group meetings they work in tandem with North Lanarkshire Council's Environment Department for several projects concerning the langriggs area. All interviewees were strict about the need to be free to do what they like in their own neighbourhood – "We want to use it how we want to use it.", and that rather than representing the wider community – which they saw as problematic - they consider themselves to be a 'catalyst' to spark changes in the village; this desire to begin projects that could be taken up in the wider area is a prevailing

theme in their work. "We might actually reach people in the community who have an interest in that specific project...so it might be that we can kind of involve people in specific issues that results in them actually taking an interest in the wider CVAC project because we have a range of things on the go...hopefully the whole thing is about generating interest, involvement, capacity, and so on." (CV2).

In my observations of their group meetings and events, and analysis of the reports and leaflets circulated about the work, I noted that the lang riggs project is connected to wider natural improvements of the fifteen langriggs on that site in collaboration with North Lanarkshire Council's environmental services department: planting natives and removing non-native trees and plants, upgrading the stone walling, steps and pathways around the riggs. This environmental department is separate from the planning department that controls the Conservation Area. The map that follows next (Figure 20, NLC/CVAC action map) is central to the next section of this chapter, which deals with the respondents' allotments project. The control versus freedom aspects of this project will be discussed and is represented by the map next, which is a symbol of the highly structured nature of environmental interventions.

Langriggs – landscape action plan
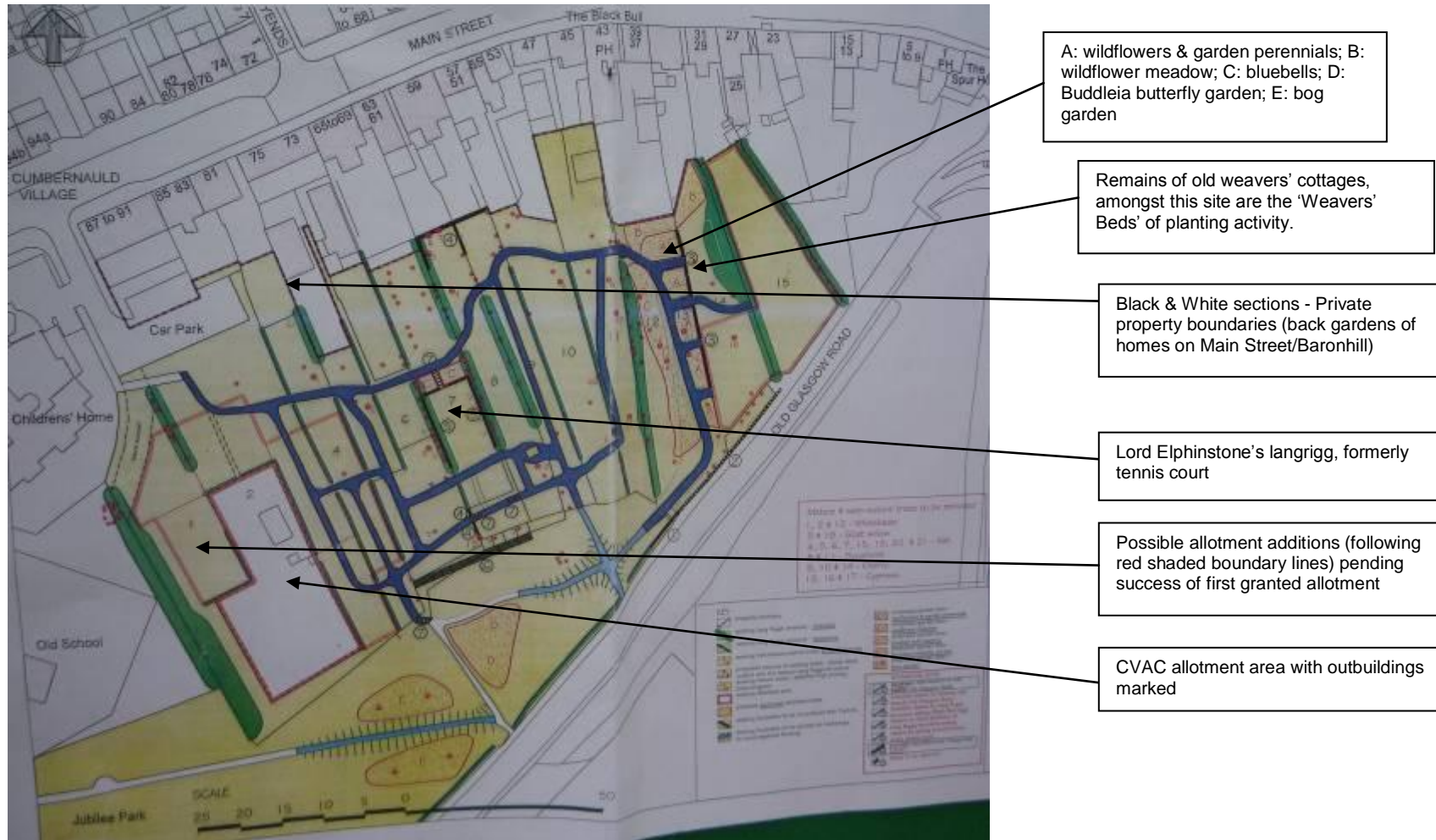
Figure 20: North Lanarkshire Council Environmental Services map of Cumbernauld Village langriggs, identical to Ordnance Survey representation of riggs, detailing current and planned CVAC/NLC planting, regeneration, additions of native plants and trees, and allotments.

6.2.3.2 Theme 2: From 'Being Mapped' to 'Re-Mapping'

I have discussed so far the ways respondents fought for the preservation of the lang riggs and the continuity of their historic configuration into the present. This has meant that they have been restricted to keeping the lines of the riggs conserved, so that they cannot be altered (tying participants to staying within the lines). However, equally through preservation they have also been able to create interactive projects on these lang riggs, which would not have occurred had there been no public preservation campaigns. It is in this way I argue that respondents have been simultaneously 'mapped', tied to working within the lines through their own campaigning, but also allowed to engage in processes of re-mapping – a civic process of developing projects 'within the lines' that make demands on others to participate in these historic areas in the present.

6.2.3.2.1 Sub-theme 1: Control versus freedom – the uncovering and re-siting of allotments

As has been discussed so far, both the spatial and temporal characteristics of the Village are priorities for North Lanarkshire Council, who consider themselves responsible for the structural and natural upkeep of the langriggs. As well as the monies invested through the CARS scheme discussed previously, a part of North Lanarkshire Council's public literature reports that "In order to prevent further loss of the historic character of the Langriggs open space to the south of Nos. 1-91 Main Street in Cumbernauld Village, the Council's Grounds Maintenance Team has recently carried out some vegetation clearance and hedge trimming work." (NLC, 2008). NLC has spent £25,000 on this activity as well as the addition and repair of stone walling (NLC, 2011) which both accentuates and provides a definitive structure clearly marking the long, narrow

riggs that are so precious to preserve towards evidencing the past layout and use of these areas (see Figure 19 for an example of one 'rigg' preserved by this walling investment). In my observations of their group meetings and materials gathered at these meetings, I recorded that the council's ground maintenance team, alongside CVAC, continues to maintain the grounds, in line with the area's Local Plan, where the langriggs have been re-zoned as public open space (Figure 20). The map in Figure 20 was drawn up by NLC and from my observations was used by both CVAC and NLC's Environmental Services. This highlights on an official level a mutual responsibility for this area of the village, albeit with different tasks, by both the local council and members of CVAC.

Both the investment and work completed, as represented in the map in Figure 20, presents the extensive detail and planning taking place in terms of mapping out and tying down the activities targeted at the lang riggs site. My field notes from CVAC group meetings show that CVAC 'rented' one rigg from NLC in order to start their allotment programme. I observed that the process leading to this rental was significantly delayed on the part of NLC. They were also offered a further two rigg sites on the proviso that their work in the first rigg met NLC's approval (still ongoing). I contend that the variety of maps I show here are representations of the highly structured and restricted nature of local natural spaces; they may be walking areas or natural areas to some, however for CVAC's intervention plans these areas are restricted in terms of their use, as it was described by one respondent: "...there was an area plan but the area plan is very much about maps and that area is designated for this and that...it's kind of planning department's perspective on the world. So people don't really feature in these paradigms except when they've got to consult them, and then of course they don't

usually understand because of course they don't! So I think there's a lot of layers that make communication difficult." (CV1). As I have shown and will build on next in sub-theme two, CVAC's activities within such spaces are subject to permission and strictly controlled. This controlled aspect will be detailed in the next section involving their allotments project, whereby the group is free to reconfigure the land inside the boundary, which they do so through 'testing' their access rights, but are not allowed to reconfigure the lines themselves.

Figure 21: CVAC allotment site in planning: Lang rigg no. 2 July 2012, site of current allotment project by CVAC
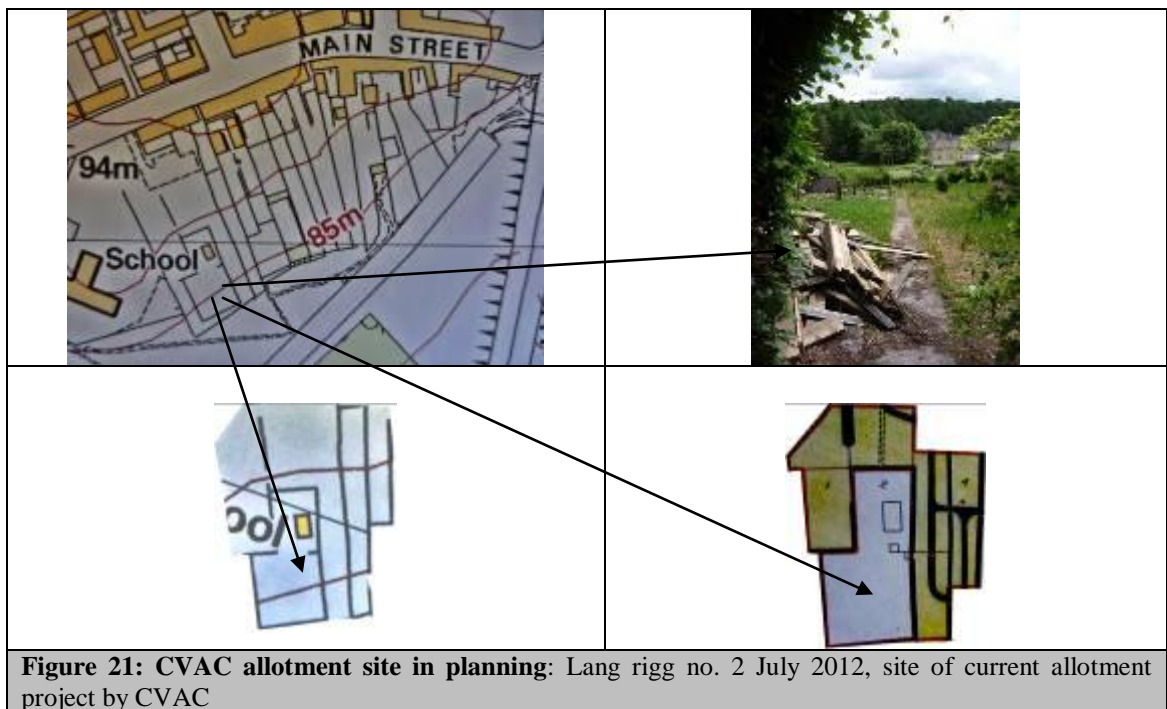
6.2.3.2.2 Sub-theme 2: 'Testing' access, making historic sites visible towards interaction with others

In interviews with respondents, it emerged that CVAC has been campaigning for community allotments on the lang riggs since 2010. The project was discussed by one participant as having many milestone achievements which can stop at any point without it becoming overwhelming: "The lang riggs is quite a good project for a wee group like

that because there are so many milestone achievements in it. So although it's an absolutely gigantic project if you think of it, you can stop at any stage. So you could have one community allotment and decide to go no further or you could have no allotments and just be an environment group that concentrated on the biodiversity of the lang riggs or something like that. So in that sense to me it's an ideal project for a group that's small and is still building its own capacity." (CV1). This quotation highlights the tentative, 'testing' nature of the way the group is approaching their interventions on this site; piece by piece testing their access and capacity to engage with it. The purpose of the allotments project is that it will simultaneously re-situate the original use of the area, as well as being a piece of the Village for residents without a garden to 'own', towards freedom to grow whatever they want to within their own plot. The allotments are targeted at those isolated in the village for particular reasons as well as special allotments for those who are physically impaired; for those who do not have a garden presently, and for the wider community itself: "The more members of the community who are using the site, whether that's just going for a walk on the pathways in the lang riggs because they like the planting – that's why we're doing the planting stuff because when we develop a community orchard there'll be another nice thing to see there and to see things growing and developing – so there'll be an incentive for people to come and look regularly at what's growing, the flowers that are out at different times of the year and thereby increase the community involvement and utilisation of this historical wildlife and productive horticultural resource that's there." (CV2).

Thus the group are turning this area back into its original historical purpose as the kitchen gardens for the village, developing them into the 'centre of the village' – a similarity with their motivations for the langriggs generally. Up until the 1990s the

langrigg they have approval for was worked by a local resident until his death, where he grew a variety of fruits, vegetables and flowers; they plan to reinstate this activity. As one interviewee states, "...what I felt was important about the allotments and the langriggs was that it was restoring the langriggs to their historical productive use, not just doing something completely new with it...it's also about the recognition that allotments are really valuable as a community resource." (CV2). The other theme emerging from their purpose for setting up the allotment was as a control measure; partly to gain control back in an area that has been at risk throughout the last few years and partly to decrease further damage by those who use it in the present. As discussed in the first section in terms of the ways that respondents saw their place, the issue of damage was raised specifically in relation to the lang riggs, as the focal point for certain behaviours. As one respondent discussed: "If you don't try, you know some things maybe won't work out and seeds will get vandalised or plants might get pulled up, but you've got to make an effort. Because if you don't they've won, the vandals." (CV5).

6.2.3.2.3 Sub-theme 3: Taking control

In an observation I undertook in the summer of 2011, a few months after I interviewed participants, the allotment site that CVAC had been campaigning for was set on fire and completely destroyed (see Figure 22 below). This set back the project several months as the area had to be cleared and made safe. As one respondent discussed: "...people are more likely to have a sense of loyalty to the space if they know that the allotment belongs to so-and-so or their cousin or their auntie or whatever, less likely to engage in anti-social activities in the space as well because of that feeling of involvement. And again that's also why we're involving the schools because that's about encouraging attachment and engagement with the place that for me has a future benefit in that those

children hopefully will value the space and be less likely to engage in antisocial activities there and discourage others from doing such things, and more likely to see it as something good within the community." (CV2) This appears to be a particular site where they can have some control or power over within a place still finding its future based on its past.

Figure 22: vandalised allotment prior to leasing to CVAC from NLC

CVAC have organised several 'open days' to release the allotment plans, their work generally in the area, and to allow people to glimpse the langrigg allotment site that is still restricted due to its present dangerous nature; I attended these as an observer. In my notes of group meetings in February and March 2012, a year after I initially interviewed respondents, they were in the process of obtaining a lease to carry out their plans. These negotiations with NLC were lengthy and fraught eventually leading to a three-year lease (with conditions) to turn one rigg (labelled 'an asset') into an area of twelve allotments. The rent of this rigg was successfully transferred to CVAC before the summer of 2012,

approvals taking over a year from initially approaching NLC's planning department to being given the lease itself. It was described that this project, including the allotments, could eventually become stand-alone projects which are no longer the responsibility of CVAC, with the group moving on to other projects in the village: "...we hope that other people will come on board once these projects get off the ground. So in that sense maybe one element of it could be hived off to perhaps the allotments, could all become completely freestanding, nothing to do with CVAC after a while." (B). It was also stipulated by NLC that if the allotment project is successful they will look at leasing two further riggs to CVAC towards negotiating a longer-term lease. Interviewees discussed working with NLC as difficult: "...I find that since we went to North Lanarkshire Council we're not as involved, I mean it's as if...we're the council we can do what we like...it's just trying to get North Lanarkshire Council to give the go-ahead that is the problem. They always have been very slow...it's the lack of impetus from North Lanarkshire Council. It's as if they're not really interested." (CV3) Another respondent articulated a different experience, a more positive mutual relationship with the Environmental Services council worker: "The council have been very supportive of all the environmental activity, they've been interested in it. I've always been keeping in close touch with Brian Thomson, who is the greenspace manager about some of these developments, like what happens on the lang riggs." (CV2).

However, as I have shown, there is a complicated side to their engagements with the council, whereby respondents' freedom to communicate frustration is restricted. Part of the negotiations, although fraught with difficulty, demanded that CVAC kept a good relationship precisely because they needed the lease: "We don't want to have a sour relationship...it's terribly important therefore that the relationship with these people,

even if we're annoyed with them, is open and ongoing....But we did make a very conscious decision at one meeting not to kick them in the shins about something that we were angry about because we wanted their cooperation on something else, so that's definitely there." (CV1). One interviewee disagreed with the majority discussing the council were extremely difficult: "As much as anybody is saying the council is going against them I don't think they are. I think if you're doing any community work you're never going to get what you want, you need to learn what you want has to be adjusted but if you work at it eventually it will happen." (CV6).

6.3 Discussion on the use of psychogeographic mapping

I discussed in the Bonnybridge case the ways that the place emerged in a multitude of forms through respondents' engagements with space and time. I will now discuss the application of psychogeographic mapping as a method for the Cumbernauld Village case. As I have demonstrated, Cumbernauld Village emerged as a more 'static' and known location precisely because of its Conservation Area status; little had changed over centuries and in the lang riggs area in particular, residents were in effect tied to working within the lines of a strictly preserved landscape. Thus, the psychogeographic mapping method employed, using the same constructs as the Bonnybridge case (as I outlined in my research design chapter) allowed for a very different spatial and temporal environment to emerge from the Bonnybridge case. As has been demonstrated, there is the presence of a predominantly singular historical 'story' and a singular 'geography', taking the form of one boundary for the place. Equally, as discussed previously there were broadly identical understandings of the history of the place demonstrated to me by respondents. This had the effect of presenting, in research terms, a place with few opportunities for interaction on the scale of Bonnybridge. Thus,

the activities and interventions undertaken by respondents take place within a geography that - through its protected status - emerged as restrictive, through a history that has been rendered visible in the landscape. Thus, although the constructs of the method were applied in exactly the same way as the Bonnybridge case – the same data collection in the form of questioning, mapping exercises, background secondary data, and analysis and interpretation frameworks - what I have been able to demonstrate is a place much less dynamic than Bonnybridge. Again, as I argued in the previous chapter, this multitude of Bonnybridges created opportunities for respondents to engage in its past and its geography in more ways than Cumbernauld Village. However, these increased opportunities were was due to an absence of any conservation or regeneration activity in Bonnybridge. This contrasts with the higher presence of official intervention in Cumbernauld Village through conservation and preservation policies of successive local governments into the present. Thus the psychogeographic component for Cumbernauld Village shows respondents working within these externally-imposed frameworks.

I therefore argue that the method of psychogeographic mapping is relevant to understanding a wide variety of different geographical and temporal locations, and as the two cases I presented here show, the emergent mappings and activities by respondents allow for new maps to emerge. It is expected that with other environments such as, for example, North-East England ex-mining villages, World Heritage Sites, villages that have disappeared from maps, areas with a high level of museum presence, and areas subjected to different forms of regeneration and deindustrialisation, will all present differently when using the same constructs as I have through the method of psychogeographic mapping.

6.4   Conclusions

In this chapter I explored the ways respondents engaged in actions involving the spatial and temporal characteristics of their location as processes of reconfiguration. My analysis in section one discussed the official structures and restrictions inherent in the village arising from the high level of local government interventions in preserving and conserving the historical characteristics of, predominantly, the built environment. I argued that this restrictive environment, which preserved the original configuration of the village, also defined the village on behalf of its residents, creating official histories and official spatialities. In terms of respondents' engagements with their temporal location, I demonstrated the history of the village as broadly stable and visible due to its conservation; this was reflected in the ways respondents articulated their village in mainly common terms regarding the places and spaces of importance to – and visible in - their place. I then argued that the work of CVAC was restricted, through these official structures and stable histories. However, I demonstrated that CVAC developed their own engagements in parallel to and against the official 'story', through projects in 'natural historic' pieces of the landscape – the lang riggs specifically - that they had more control over reconfiguring. Through their actions respondents were both using official histories and working within them (history-taking) and developing projects that allowed for different and hidden histories to emerge (history-making) with regards to the lang riggs. Paradoxically, by fighting to preserve the unique configuration of the lang riggs they tied themselves to an infrastructure that meant they had to work 'inside' immovable boundaries.

In spatial terms I demonstrated the ways respondents were 'being mapped by' their official conserved historical environment, but also were able to intervene in ways allowing them to bring to presence the hidden, underground histories of the past towards mapping and remapping. Equally, the interdependence between CVAC and NLC was discussed from the perspective that their interventions were allowed precisely because NLC 'approved' them, where every item of activity was negotiated and mapped as a blueprint followed in collaboration between both local council and local people. Nevertheless, CVAC engaged in physical interventions in restricted and controlled sites, in ways that opened up physical spaces, unlocking their hidden histories towards processes of reconfiguration which could allow for these areas to be mapped in the future. Part of these reconfiguration processes were also attempts at shifting these spaces into becoming more central, more visible public spaces that others could engage with, as public space. Lastly I discussed the ways in which the data collection, analysis and interpretation framework of psychogeographic mapping I outlined in the research design chapter shows the ways each place emerged in different ways. These differences were precisely made present as a result of psychogeographic mapping as a method, both using an identical approach. For Bonnybridge it emerged as a dynamic place where there are many different entry points for civic action through the multitude of abandoned and lost places in the geography. For Cumbernauld Village there emerged a static and 'known' landscape with residents having to work within the lines of an already-existing place mapped and conserved (partly) on their behalf. I argued that it is expected that utilising the psychogeographic mapping method for different locations would yield similarly surprising results using the very same framework as I have used.

7   Chapter 7: Spatio-temporal citizenship – civic learning versus civic agency

7.0   Introduction

The different ways individuals related to spatial and temporal characteristics of their location were discussed in chapters five and six, where I argued that the spatial and temporal aspects of their places, as the 'conditions' of their everyday lives, provided opportunities for and restrictions in enacting their collective and individual participation in their location. These enactments emerged in different forms for each place: (a) reconsideration in the case of Bonnybridge, and (b) reconfiguration in the Cumbernauld Village case. I argued that Bonnybridge is a place of indifference from a public agency perspective, and the traces of its history are hidden or removed in the landscape requiring it to be 'found'. In Cumbernauld Village I discussed it is a place of significant public agency intervention through its Conservation Area status, whereby its history is present and structured in the landscape.

This chapter involves an interpretation of both cases, in terms of the emergence of forms of citizenship practices stemming from the spatial and temporal contexts of each location. This involves second research question: how do different configurations of public space promote or impede civic learning? Two of my objectives relate to this question: (1) To explore the civic learning that emerges from residents' representations; and (2) To explore the possibilities for alternative understandings of public history as it emerges from place-based interactions with temporality. It is important to note that in this chapter I will predominantly demonstrate the prominence of civic *action* over civic learning through my interpretation of the data collected. However, I will also discuss

where this leaves us in terms of understanding civic *learning*, which I outline in more detail next.

I deal with two major strands that require to be introduced here because they relate to, and affect, the interpretation of the data in this chapter. The first strand involves a justification for my focus on an interpretation of civic *action* than civic *learning*. Through the first strand I concentrate on exploring the ways I interpret respondents' actions as involving socialisation and subjectification processes. The second strand relates to the first involving the extent to which there can be a move from an analysis of civic actions towards the question of interpreting the civic learning emerging from such actions. To this end, the second part of this chapter justifies concentrating predominantly on action than learning. However, I will also argue that there is clearly learning going on, albeit learning that was not explicitly recognised nor articulated by respondents but which still can be interpreted from their actions.

This chapter is split into four sections. I provide an interpretation of respondents' engagements with the spatial and temporal characteristics of their location as involving two modes of civic action: socialisation and subjectification, which stem from Biesta's theory of civic learning. I concentrate on residents' relationships with the spatial and temporal characteristics of their places. Section one involves my interpretation of the temporal, where I conceptualise their civic actions as involving histories of (socialisation) and histories by (subjectification). Section two involves my interpretations of the spatial, where I interpret respondents' engagements with particular spaces as involving civic action processes of mapreading (socialisation) and mapmaking (subjectification). I concentrate on understanding respondents' *actions*

rather than their *learning* because both space and time allowed for a more nuanced understanding of the ways their location was central to their active participation and practices in civic matters involving the public and shared dimensions of their place. Through both sections I use the notion of 'curation' to characterise respondents 'taking care' of their spatial and temporal environment. In section three I argue these curatorial civic action processes are generative of an alternative definition for 'public history', as a history by the public necessary to civic participation towards transforming their localities. Section four justifies my focus on action than learning through the ways my cases highlight political moments of action through the data, where understanding respondents' learning for, from and through was less significant; I demonstrate this is due to respondents' own consciousness of acting than on learning. Despite my assertion that respondents were not specifically conscious of their learning, I will, however, outline the learning that could be inferred from their actions over the length of my research with them. Lastly, I will provide a critical discussion on my theoretical framework, more specifically the relationship between socialisation and subjectification in relation to spatiality and temporality.

7.1   Civic action involving temporality: 'Histories Of' and 'Histories By'

In this section I make a connection between 'histories of' and 'histories by' (Biesta and Cowell, 2010) as my interpretation of the ways respondents related to particular histories in their places involved socialisation and subjectification processes of civic action. Both ways of involving history in their actions will be outlined thus: 'histories of' related to the ways residents of both places adopted already-existing histories of their place and used these towards engaging in a variety of activities 'within' as processes of socialisation. 'Histories by' refers to the practices by respondents emerging

from the data invoking a subjectification aspect of their citizenship – where they actively created and re-created histories they unearthed which they considered represents their place and themselves within it.

7.1.1 Histories of, histories by Bonnybridge

The representations of time by members of the historical society evidenced another place to that which is visible in the present. This was done through extensive historical research encompassing collecting and exhibiting tangible objects donated and lent by the wider public. Equally, their activities focused on collecting and exhibiting historical spaces; that is to say they were perpetually bringing absent and damaged spaces into presence that could begin to piece together Bonnybridge today through its past. These activities provide a sense of 'starting from the beginning' to build up their place in a multitude of ways in order to speak for a place that cannot speak, that no longer exists, but nonetheless a place that is 'Bonnybridge' to them. Rather than a collective understanding of the place emerging from residents' engagements there instead emerged multiple understandings: numerous histories evidencing many places. Thus Bonnybridge could not be pinned down to a consensual structure or identification of one place. Residents were not acting as one body, but rather each made their own representations that pieced together a place forgotten by public agencies disinterested in it more generally. Thus the history of the place constructed by respondents did not emerge as a whole but as a place with different entry points that sought to open up the conversation on the past, rather than close it down by explaining or celebrating it, towards encouraging others to enter the conversation. This sparked representations of the place by residents wider than the group members themselves, involving building up

new interpretations of particular spaces towards generating public spaces and public histories.

7.1.2 Histories of, histories by Cumbernauld Village

Cumbernauld Village experienced significant official interventions by local public agencies in the form of the conservation of a selected area which had been subjected to restoration and protection since the 1960s. Allied to this residents discussed the ways they were operating within and against these interventions by simultaneously working within the confines of the conserved landscape and putting forward alternative representations of the history of the place they considered important. Respondents highlighted a stable and widely consensual history of the place, which they also evidenced as still visible in the present-day landscape as a result of the local council's conservation practices. The singular history that emerged was therefore very much 'there' and required very little unearthing. However, the data highlighted an absence of identification amongst respondents with this official conservation 'village plan' developed through the CARS programme, and its focus on restoring the built environment. They considered a lack of attention to the derelict buildings and spaces fundamental to their relationship to their history. In this way, respondents split from the official history of their place and generated alternatives alongside, creating several interventions occurring concurrently which allowed respondents to participate in civic action: the official interventions in the form of conservation practices which were attempting to fix the village to a particular point in the past and restoring it. Working against this fixing were ground-level interventions described by respondents that concentrated on the natural historical landscape, creating projects that allowed them, and others, to intervene in representing histories that articulate - and reconfigure - the

area's 'natural past' of allotments and community gardens. These activities worked as an alternative to the official story set in time by official agencies.

Equally, however, it is a complex situation; residents campaigned over various points in time to save the lang riggs from being removed, a historical site they strongly related to. It is through this saving that paradoxically meant the area became subject to restrictions and protection by law from being changed. Their actions involving history therefore consisted of being able to participate in the reconfiguration of the historical landscape as a result of it being saved.

7.1.3   Histories Of, Histories By as Civic Action: the Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village cases

In the case of Bonnybridge, as I argued previously, there is very little pre-existing writings or projects involving the history of Bonnybridge in official terms, and thus little opportunity to engage with the history *of* the place, in terms of such 'external histories' being placed upon them as sources of information. This impacted upon respondents' abilities in terms of being unable to either absorb or act upon these in order to deepen their knowledge and understanding, or dispute, or add to specific historical events relating to Bonnybridge. As such, then, respondents were not engaging with or indeed against, any 'official' histories, whether in written form or inscribed in the landscape through monuments or preserved historical sites or buildings. Thus it is not possible to argue their participation in activities relating to the history of the place was related to attachments to or working against any form of 'stable past' that they could adopt. In such a forgotten place in historical terms, their civic actions involved other participatory acts. Their civic actions were not related to adopting already-present

histories - where they integrated these pasts in order to engage with the place. Rather, they were generating new knowledge: unearthing and representing pasts that rebuilt the place in ways reflecting how they saw it.

In the case of Cumbernauld Village, there was evidence of a singular understanding of the place, a singular history emerging from its status as a Conservation Area. However, to some extent residents were refusing the official identity generated through official histories, acting instead upon histories of importance to them, histories in the natural landscape in order to participate in their locality in ways meaningful to them. Conversely to this, respondents were, in other ways, precisely demanding the preservation of aspects of their past resulting in being themselves fixed to those pasts. In this way, then, there was a high presence of official histories of the place – provided to residents on their behalf – resulting in elements of a lack of control in fighting against some of the pasts that they considered to be mishandled or ignored by official agencies. This related to pieces of the built environment in particular.

The evidence of respondents' civic actions as processes of civic agency in both cases is rooted in the different ways they adapted to already-existing histories of their place or generated new histories that allowed for new relations between themselves and these histories. For Bonnybridge, because nothing existed for them to build on they were engaged in walking, mapping and using this knowledge to create public engagements in the form of open exhibitions, magazines, slide shows and films. These engagements did not manifest themselves as presentations of or exhibitions on 'finished' projects that attempted to provide an identity for Bonnybridge; rather they were openings, or 'beginnings' by members of the historical society that called for others outwith

themselves to represent histories that mattered to them. For Cumbernauld Village this revolved around uncovering and layering over the present the plants, trees and community gardens and allotments, and the edible produce from these areas showing how villagers lived in the last century, using these traces to develop new ways to engage with their locality in the present. The engagements by respondents of both places allowed for a wider and more complex engagement with historical narratives, facts and objects than if these histories had been represented solely through, for example, a talk or an exhibition. Thus, their ways of engaging in history can be interpreted as processes of unearthing histories not widely known or represented already; respondents became active producers of histories through representing the missing and lost aspects of their past.

In this way I articulate that predominantly respondents' civic engagements involving these processes involved citizenship dimensions of 'histories by' residents, or histories by the public. This term encapsulates ways that the histories that mattered to respondents were represented by them, and then made in public with others, as inherently civic in nature. Rather than being involved in passive forms of citizenship – adopting histories already pre-formed in terms of socialisation, consuming those histories that existed outwith themselves and which might otherwise provide identifications of the place on their behalf - they shifted their roles to become more active. It is in this way they engaged in more agentic forms of citizenship, from spectators of history to participants in making histories through representations that made their respective temporal environments open questions, as events. Thus their actions were not adoptions or adaptations of historical objective 'truths'; rather their places in temporal terms were co-produced with others in the present. For both places,

then, history emerges as indeterminate, sometimes unrecognisable, troubling the present. I have argued that aspects of history have been used to structure and restrict local people – whether in its absent and forgotten (Bonnybridge) or preserved and structured (Cumbernauld Village) form - but that it is also capable of opening up opportunities for engagement, whether it is conserved and remembered, or destroyed and forgotten. It is through residents' responses to opportunities and restrictions that we can understand the public nature of their work: as more nuanced, more complex and working outwith restrictions placed upon them by interventions, or lack of, by official agencies.

Unbound by any pre-existing identity or frame (that is to say, an identity of the place formed through its history) they generated alternative ways of reconsidering Bonnybridge and reconfiguring Cumbernauld Village in the present as forms of civic agency – representing the past in their own way that created situations for wider public discussions and actions. Acting against Bonnybridge as a commuter town and a place forgotten and treated with indifference; breaking open the structures of time holding Cumbernauld Village to an articulation of its history from above by public agencies, residents of both places were able to act 'outside' structure. In this sense their capacity to engage in acts I consider furthered their participation through acts of remaking their place through refusing absence, refusing structure. Their ways of engaging in putting forward multiple histories highlights participatory actions in both communities in the present through a commitment to representing the past. Their activities thus succeeded in providing alternative perspectives on the present through pasts, allowing for others to participate in this as a response to the absences of the present. It is precisely through the ways in Bonnybridge they did not prescribe – on behalf of local people – the histories

that should be put forward, but rather created arenas for public discussion through their exhibitions, their magazine, their explorations of the place through walking and mapping, through creating allotments and regenerating the historical natural environment. In this I assert they have started the process of setting up the foundations upon which to make present the missing voices of the past, and the residents living in the area now as representatives of these absent histories. History in this sense reframed their place today in relation to the past, through forms of action that unsettled the present towards opening up new ways of thinking and perceiving the multiple aspects of the past. I move forward next to provide my interpretation of the socialisation and subjectification dimensions of the civic actions of respondents as they related to the spatial aspects of their location.

7.2   Civic action involving spatiality: 'Mapreading' and 'Mapmaking'

In this section I discuss the spatial aspects of their locations through the ways these engagements allow an interpretation of the civic action taking place. From my analysis of the data in previous chapters there emerged two typologies through the ways spaces were engaged with: mapreading and mapmaking. Partly as a metaphor for their spatial interactions but also referring to collecting, using and making physical paper maps by both groups, I interpret how maps were both 'read' and 'made' from a spatial perspective, towards articulating the civic actions that emerged from these practices. In terms of maps I conceptualise them as representative of chronological progress, of development, but also as a processes involving possibilities that further the map, where maps of the present (what is represented as 'there') are also maps of absences (what is not there) precisely because in terms of physical space, time means erasure, and also change.

7.2.1 Mapreading and Mapmaking

Space represented on geographical maps is ordered and navigable, allowing you to 'know' features and layouts of places before visiting and finding landmarks, pathways and spaces of importance connecting you from one point to another, reducing possibilities for disorientation. As I discussed within the theoretical framework in chapter three, maps are perceived to 'work' because they represent a reality already ordered and structured. As I show in the cases of Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village, maps were also used to represent derelict, historical, new and 'missing' spaces that created different understandings of their place. The map within these engagements thus provided both order to a place, and also allowed for a stimulation of the unexpectedness necessary for respondents to disrupt space 'from above' as it emerged in official form either through restrictive conservation or indifference by agencies. As I will argue next, these ground-level conformations and disruptions were a necessary part of socialisation and subjectification civic action processes which involved both the reading of maps of their area (in a physical and metaphorical sense) and of the making of new maps from these processes (in a physical and metaphorical sense).

In my interpretation of the work of respondents of both places, I discuss the ways respondents moved in and out of processes of mapreading and mapmaking through engaging in practices involving the spatial aspects of their landscape. I argue both are tied together as parts of a whole process involving re-explorations of their place through constructing alternative maps towards their subjectification and emergence as political agents.

7.2.1.1 Mapreading of Bonnybridge

From my analysis in chapter five of the data from my interviews, observations and mapping exercises with respondents the reconsideration of Bonnybridge emerged stemming from a place that had few official interventions in its post-industrial landscape by public agencies. I demonstrated the ways respondents worked towards making present again the lost pieces of their community through its history. Without stable boundaries Bonnybridge was a series of places, or districts, split from each other by new areas respondents did not identify with. It emerged as unstable, yet its absence providing opportunities for making and remaking their place through actions that highlight their freedom to shift the present geography back to a previous time that represents their place, which allows them entry points to 'act' and participate in this previous place they relate to most strongly.

7.2.1.2 From Mapreading to Mapmaking in Bonnybridge

The data relating to the ways respondents related to the map I used with them in the mapping exercises highlights their acceptance of it as representative of their place in the present. Each element was in its place and navigation of the area was done easily, and there were few disputes of the map, or any particular discussion about any mismapped or misrepresented areas. We might be able to say from this that respondents were indifferent to the cartographic representation of their area today, and also that they accepted the new configuration of their place, despite the massive change they had demonstrated in terms of industrial decline and the rise of the new areas as giving the area a 'commuter belt' and transient identity. In this sense there was very little evidence of frustration or anger at the loss but rather an acceptance that nothing is now as it once was; thus their reading of the map shows their identification with it, the ways in which

they accepted loss as inevitable and part of progress. Equally there was no expressed desire to develop projects that might deal with the loss, which perhaps is unsurprising given they are a historical society.

However, their acceptance of the map in the present evidenced alternative understandings of Bonnybridge that cannot be represented in the map. The map itself therefore emerged as a gateway to that which cannot be seen, i.e. that which has disappeared from the map and from the place itself, but which respondents could still 'see'. These absent locations were evidenced by respondents that over time were removed from official cartography as each successive industry, route, or pathway was taken out of the physical landscape. It is thus in the ways that respondents used present day paper maps as objects – both in the research situation and in my observations of their activities outwith this – that they were engaging in the extensive reading of maps as starting points for the making of new maps through their activities. These processes of making new maps are metaphorical, in the sense that they used 'real' maps but made new ones as processes of actions that represented missing places. As I discussed in chapter five, respondents collected and engaged in reading maps from different points in the history of Bonnybridge, particularly mid-1800s to the present day. They use present-day maps to identify changes in the landscape over time as well as what has been lost from maps, which provided their agenda – emerging from this identification of loss - for processes that sparked re-explorations in the present day. These re-explorations developed into activities that remapped places missing from both maps and the physical landscape in the present day. Thus, despite accepting the configuration of the area today as represented in the map, they did not leave it at that; their activities re-mapped industries, worker housing areas, community buildings, streets and places that

are gone from Ordnance Survey maps but which were represented in historical maps and within their own experiences and knowledge gained through living in the town. The major point of this work is that these absences in maps and in the landscape also silenced the actual physical locations that they represented, and silenced their knowledge in the process. In this sense, the map could have been capable of socialising respondents into this configuration of loss set on their behalf; it is perhaps evident that this did occur to a certain extent through the ways in which they were quite indifferent to their place as it exists today but were more energetic about its past. This indifference could also be a sign of subjectification in terms of the ways I will discuss these aspects next.

The issue of interpreting the ways respondents used maps is complex; they also showed signs of working against the map through the ways in which their activities and responses to it were trying to reconstitute absent areas of importance through talks, walks, exhibitions, mappings and engagements with others whose lives and memories are still strongly rooted there. This reading of the map which demonstrated acceptance and indifference are their responses to it in the present; but this does not mean they accept and are indifferent to the past. Rather, their inexhaustible collecting, navigating, orienting work through the historical society evidences how they are fighting to articulate their place differently as a place they relate to most strongly in the past than the present. There is a sense that their acceptance and indifference of what they read on the map as being 'there' in the present is not the way that participants relate to the place. So in this sense the official map – despite their 'acceptance' of it - was actually resisted; it is precisely their work in interrupting the present through representing the past in the landscape that involved their creation of new maps out of the work they do,

which put back onto the map the historical industrial significance and thus built a representative cartographic collage that maps lost, abandoned and invisible spaces. It is in this way that perhaps the map ordered respondents in the present because it cannot represent absence, but it is what respondents do with the map that highlights their civic actions as bound up with perturbing the map, complicating it, rearranging the pieces of the map to represent a different order, an unstable, unknowable place of multiple maps.

The civic actions here consist of the way that respondents redrew the borders of their map and reconstituted the historic areas inside this map in order to act. It is through these processes that they engaged in actions upon and against the map. Their response to the contemporary map, as allied to their response to the physical landscape, emerged in the form of shifting its boundaries, adding back in absent pieces of the map in public processes of remapping the unmapped landscape. They did this through developing historical activities that provided entry points for themselves and the wider public, and in the process generated a different map for themselves which provided themselves, and others, with opportunities to engage in their place in the present. Engagements were numerous and unpredictable because there was no stable boundaries and histories that could be relied upon in the present to guide or provide order to their engagements. The 'story' was not there already to be learned or read about, but rather had to be discovered, pulled apart and reconstituted in a multitude of ways. The opportunities they created for themselves in exploring what could no longer be seen or visited are more challenging from the perspective that there were no true official foundations upon which to build engagements. Thus, the work of the Society was archaeological; the setting out of beginnings of something that were taken up by residents located in different and similar times and places. Maps of the area over time missed out several

areas of importance – and perhaps quite rightly so since they no longer exist - but this has provided opportunities for the group to provide alternative multiple scapes through actions. Wood (1992) terms these activities as 'propositions' rather than representations, demanding that you take responsibility for what you create through them. However, I would argue that propositions have the capacity to become *alternative representations* precisely because a proposition demands a response. Thus, the reading of present-day maps allowed respondents to position themselves against it, freeing them from present representations and allowing the past to interrupt. The emergence of a different place – the making of alternative maps – allowing residents to redraw another place for themselves through the past that put themselves firmly back on the map too.

7.2.1.3 From Mapreading to Mapmaking in Cumbernauld Village

As I presented in chapter six, the boundaries of Cumbernauld Village were broadly similar for all respondents. There was consensus overall in terms of what was within and outwith their place, and this stability was further evidenced by the high levels of interventions by both public agencies and residents towards conserving the landscape back to its original historical state so that most aspects were easily identifiable. However, this stability gained through conservation by official agencies also structured the residents who live there. Guidelines, rules and responsibilities for living with this shared past simultaneously developed restrictions upon ways that the landscape could be engaged with, and were engaged with, in other ways by respondents precisely because much of their historical space was protected by law from being altered. In this way, the emergence of one boundary, with an 'inside' boundary keeping the Conservation Area separate from the other non-protected areas, was evidenced by

respondents, succeeding in both restricting and creating opportunities for engagements within and against these spaces.

7.2.1.3.1 Mapreading

The readings of the physical map by respondents in the mapping exercises in the research itself revealed a spatial environment that had maintained its historical features: the medieval layout running from church to the landowner's house, the unique configuration of the long, narrow lang riggs area, the main street and wynd still in evidence as the centre of the village today. The map broadly emerged as a straightforward representation of the village in the present, mainly in terms of the ease with which they could demonstrate the past there. There was consensus surrounding the village map and broadly similar activities by residents who had the common aim of working inside this map and continuing to ensure the conservation of the historic features of the landscape which they related strongly to. These strong relations referred predominantly to the outlines and configurations of the outdoor elements of their place, rather than the built environment which I will discuss in the next section on mapmaking. These borders, made stable over centuries of keeping history 'in' and protecting it from change, have ensured that the map is almost a blueprint for living life in the present, made up as it is with protected and restricted areas of highly visible historic space. Residents appeared to be both living within its borders and trying to protect them from damage, campaigning over the years to ensure the preservation of its original configuration as a small weaving village. It is in the interplay between official conservation practices by public agencies and ground-level conservation practices by members of CVAC, that has led to residents being restricted to 'living within' an area that has therefore limited opportunities for local people to act otherwise within or

outwith it in terms of being able to shift these boundaries to allow free access. Residents have over time had to deal with the burden of responsibility for history, in terms of its ever-present risk of being lost and damaged, and thus have succeeded in forming a protective barrier around particular areas. Equally, I argued earlier that residents did not have free access to intervene in the areas which they identified strongly with – the lang riggs and a selection of the listed buildings. The local council maintains ownership of them and leases out pieces of land that can be developed by residents who are able to work 'within' the boundaries. It is in these ways that the socialisation aspects have emerged through the ways in which the map of their place has been read, i.e. followed, the creation of consensual boundaries, and small areas provided by public agencies to allow residents' interventions within a bounded, singular location.

7.2.1.3.2 Mapmaking

Despite the processes of socialisation through boundary drawing I discussed in the previous section, in this section I will try to demonstrate an alternative side to these restrictions by discussing the mapmaking practices stemming from my data analysis of CVAC's activities in chapter six as involving subjectification forms of civic action. The ways respondents' made maps is my interpretation of the ways they were able to act upon and within restricted and unitary boundaries that official agencies and residents drew around themselves over time. Without these boundary-making processes there would have been no land to act upon, as it would have been lost in a physical sense to their location forever. Thus, the 'saving' of places, despite the restrictions placed upon them as a result, did allow residents to intervene in their own way 'inside the borders' which at least provided opportunities for new expressions to be made.

I discussed in chapter six the ways that respondents were highly critical of local council interventions involving the historic built environment. Additionally, not only did they fail to identify with or relate to the official interventions, but were also powerless to engage in processes of intervention themselves in these projects in order to stem decline of areas they considered to be ignored. This revolved around the restored main street and the buildings on it which were targeted by the CARS funding. Equally, their criticisms related to the ways in which they articulated the various declining listed buildings in their location, the official interventions as failing to focus on the historical sections of the village they considered to be fundamental to understanding and engaging in the village. The map itself appeared to be a misrepresentation of their place: buildings now gone but still showing on the map (e.g. the library and the school which were both 'allowed' to be removed by the local council), gap sites showing houses that had not been there for a long time and suchlike. These mismappings not only brought out the areas respondents were unable to intervene in their location, but equally provided the impetus and the framework to intervene in making present aspects of their local past that involved putting these aspects back onto the map again in physical terms. Through their activities outlined in chapter six respondents' mapmaking processes involved both working within and against physical maps; thus they were engaged in simultaneously representing alternatives to officially mapped and preserved places, and changing the actual configuration of their village so that future iterations of cartography will continue to represent the visible historical features of their place. Thus, respondents' actions contributed to a physical reconfiguration of their Village through the foregrounding of aspects of their place damaged over time, projecting through these readings of map and landscape an overwhelming sense of loss, of significant places allowed to degenerate.

It is in the ways that residents move from reading the landscape, in terms of being hemmed in and living their lives in a restrictive conserved environment, acting in and upon those aspects they were able to, that is to say the lang riggs, the allotments, the community planting - *as physical reconfigurations* – that provides us with understanding subjectification processes of civic action. It was broadly agreed by residents that the village had experienced decline in the 20th century despite the large-scale interventions to preserve it as a medieval village. Their work sought to stem the decline, stem the continuing damage to the natural historic spaces, through developing 'outdoor interaction points' in the form of environmental conservation and preservation and reconfiguring inside conserved borders in their allotment project. These processes together allowed the testing of where in their neighbourhood they could intervene, and how they might intervene that could connect with the wider population, allowing for other residents to interact with the land, with its history and with each other. Their practices, rooted as they were within officially conserved land, nonetheless did not tie the village down to a particular point in time but rather used the landscape in order to speak, to be heard through the decay, the lack of control, their criticisms of local council-led interventions in their place. Its purpose was rooted in the present, but related strongly to the past. Their mapmaking evidences their abilities to act, already claiming the right to intervene where they can, to find loopholes, council departments willing to allow them autonomy, and to translate their actions into wider public projects that are mindful of history but not wholly tied to it. Their remapping of the spatial in physical terms weaves in the temporal and their own subjectification as agents capable of changing their environment. The evidence of their mapreading – in the ways they accepted or navigated their place using pre-existing cartographies of their place – sparked responses. These 'readings' compelled them to respond to the knowable map in

order to locate themselves within or argue against these external representations; this allowed their conflictual and contradictory practices – as responses to their lack of control in other areas - to find entry points for their own actions by adding new features onto the maps of the future.

So far in this chapter I have explored the role that histories and maps can play in processes of civic action. Histories and maps used in the cases allowed for possibilities and alternatives to current understandings of place rather than closing them down, allowing space for action towards mapping their place from the perspective of absence. It is in this way their engagements with history and space can be understood as processes of subjectification, that is, of the generation of new social and political identities that not only contested existing or absent representations and prescriptions of how a location should be understood and engaged with, but that at the very same time generate new ways of being and doing in relation to new reconsiderations and reconfigurations of the very location. Against the idea that histories and maps might disempower individuals by keeping them 'in place' I have tried to make a case for the ways respondents used space and time provided them with the capacity to act in a variety of ways in their place – through maps - in terms of opening up the space between official representations (the map) and contested alternatives (mappings). In the tension between histories of and by, and maps of and by can be seen the ways that these aspects emerged through engagements by respondents with them that opened up official representations of location – temporally and spatially – as political tools for the generation of new considerations and configurations of community that weaves its way through processes of orientation and disorientation towards reorientation practices that demand attention to alternative forms of places. In the last section I draw together these

interpretations within the broader framework of the curation of places as generative of new understandings of public history as central to democratic participation through space and time.

7.3   Discussion: Public Histories

In this section I characterise the civic actions by respondents as 'curations', referring to the ways they were involved in active processes of taking care of their location through developing actions within and upon it. In what follows I use the term curation/curating to connect respondents' curatorial acts to the possibilities for an alternative understanding of 'public history', which connects to my fifth research objective. I refer to the different maps, physical spaces, histories and objects involved in respondents' curations of both Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village as 'artefacts' in order to give these spatial and temporal 'sites' a central role in respondents' processes of 'making histories public'. The ways public history has been conceptualised has been limited in terms of its possibilities for civic agency central to practices of subjectification. I do not use the prevailing understanding of public history as the domain of professional historians and curators who engage with 'the public' as a general body of people. Instead, I define public history as occurring outwith any institutional setting, motivated by local people who work 'with' the actual conditions of their spatial and temporal context; this work opens up specific landscapes and histories to wider engagement and action at ground level as central to their citizenship practices. As I argue, respondents' processes of *making histories public* both broadened their engagement with – and in – the present through the past, opening up alternatives which allowed residents to act otherwise in their places.

The idea of public history as it emerged from residents' relations with their location has several different dimensions. Public history was not only about respondents themselves making histories and historical contemporary spaces public, that is, taking them out of the realm of the unknown or the hidden towards making them visible and capable of wider actions upon them by others, through participations between respondents themselves and those out with their group. It was also about making their work accessible to wider residents who themselves emerged as participants rather than spectators. Their work created a degree of 'publicness' amongst those who took part in the events as they appeared to others taking part in new and different ways. Thirdly, respondents' engagements in the practice of history-making and mapmaking emerged differently, that is to say in terms of their relations to their community, its history, but also to the present day configuration of the location and, mostly in the case of Cumbernauld Village, its potential futures. Residents thus literally re-presented themselves in the public domain through their engagement with particular historical events in their community. My interpretation of the data reveals an active involvement by residents towards the emergence of public histories through the gathering, exploring, exhibiting, and performance of history itself as they mapped, revealed and responded to it. Public history was thus about residents locating sites of struggle and contestation, whether they were visible or invisible, developing their own 'publicness.' Engagement with historical events along these lines troubles and questions the present, and thus opens up the possibility for multiple interpretations of oneself and one's place. This is necessarily political because it multiplies representations of the present and thus has the potential to challenge hegemonic representations of the community and its setting, or put forward new understandings of places forgotten.

Residents attempted to contest the hegemonic interpretations of their locations in terms of the ways in which both areas were represented or not represented statistically and through policy-implementation which provided them with particular identities on their behalf. For Bonnybridge its hegemony appeared in the ways public agencies were indifferent to it in the present and so it had to articulate itself through its past; for Cumbernauld Village official interventions sought to fix the place to an official identity through its past and through regeneration that positioned the area as lacking and in decline. In this way public history emerged through processes that created opportunities for themselves and others to respond to the represented histories, articulate new ones as well as their experiences with them in ways that were meaningful to them – individually and collectively. As a process of 'doing history,' it was not about reminiscing (which broadly remains in the private domain); these responses were an essential element of public history, orientated towards breaking down the component parts of heritage and history to pave the way for the process of access, sharing and interpretation in many different ways as an act of being in public, and making spaces public. The project facilitated the emergence of an arena for questioning the landscape and making the place 'strange' to residents, as a way to bring out the absent, missing and hidden elements of the place and evoke aspects that might have otherwise been taken for granted and possibly missed.

7.4 Civic action versus civic learning

I have engaged thus far in interpreting the civic *actions* of respondents as socialisation and subjectification forms of citizenship, in terms of different ways of being a citizen – whether respondents took up existing identities and ways of being, or created new ways of being and action that go beyond official representations. In this section I will justify

my focus on civic action than civic *learning* in order to reflect on what I am able to say about learning based on the detailed analysis and interpretation of the complexities of civic action.

As outlined previously, Biesta's theory of civic learning is the learning that occurs for, from and through engagement in civic life (cf. Biesta, 2011). This theory of learning through civic engagement relies on more than a one-dimensional notion of learning, as one that situates learning as involving either socialisation or subjectification, which at the same time can be understood as two different ways of being a citizen. Although the notions of socialisation and subjectification are central to civic learning, they can also be used to describe and characterise civic action; in my study I have used them in this way. This is because socialisation denotes a form of civic action as practices where people adopt or identify with existing definitions and understandings of their place, and where subjectification denotes a form of civic action where people invent new ways of doing and being. It is the argument I have put forward thus far, that socialisation could be regarded as a passive form of citizenship − where people adopt pre-formed identities, and where subjectification might be regarded as a more active form of citizenship − where it is possible to see the emergence of a political agent who is asserting the right not to be defined in this way. In terms of the data collection, analysis and interpretation stages of my research I utilised both the socialisation and subjectification modes of this theory at the level of civic action rather than learning, and it is in this way that my thesis concentrated on action as a mode of being, but not on learning. Thus, in what I have argued, rather than taking evidence of socialisation and subjectification as also evidence of civic learning in those modes (i.e. by conflating action with learning) I have

instead stressed the civic action elements as being of higher importance in a political sense. I demonstrate this in more detail next.

One of the issues I encountered in researching civic learning were the difficulties in collecting data on what learning was going on when individuals or groups engaged in activities within their location. I argue that partly this was due to engaging mainly with older adults who were therefore already active in their location, and with significant knowledge of the place and its past. I tried to deal with this by refraining from researching learning that could have reduced it to a definition involving the acquisition of knowledge and skills, or alternatively, learning as a result of maturation, which was not the definition I was using. In order to move away from traditional ways of conceptualising learning - which at the same time might also have reduced my study to a mechanistic reflection on learning - I used the word 'change' to replace 'learning' in order to generate data on the extent to which respondents considered they had changed as a result of their engagements. This yielded very little data that might have provided an understanding of possible civic learning taking place through their actions; thus, I removed this question in later interviews with others.

Most responses to this question of 'change' when I did ask gave me the impression respondents were unaware of changing through their actions – or at least they articulated this as involving functional tasks (e.g. learning to do the accounts for example) or as an external referent (e.g. their place as changing physically in terms of decline or new projects set up) – rather than processes they themselves could reflect upon in terms of a conscious understanding of their own *civic* learning. Further, I also asked respondents about any learning arising from their interactions with the places and

histories that they had engaged in through their work; again this yielded limited responses that did not allow me to interpret their civic actions as resulting in particular civic learning processes. Most respondents discussed they had learned pieces of history which related to new knowledge unrelated to the 'civic' aspects I was seeking to investigate, e.g. that certain famous individuals had stayed in the castle, that they had not realised certain buildings were there originally, etc., reducing the definition of learning to practical aspects of knowledge acquisition.

From my research I argue that respondents were able to act, that it was part of their lives to do so, that they had always done so. It is through this process as I reflect on my data that resulted in making the learning question less relevant, and the action process more prominent in my analysis and interpretation - at least to my study. Although I say less relevant, I do not consider the learning question to be unimportant as I will show in chapter eight and introduce here. Further, there are other methodologies that could have made the learning aspect more evident. Methodologies that seek to 'test' respondents' citizenship engagements in terms of the learning components are discussed in the literature (see for example Green, Preston and Janmaat, 2008; Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004; Coare and Johnston, 2003). In one particular example, Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2004) discuss the difficulties with measuring citizenship empirically. Their work tries to measure citizenship, through a survey with around 10,000 respondents in order to document civic attitudes and behaviours of individuals in Britain as well as the dimensions of citizenship. They measure this in terms of people's 'sense of civic duty', their obligations to the state or willingness to undertake voluntary activity, for example, participating in a Neighbourhood Watch, jury service or giving blood; individualistic forms of 'macro participation' in order to influence the state at a formal level, e.g.

voting, donating money, contact participation such as writing to media or speaking to an MP or taking part in a demonstration, informal civic participation in terms of being in a quiz team, book club or provide support to neighbours or family members. Biesta himself (2005) argues that the learning aspects of such a study is missing: "What the research does not make visible, however, is what people *learn* as a result of their actual 'condition of citizenship'—which includes the resources available to them and the extent to which they feel that they can influence the conditions that shape their lives—nor how such learning, in turn, impacts upon their citizenship attitudes and behaviours." (p.693). It is these 'actual conditions of citizenship' as the spatial and temporal aspects of places that I have concentrated on in this thesis.

In what I have tried to do in my study in relation to the 'civic learning' question is focus on the civic action aspects precisely because the cases I have presented here allow me to argue that respondents acted, and were able to act, regardless of the 'learning for, from and through' aspects. Not only did respondents make clear – and were conscious of - the structures, contexts and conditions that shaped their lives, through the ways they talked about them, and the ways I was able to observe them through their projects in situ, they were also clearly able to demonstrate the active ways they were engaging 'in' and 'against' these structures. This allowed an understanding of the ways they were already engaging in citizenship enactments; thus it was of less importance to my study to attempt at demonstrating their learning because they were 'doing'. Being unable to articulate learning on any conscious level - nor able to reflect on it – did not affect their capacity to continue to participate in making and remaking their location.

Biesta (in press) makes this point when arguing that calling someone a 'learner' is a specific intervention in itself, "...where the claim is made that the one who is called a learner lacks something, is not yet complete or competent, and therefore needs to engage in further 'learning activity'." (p.8). Biesta highlights – and this is the point I take up here - that in some cases there is nothing to learn; respondents appeared to be free to speak as citizens, that they did not need to learn beforehand what it means to speak 'properly' (in press), that they 'spoke' through action. Thus I argue that individuals already appeared to have a 'capacity' to engage in the spatial and temporal dimensions of their location in pro-active ways that were generative of socialisation and subjectification forms of citizenship without needing to learn before they could do this, or at least not being aware of learning a lot through these processes. They were clear about the structures and challenges they were faced with (maps, histories, decline, conservation), and were able to expose them where they existed and claim the right to act upon them. These practices did not occur through instruction or an external force exposing respondents to their place, but as a conscious process by respondents themselves. It is to the question of the possibilities then for civic *education* involving public pedagogy that I deal with in my next chapter.

7.4.1   Reflecting upon civic learning

Alongside the difficulties of engaging individuals in reflecting upon their own civic learning in line with my interpretivist stance, and my argument above about the more overtly demonstrated civic actions they engaged in regardless of needing to 'learn' beforehand, here I will set out the ways I can still make some points about the learning that emerged through their actions. I will firstly shift the discussion slightly to include the notion that respondents recovered their 'civic knowledge', through which it could

be argue that in these recovery moments were forms of learning which respondents did not recognise, but which I can interpret emerged from their experiences of living in their own contexts over time. This notion of civic knowledge is related to learning in terms of the ways respondents continually experienced the issues at stake in their place. It takes into account aspects of identity and community, both of which are consistent with and extend my original theoretical framework of civic learning.

Firstly, in terms of civic knowledge Galston (2007) argues that civic knowledge is important if citizens are to understand and be aware of their interests as individuals and as members of a group. Such knowledge, he argues, can decrease individuals' alienation from public life and increase their abilities to connect their own and group issues with wider public issues and is thus central to political participation. Understood in this way, and by re-engaging with my interpretation earlier in this chapter, we might consider the possibility that respondents were digging up their civic knowledges through experiences of living in a place for an extended length of time, using these experiences to further engage in reconstructing and participating in their present. Here, respondents' learning emerged from the ways they dealt with the hidden and neglected issues in their physical and temporal contexts. Framed in this way, it is possible to understand their learning as emerging from their engagements with the archaeological side of their activities: digging up, mapping, archiving and exhibiting ignored or misunderstood pasts and geographies, making these visible and encouraging others to contribute their own knowledges. These forms of learning through the spatial and temporal context and the individual are unpredictable. However, the important point here is that their learning occurred through exposure to change: to industrial and built environment decline, and exposure to and to confrontation with both abandoned and

tightly controlled spaces and histories.

Here then it is worth considering the possibility of learning as connected to continual experience and exposure to their locality, which sparked the revitalisation of respondents' civic knowledges. In an empirical study by Schugurensky and Myers (2003) they argue that the acquisition of civic knowledge is 'tacit' and 'unconscious', in that it emerges through knowledge that adults possess or accumulate but cannot articulate or express to others. This is because, as they state: "...the most interesting and significant learning tends to be informal, unplanned and incidental, as part of people's everyday lives" (Schugurensky and Myers, 2003, p.326). In chapters five, six and seven I discussed in great detail the variety of settings within which the civic action occurred. Taking another look at these actions, through shifting the focus to the idea of respondents' emerging civic knowledges, it can be argued that they brought to the fore under-represented, controlled and ignored geographies and histories into the public sphere. They learned to respond to abandoned and controlled spaces in new and creative ways, creating alternative public situations, histories and geographies that uncovered and gave new space to their own understandings, and to themselves as agents of change. They learned to represent themselves through histories and geographies that mattered to them, and they learned to encourage others to participate. For both places the geographies and histories they represented did not previously exist in the public realm.

In terms of the identity and community aspects, respondents learned to dis-identify with the present configurations and considerations of their place through creating alternatives to what was already represented on their behalf, or un-represented. I have argued in previous chapters that identity can have the purpose of fixing individuals to

understandings that already exist, encouraging a 'we' rather than allowing for diversity to emerge. In both cases respondents were identifying with a variety of pasts and geographies that did allow for others to come forward with different perspectives and contestations. Respondents were also, in a variety of ways, refusing to identify with the present state of the landscape (Bonnybridge) and the official village plan (Cumbernauld Village). Thus, their activities give an alternative conception to the notion of identity, as something that allowed them and others to act in a public sense. Community itself was an experience rather than in a particularly solid and definable 'form', and it was continuously created and re-created through respondents' engagements between past and present. As a spatial and a temporal activity committed to democratic forms of togetherness, the forms of community that emerged were sensitive to – and committed to encouraging - alternative perspectives. Rather than understanding community as a consensual notion, there emerged alternative constructions of community in common spaces that were shared by respondents; community became an enactment through respondents putting forward a variety of interpretations of these shared spaces.

7.4.2 Critical reflection on civic learning and the relationship between socialisation and subjectification forms of civic action

In chapter three I outlined Biesta's theory of civic learning within my theoretical framework. To recap briefly, its main interest is in understanding the learning processes involved in the everyday practices and experiences of individuals. These experiences contribute to the ongoing formation of democratic citizens through its two 'modes' of civic learning: a socialisation mode and a subjectification mode. Of centrality to the theory is focusing on what learning needs to take place in order for individuals to become political subjects in their own right, rather than learning to take up existing

political identities. I have shown in my analysis and interpretation that both socialisation and subjectification occur concurrently; respondents demonstrated the ways they took already-existing histories and geographies and adapted their actions to them. This was more clearly the case for Cumbernauld Village than Bonnybridge. For Bonnybridge there were few examples of pre-existing histories or geographies that respondents could use in their interactions, and so their actions could be understood as involving a higher level of subjectification. However, this is paradoxical for both the Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village cases. For Bonnybridge there were traces of socialisation in the ways that the absence of care or attention to preserving the past before respondents' engagements could explain their interesting interventions in the landscape. For Cumbernauld Village, it was precisely the socialisation aspects of conserving the landscape over centuries that meant respondents were actually able to act in the ways that they did.

Taking these two small examples as a case in point, it is worth reflecting upon Biesta's theory of civic learning itself. The modes of socialisation and subjectification may appear at first glance as being separate – as dichotomies - or at least as implying the individual is either acting in ways that demonstrate their socialisation, or in ways that demonstrate their subjectification. However, I have shown in my analysis and interpretation the complex and often contradictory ways that socialisation and subjectification can be understood. I argue that subjectification did not occur without there first being a potential or actual socialisation point. I am referring here to a structure, whether pre-existing histories that respondents were fixing themselves to or against, or a geography, visible in the form of conservation or invisible in the form of dereliction. Thus, in order to understand respondents' actions as involving

subjectification, that is to say their engagements in political agency itself, they are 'taking', critiquing and subverting aspects from the socialisation mode. They are then using them in their engagements in order to try to bring something new, or at least not already pre-existing, into the world. I have shown this already through the interplay between histories 'of' and 'by', of 'being mapped' and 're-mapping'. Thus, in what I have argued, it is important to understand how individuals use these orders (these histories, these geographies) that could map them to an external understanding or configuration of their place on their behalf, towards generating new engagements *in public* with others. In other words, respondents are constantly exposed to landscapes, spaces and official knowledges in the form of cartographies, or in 'real terms' through engagements such as walking. These complex systems form centre points for navigation, adherence to and also contestation, towards the creation of new worlds, new ways of understanding and perceiving their place. Here, then, in my study it is important to conceptualise socialisation and subjectification not as opposites or separate categories whereby an individual can only be one or the other, but as interconnected ways of being active in a location. Individuals in both cases were weaving in and out of both states as a necessary part of their civic actions.

In terms of the learning question articulated thus far, I am not arguing that learning is irrelevant to developing subjectification forms of citizenship but that other studies might seek to do this in other ways. Equally, although I argued that individuals already have the 'capacity' to engage in civic matters without necessarily needing to learn to do so – or even being conscious of their learning processes – this is the point at which I argue for a renewed role for community workers in setting the foundations for certain practices of citizenship to emerge through public pedagogy. I argue in my last chapter

next that community workers might engage with local people that could make civic action possible. This turns from being a question of learning to a question of education, and is thus related to my last research question which asks: what are the possibilities for public pedagogies within the field of community education towards supporting and promoting civic learning involving spatial and temporal contexts and settings?

7.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I engaged in an interpretation of the civic actions of respondents through the conceptual framework of socialisation and subjectification developed from Biesta's theory of civic learning (2011). I demonstrated the dimensions of civic action as involving: (a) the socialisation characteristics relating to histories 'of' and mapreading: the ways respondents' engagements in their location that led to the adoption of and identification with existing definitions of the spatial and temporal characteristics of the locations); (b) the subjectification characteristics relating to histories 'by' and mapmaking: the extent to which, and the ways, respondents engagements led to developing new enactments and relationships with their location. I argued that these processes were affected by, in the case of Bonnybridge the absences of official histories and interest in the area by public agencies, and in the case of Cumbernauld Village a strong 'sense of history' shared by respondents, visible in the landscape through decades of official interventions.

I demonstrated the dynamics of respondents' civic practices as histories of/histories by and mapreading/mapmaking have strong spatial and temporal dimensions. I also argued that whilst socialisation is a passive form of citizenship, subjectification is an active process whereby respondents refused to be defined by pre-existing spatialities and

temporalities. I consider that these processes are central to a new understanding of public history, as an active process of engagement with the public, shared characteristics of both places, a process with political and democratic potential in terms of the ways respondents used particular spaces and histories to speak in ways that allowed for alternative and previously unrepresented spaces to become present. In terms of the civic *learning* aspects of respondents' engagements, I demonstrated the difficulties in researching learning occurring for, from and through these processes as due to researching with older adults who are already actively engaged in their location without needing to 'learn' prior to this. Respondents were also highly aware of their context, in terms of structures placed upon them; I demonstrated the ways they actively sought alternatives rather than accepting and working inside these structures. Thus, from this I argued that the extent to which I found examples of socialisation and subjectification could be understood as learning processes where people adopted or refuse existing interpretations, definitions and identities (and thereby adjusted to or diverged from an existing order). However, most of this learning went unnoticed to participants, and was equally unnecessary to understanding their civic actions in their locations.

In the latter part of the chapter I acknowledged that although respondents did not articulate their learning I can still argue that learning occurred. I did this through extending my original theoretical framework of civic learning to include the notion of civic knowledge, as well as learning through experiencing everyday life and the issues contained there. It can thus be interpreted alternatively that respondents were learning to represent themselves in the public domain through recovering pasts and geographies that mattered to a wider public conversation.

In the next chapter I will discuss the implications of my findings for the field of adult education, and also for further research: not in terms of promoting particular forms of learning and understanding, but in generating opportunities for individuals to engage in their location through demands made by spaces and temporalities. This demands a move away from a language of learning that demands particular forms of learning, which suggests it is already defined what needs to be learned prior to engagements with their place. It is through this move towards education that is the focus of my last chapter, towards the potential usefulness of my research for community workers engaging in place-based settings, central to setting up the conditions for unknowable encounters through public pedagogy.

8   Chapter Eight: Conclusions – Public pedagogies of place and time

8.0   Introduction

This research involved an exploration of the civic actions involving space and time by two groups of individuals in Bonnybridge and Cumbernauld Village. As discussed in chapter seven, the focus of my research shifted from understanding civic learning to understanding civic action. I justified this shift in relation to my data analysis and interpretation as well as my theoretical framework in chapter three which argued that the two modes of Biesta's theory of civic learning, socialisation and subjectification, are also central to understanding civic action. This is precisely because the distinction between the socialisation and subjectification modes of civic learning also characterise the ways individuals *act* within and against the issues at stake in their communities.

Biesta's theory explicitly connects learning and action together, because his socialisation conception argues that the individual needs to learn something in order to carry out the 'correct' actions in the future; on the other hand, the subjectification conception discusses that action precedes this, and that the learning comes second, if at all. In this way, the socialisation form of civic learning can be used to describe and characterise civic action precisely because it also concerns the forms of civic action whereby people adopt or identify with existing definitions and understandings through active engagements. The subjectification form of civic learning can be used to describe and characterise forms of civic action where people are more dynamic in enacting their citizenship in the sense of refusing to be defined by other people's definitions of what they should be and what they should do. Here, Biesta has referred to this as 'people's

actual condition of citizenship' and where democracy is an 'experiment' (cf. Biesta, 2011, p.108); this is involved with actions by citizens in the here and now rather than some future condition yet to be achieved through learning the correct way. It is through the results of my research that I conclude my thesis, taking up the subjectification conception of civic action as central to the concept of public pedagogy.

This chapter centres on my final objective: to evaluate the implications, challenges and possibilities of civic learning as a form of public history within place-based public pedagogies for the field of community education. This relates to my last research question: What are the possibilities for public pedagogies within the field of community education towards the support and promotion of subjectification forms of civic learning involving spatial and temporal contexts and settings? As argued, I shift from civic learning to civic action in this chapter, which has four parts. The first part outlines public pedagogy as a concept, and I argue for the use of Biesta's public pedagogy theory (2012) which provides three conceptualisations of public pedagogy: a pedagogy 'for' the public (instruction), a pedagogy 'of' the public (conscientisation), and a pedagogy that opens up possibilities for becoming public (interruption). In this section I connect my own role as CLD Worker with the Greenhill Historical Society in order to enhance understandings of how we might understand the educational role of the community worker in public pedagogies involving space and time. Part two conceptualises civic action processes as curations that 'care for' spaces and temporalities as central to democratic participation. The third part argues space and time are central components of Biesta's third public pedagogy conception that could set up interruptions in programmatic ways; in terms of temporality, I argue for more attention to the actual temporal conditions of citizens' lives. This involves creating

forms of public history that inspire practices of history-making. In terms of the spatial conditions of citizens' lives I argue that mapmaking practices have the potential to encourage practices of public space formation through alternative representations of the geography. Part four concludes this thesis.

8.1 Public Pedagogies

Public pedagogy is a general term for a broad collection of theories which have in common the assertion that education must be committed to democracy and political action as a public process, in the case of my thesis pedagogies occurring in non-institutional settings. What is required is a clear discussion on what public pedagogy is – and equally importantly what educational processes we are referring to - in relation to the context of my thesis and its findings. This presents a challenge to adult education because public pedagogy alters and decentres the relationship between the educator and the individual, and the 'educational agenda' that sets the foundations for interventions between the individual and the conditions of their world. More significantly, it is also a rejection of the educator's ideal vision, both in terms of the educational content that prescribes what the individual might learn, and what might emerge in terms of projects through public pedagogic interventions. That is to say, the educator's intentionality has to be sidelined whilst at the same time refusing to reduce themselves to that of a facilitator. Instead, in what follows I will argue that the educator is responsible for bringing disparate individuals together to interact with the variety of artefacts that surround them in their neighbourhoods in active ways. Equally these artefacts do not exist already but rather are made present by individuals through navigating and reconsidering their environment. Thus, the educator has a crucial role in encouraging local people to explore their locality, question their place towards the possibility of

entry points of other places and other people that creates a 'gap' for something new and unforeseen to emerge.

Following this strand, therefore, public pedagogies call for integrating public sites of resistance that create pedagogies in public spaces (Sandlin, Schultz and Burdick, 2009) but more than this I would argue they are also central to *creating* public spaces. Here, the nature of 'public' life is at the centre of educational interventions. In a review of public pedagogy literature, Sandlin, O'Malley and Burdick (2011) discuss the numerous and sometimes vague definitions for public pedagogy, leading to a lack of conceptual clarity about *what* public pedagogy is in conjunction with *how* it is being used across a wide variety of research projects in art, cultural studies, anthropology and sociology, with a high number of research looking at cultural studies. Sandlin et al (2010) demonstrate that a growing number of research literature is focusing on the 'performative and activist dimensions' of public pedagogies. This focus is central to public pedagogies concerned with furthering democratic projects outwith institutions (such as the school) towards non-institutional settings such as grassroots organisations, neighbourhood projects, art collectives, and town meetings (cf. Sandlin, O'Malley and Burdick 2011, p.21). More generally, public pedagogy is involved with interventions that try to encourage local action by residents focused on making local issues visible.

8.1.1 Pedagogy for the public, pedagogy of the public and pedagogy that opens up possibilities for becoming public

Connecting education with citizenship, in what follows I discuss Biesta's three modes of public pedagogy (2012) that situate the educator with a particular purpose of setting the conditions for active political interventions by citizens which then furthers the

notion of the responsibility of education within the public sphere. An important starting point that situates what I am referring to when I discuss the definition of public pedagogy I am working with can be seen in the conceptualisation by Schuermans, Loopmans and Vandenabeele (2012, p.677) who argue, "This public pedagogy scrutinizes the educational processes involved when issues and interests are made 'public'. It focuses on the concrete practices of citizens engaged corporeally in social interactions which unsettle established notions of living together." Furthering this understanding, Biesta defines public pedagogy as: "...an educational intervention enacted in the interest of the public quality of spaces and places and the public quality of human togetherness more generally." (Biesta 2012, p.684). He further argues it is 'more programmatic' and 'more political' than Giroux's conception of public pedagogy which focuses on *analysing* how media, culture and society function as educational forces. Burdick and Sandlin (2013) argue that although Giroux's conceptualisation of public pedagogy is not predominantly confined to the classroom, it does not identify which sites or artefacts of culture he is referring to; equally it positions the educator as the key figure in the process (Burdick and Sandlin 2013, p.153-4). This means that the educator has an active role in creating interventions that work with local people to create public spaces through the issues that matter to them in their location. However, looking more closely this 'analysis mode' involves the educator exposing the ideologies and 'hidden curricula' of film and other popular culture modes, particularly involving exposing, for example, the power dynamics in the representations that individuals might not be conscious of. Alternatively, as I will show next, Biesta's notion of public pedagogy argues that the pedagogue must try to encourage the creation of many public spaces and places through events that 'test' the publicness of these places, that is to say a space undetermined by private agendas and interests (Biesta 2012), and including that

of the educator. This is a reaction against the privatisation of space towards encouraging a collective re-appropriation and a re-politicisation of the spaces we inhabit, as the enactment of the public sphere.

Conceptualising the relationship between educator and individual, and individual and their context, Biesta's theory articulates differently how education might be organised that "...connects the political to the educational and locates both firmly in the public domain." (2012, p.684). In this way he argues it aims at encouraging actions that deliberately intervene in the public domain and which try to do so with a concern for democratic citizenship and the public sphere (2010, p.691) (see also Loopmans, Cowell and Oosterlynck 2012 for an empirical research project involving Biesta's public pedagogy in place-making through photography in Belgium and Scotland). Central to Biesta's theory is a call for staging interventions that raise questions about what it means for spaces and places to 'be public'. This is a condition that Biesta argues requires plurality as the enactment of collective interests, developing spaces that can generate public spaces which inherently allow action to be made possible. I argue Biesta's theory might illuminate possibilities for space and time as central to working 'with' than 'in' the context (Verschelden et al, 2012), involving heritage and history, geographical decline and deindustrialisation in ways that do not reduce the context to place-bound identity that overstates tradition, singular histories and historical continuity in times of radical change and chaos (Harvey, 1989).

I argued before for a conceptualisation of citizenship as a practice capable of forming public spheres; thinking within this framing it is then possible to argue we need to be more attentive to spaces and histories. I argue against practices that might create

identities and perpetuate traditions that may restrict and exclude others from new actions and forms of engagement, where these restrictions are detrimental to diverse and plural ways of engaging 'with' locations. Biesta conceptualises three modes of public pedagogic interventions: (1) pedagogy for the public (instruction), (2) pedagogy of the public (conscientisation), and (3) a pedagogy that opens up possibilities of becoming public (interruption). He clearly states a preference for the third mode, arguing the first two are involved with "...conceiving of public pedagogy as a form of instruction, or by understanding public pedagogy in terms of learning." (2012, p.685). On the other hand, the third conception demands that the educator does not steer the citizen into what they should be and what they should learn, but rather involves forms of interruption that allow an openness to possible forms of publicness that might emerge (cf. Biesta 2012, p.685).

8.1.1.1 A pedagogy 'for' the public

The first conceptualisation of pedagogy seeks to define and subsequently change identities of people and places through instruction that brings participants *into* public debate about ignored issues or interests, where the pedagogical intervention is 'outside'. This might be seen in specific forms of community development. Here Biesta argues the world is understood as a 'giant school' inside which educators instruct individuals in terms of '...telling them what to think, how to act and, perhaps most importantly, what to be." (2012, p.691). This relates to the active citizenship argument I discussed in my literature review, and indeed the ways heritage is positioned as 'learning about' the past in ways that encourage particular active citizens with an appreciation of particular forms of the past. Biesta argues this reverting to education as instruction erases the plurality and difference that are central to democracy because it restricts what might be

possible through precise demands from citizens. He argues these instructions – predominantly by the state's attempts at encouraging particular behaviours from its citizens - tell individuals how to behave, and is equally involved with 'teaching each other a lesson' which he argues is 'moralistic (p.692).

8.1.1.2 A pedagogy 'of' the public

The second conceptualisation of public pedagogy, which Biesta argues aligns with the Freirean tradition of community work has a more explicit concern for education which attempts at empowering groups marginalised in their place, as critical consciousness and critical awareness, shifting the discussion to one of 'learning' (p.692). This public pedagogy, which comes from the 'inside' (and where the individual is outside) is, "...located *within* democratic processes and practices, thus leading to an interest in the learning opportunities provided by such practices." (p.692). This second type seeks to encourage learning with the aim of changing individuals' self-conception as political subjects, where the educator tries to bring marginalised individuals and groups *into* political processes. The public pedagogue takes the role of facilitator in the marginalised groups' politicisation, through raising their critical consciousness. It does not set the agenda in advance in terms of what should be learned but is part of what Biesta argues involves "...what is 'at stake' in such processes of collective political learning." (p.692); despite being a move closer towards plurality it brings learning into a 'regime of learning', where the particular type of outcome should be 'overcoming alienation from the world'. (p.692). Biesta states that, "This, in turn, suggests that public pedagogy as a pedagogy of the public comes with a particular conception of political agency in which (political) action follows from (political) understanding - and perhaps we can add that agency here follows from the right, correct or true

understanding." (Biesta 2012, p.692). As he argues, the demand is that individuals must learn, and continue to learn, in order to become better political actors. This suggests to Biesta that social and political problems are turned into a problem for learning and it is in this 'turn' that they revert back to being the responsibility of the individual than a problem 'for the collective' (p.693).

8.1.1.3 A pedagogy that enacts a concern for 'publicness'

The third type of pedagogy – which Biesta prefers – works at the intersection of education and politics, and refuses to set a pedagogic agenda or define in advance what needs to be 'taught'. Instead, the central component of this form of public pedagogy is plurality, particularly in our relations with others, and with space and time. Here, Biesta argues for pedagogic interventions that make action possible in an arena of plurality, as "... one where public pedagogy appears as an enactment of a concern for 'publicness' or 'publicity', that is a concern for the public quality of human togetherness and thus for the possibility of actors and events to become public." (p.693). Here then, becoming public creates the public sphere through attempts to interrupt the usual order without imposing any alternatives, towards dissensus, which Biesta articulates is a term by Rancière. Interruptions test the particular 'public quality of human togetherness' involved with which places and spaces 'make forms of human togetherness possible' (p.693). This form does not require a certain form of learning from citizens nor engage in setting the foundations for what they should be, but instead "...keeps open the possibility of a space where freedom can appear." (p.693). Here, then, interruptions set up by public pedagogues have the potential to allow for new and unforeseen forms of political subjectivity which arise in conjunction with new and unforeseen representations of space and temporality.

Biesta (2012, p.694) articulates the importance of such pedagogy: "Politically such interventions are important because they can act as a test...of the public 'quality' of a particular location. They can function as a test, in other words, of what is possible in that location and in this way they can reveal whether particular spaces are determined, controlled and policed, or are open to a plurality of being and doing. Educationally such interventions are important because they enact a form of pedagogy that is neither based on superior knowledge of an educator - so that the educator would be in a position to tell others how to act and how to be - nor about putting the educator in the role of a facilitator of learning - thus putting the whole process under a learning 'regime'." This pedagogy thus involves "...a concern for the publicness or public quality of particular spaces and places, an enactment of a concern for the possibility of forms of human togetherness in which freedom can appear - forms of human togetherness through which such spaces and places *can become public*" (p.694). It is clear in this conception that all the pedagogue can do is prepare the ground for action but cannot claim to know what will emerge, nor encourage the citizen to act in a particular way towards making a pre-defined space public. Here, as Biesta argues, pedagogy is not turned into politics (where we might consider education is instrumentalised), but rather is about "...how pedagogies can be politically significant." (p.694). In what follows I explore what Biesta's third conceptualisation of public pedagogy might mean for adult education with a concern for working 'with' context.

The results of my empirical research alongside Biesta's theory of public pedagogy - as a pedagogy that enacts a concern for publicness - raises some important issues for how we might understand the idea of the public sphere and its relationship to the role of

learning and education in places. In the sections that follow I explore the role that space and time might play in the construction of a public sphere; in particular I engage with the question of how the third conception of public pedagogy might assist in forming spatial and temporal 'events' or practices that work with the context towards becoming public events, rather than simply as a backdrop to activities. I will argue that the spatial and historical context of places is crucial to the programmes adult educators develop with local people. This means that the issues, the 'conditions' facing individuals in communities might be used to create interactive projects that connect and open up issues inherent in particular spaces and the histories rooted there, towards creating public spaces and public histories.

8.2 Curating Places

I outlined previously that I would connect civic action and public pedagogy to the concept of curation. Recently this form has moved from being a traditional activity in heritage institutions such as museums and art galleries to being central to questions concerning education, community and site[8]. O'Neill and Wilson (2010, p.14) argue curation should not be about "...the masterful production of expertise and the authoritative pronouncement of truth but rather the coproduction of question, ambiguity and enquiry, often determined by the simple contingencies of where people happen to begin a conversation." Curations are therefore, to O'Neill and Wilson (2010), about contesting norms, developing ourselves as counter-subjects and participant-citizens towards new modes of subjectivity. They argue that curating can include exhibition-making, discursive production, self-organisation involving the establishment of cultural

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[8] Ruitenberg (2012) has connected non-formal education involving walking neighbourhoods with young people as a 'curatorial practice', defining the curator as the educator; I see the curator as the citizen but the co-production of artefacts in public involves educator (community worker) and citizen-as-curator.

encounters, enactments that attempt to decentre the traditional 'official curator'. Thus, curating is not about 'disclosing final meaning, value or purpose' but about non-linear processes that test sites as they emerge and alter through resistance (O'Neill and Wilson, 2010). Thus these are attempts to reconceptualise the citizen as an actor rather than a spectator in terms of objects, because it is only through shifting our understanding of curation that we can ensure that objects can be set in 'changing relation' by decentring the object by placing it in relation to other objects, to ourselves, towards reconfiguring the order (Krauss 1996). Karp (1996) argues that we live by received meanings of the world which he considers are shaped by interpretations already 'there', but the political moment is in understanding objects, and the standards they generate, where "...One has to challenge the second-hand worlds in which we live." (Karp 1996, p.267).

It is possible then to consider curation as acts upon artefacts such as the historical landscape through processes of reconfiguration and reconsideration as curation. The artefact here is not (necessarily) a museum object or a piece of art but spaces, objects and histories that matter to the 'publicness' of individuals: pieces of historical or contemporary space, the natural or conserved landscape, buildings, photography, old and new maps, and suchlike, which can be 'acted upon'. These citizen-curators are responsible for curating the 'artefact' through splintering and reconstituting it in a multitude of ways, as representations of themselves and their place in the public realm. This involves collecting, producing and 'owning' artefacts, as curators of space and time. The artefact is of course then not the end product but a process that allows you to consider your place against the 'given place' (Kaizen, 2010).

8.3 The public pedagogue: Space, time and public pedagogy towards 'democratic instances'

In this section I move forward with the notion of curation as central to possible inter-relationships between space, temporality, civic action and the public sphere. The question I seek to pose here is how particular enactments involving space and time might be used in public pedagogies that promote civic action and how this, in turn, might affect the public - and political - 'quality' of interaction. I deal firstly with temporality and then move on to spatiality, which involves a discussion on practices that might allow for making things public and therefore is a pedagogy that enacts a concern for 'publicness' as I outlined in my theoretical framework in chapter three. I refer back to the original conceptualisation of democracy as about the translation from private to public as well as the necessary engagement in collective debates, actions, and decision-making that seek to organise the complexities of our lives in public and which 'test' and create the publicness of spaces and places (Biesta, 2006; Biesta and Cowell, 2012) against controlled and private agendas. I connect this idea of translation towards exploring the possibilities for alternative forms of adult and community education working with the spatial and temporal aspects of localities that might contribute the transformation of what is private into what is shared and made public. In what follows I will link the findings of my research to what they might mean for Biesta's third notion of public pedagogy. I deal firstly with the role and case for the public pedagogue, which brings in my own practical reflections as a community worker in Bonnybridge with a concern for the publicness of residents. I then deal in turn with the possibilities for public pedagogies with specific attention to the temporal and the spatial in local communities.

8.3.1 The role of the public pedagogue

Considering Biesta's call for pedagogies that enact a concern for publicness, he argues for pedagogic interventions that make action possible through testing the public quality of our relationships with others and with our location. It thus concerns the possibilities for local people and events to 'become public' (cf. Biesta 2012). This means that the educator has a role to question residents on what lies underneath. This has the purpose of bringing out their own issues with their locality and working with them to test potential wider concern for such issues in the community, and to ensure other issues can emerge. In my research design chapter I discussed these ideas already in relation to my own work in Bonnybridge, which consisted of walking the local landscape with residents to understand their place from their perspective, and to explore what issues lay there. In the case of Bonnybridge this emerged as deindustrialisation and a lack of public engagement on this, alongside an absence of opportunities for local people to articulate the multitude of pasts and spaces of importance to them. Repeating such a process in different places would presumably call up a wide variety of issues - challenges that lie beneath the surface.

Connecting this demand with the histories, whether hidden or on display, in struggling locations I argue that the pedagogue has a role to play in encouraging residents to explore the impact of time on their local geography and in their present configurations of their place. In relation to the possibilities for civic learning, I would argue that public pedagogues should seek to explore with residents the spaces and histories already existing, as potential environments that could keep people in place or rooted to a particular past not of their choosing. As I have argued in the previous chapter the public pedagogue should help residents to weave their way between these potential

socialisation spaces and pasts towards their own ways of existing in their location towards their emergence as political agents. From this, therefore, residents could consider examining how they are represented in a variety of ways, in cartographies past and present, in writings about their history and the geographical features of their place, public agency reports and plans of and for their area and suchlike. This allows residents to situate themselves within and against such explorations in order to work out what matters to them, and through this how they might become active in their locality.

The public pedagogue is responsible for encouraging local people to begin these explorations but cannot steer or argue 'for' a particular way of doing things; they can only work with residents to help them and their events to 'become public', as Biesta argues, through whichever vehicles residents use to display their issues for consideration by others. In this way it cannot be predicted what the outcome or results might be. In what follows I will go into the possibility for public pedagogy firstly in relation to temporality, and secondly involving spatiality to include cartographies past and present.

8.3.2   Temporality and Public Pedagogy

Of central concern is that history is opened up so that where matters of history are of concern to a place that it in its public guise it is not reduced to a celebration of the past, reminiscing about the past, nor as **only** involving lessons to learn 'about' or 'from' – because this is bound up in skills development and morality more than it is publicity; here I make a call for history's multiple layers and dimensions to be made visible. I have argued in my theoretical framework that learning 'about' and learning 'from' history fulfil important functions because historical knowledge is clearly significant in

many ways and in various circumstances. However I am arguing here that in a citizenship-as-practice sense history should not remain in these two functions, as a subject to be learned 'about' or 'from' because this keeps history firmly in the past. This also means citizens take up roles as spectators, as consumers of histories decided outside rather than inside. I therefore argue public history practices could involve access points that generate new processes, insights, and actions central to democratic citizenship. 'Official' historical writings, stories, monuments and memorial plaques, for example (in the form of local history DVDs, books, exhibitions) are important for gaining knowledge and understanding about historical events and the placing of these events in the landscape[9]. It is of course possible to argue that the effects of the different ways citizens engage with these official histories and official historical sites are uncertain. It could be argued that this uncertainty translates into an indeterminacy that *could* be politically significant, however there is the possibility that official histories remain as motivators for actions by residents that integrate and objectify historical events. This then relegates history to being in the past, of being known, knowable and explained. I am not arguing that we cannot learn from representations of the past that are in this form, but as I argued before, the learning 'about' and 'from' that emerges is neutral in terms of public participation (Barton and Levstik, 2004) because it positions history as an object, as a form of instruction that reduces it to the creation of identities and rational agents who consume pre-existing historical knowledge. In other words, its outlook is 'inward' than 'outward'.

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[9] Of course, there are many ways of constructing these official histories by residents that involve local communities in interviews, collective memory projects, and suchlike, but if they are 'captured' and 'distributed' in ways that revert back to being static social objects, their capacity to spark political and public processes is limited, unless they allow openings that can generate connections from the wider public, who might choose to work against them, or contribute in ways that make them public processes than objects.

A different way of positioning history might be to reconceptualise its capabilities for engendering wider and more complex involvement with historical narratives, facts and objects; this works in opposition to history as a series of 'events' represented through talks, publications or exhibitions, for example. This might allow for wide-ranging 'translations', where individuals can engage in and make sense of what is presented and represented, where they can generate opposing and alternative histories presently hidden, unknown or misunderstood. Central to my argument is that the different 'modes' of history and historicising, for example the private stories, hidden or broadly unrepresented histories, can be turned into something *public*, i.e., accessible and shareable in a multitude of ways. What is required are engagements that make the historical event, memory or site capable of sparking actions upon and against them in the present in a range of different ways that cannot be anticipated, nor planned for. Residents might engage with other citizens in the co-production of multiple histories and spaces towards encouraging difference and diversity within one single history or one single historical site. Participating in exploring the different modalities of history and historical landscapes could create opportunities for citizens to present their ideas and positions to others as a collective engagement in public with history.

8.3.2.1 Curating representations of time: from history-taking to history-making

It is this shift from being spectators of the effects of the past on the landscape, or the presentation or exhibition of history, towards becoming participants is a central component of alternative, democratic forms of 'curation'. Being involved in 'doing' history through acting within, upon and against it is central to civic participation in histories that matter to the public quality of our lives with others in relation to the past. I have argued in chapter three that this is a form of history-taking, where we are living

within histories already 'there' for us to adopt, or histories which we identify with, which we consume and which cannot necessarily let us 'in' unless we are provided with the correct skills to do so. Acting against this necessitates a shift towards the public potential of history-making, which involves histories that emerge through our representations of the past (or historicising) which is about us as political actors and allows for multiple actions and engagements with the present. It also therefore has the capacity to connect to present-day issues in the community - as histories that make demands on us in the present. For example, historical events, industries and ways of living in the place that were once present or took place in particular locations in the past could be opened up in ways that allow for an exposure to the juxtaposition between past glories, achievements and successes with present loss, damage, decline and invisibility within the physical and social infrastructure of the locality. These spaces *in between* the past and present – whether geographical in the sense of being a physical place that is configured, damaged or regenerated in a particular way, or an event, story or memory capable of being interacted with, acted upon or discussed – have the potential to be oriented towards actions necessary to 'sustain the prospect of democracy' (Simon, 2005). This allows for our own interactions with spaces and times multiplied, which are unknown-in-advance of our actions, and that might generate wider public deliberation with the collective in order to expose gaps, chaos, regression.

These processes seek to involve a public pedagogy towards forms of action that unsettle the present, where there are no blueprints or moral lessons, towards opening up new ways of thinking and perceiving the multiple aspects of the past. It is not about historical re-enactments but articulates historical knowledge as a 'difficult inheritance' which demands a response in the public realm in the present (cf. Simon 2005). It is

indeterminate because it is not known in advance what pasts, what histories, what historical spaces might be central to living our lives in public with others. We are faced with pasts through our exposure to, and representations of, its traces rooted in the landscape. These forms of public historicising develop potential first-person perspectives of histories that encourage active participation by residents in telling, retelling and performing history (not as a re-enactment but as a beginning that allows for other perspectives).

In this way history has the capacity to be involved in processes that begin discussions, acts, events, towards processes of translation, as opportunities for anyone in the locality to translate the disparate, interactive and divergent (contradictory, conflicting and contested) 'pieces' of histories and associated maps and physical and temporal geographies, their component parts and citizens' experiences with them in ways that are meaningful to them – individually and collectively. This involves processes of doing history in our locality central to breaking down the component parts of heritage, history and the physical landscape (past and present) in order to pave the way for accessing, interpreting and practicing in many different ways; space and time then become acts that are about being in public. This involves beginning processes without being sure where they might lead: walking the landscape, being attentive to past and present maps, towards making spaces in localities 'strange', 'out of time' and 'out of order' to its residents, moving away from taking our place for granted and not seeing towards seeing what is necessary to participate in the public realm: bringing out the absent, missing and hidden elements of the place in order to evoke aspects that might have otherwise been taken for granted and possibly missed. For Biesta, the pedagogue is not a facilitator of this process but has a programmatic role here, setting up events with local people where

their stories, their multiple knowledges and engagements with their physical context are 'shifted by the stories of others' (Simon, 2005).

Although this is a public pedagogy that must refuse to determine or anticipate particular forms of civic action, I can argue 'for' those involved with adult education to set up the foundations for actions by citizens with the capacity to generate subjectification forms of civic action. Biesta (2012) argues that we cannot know in advance what these ways of acting might be, we can only set the conditions for, as Biesta argues, an 'exposure' to and engagement with the 'experiment' of democracy (Biesta, 2011). It is important to bring people together to open up alternative understandings of their place through walking the landscape, debating it, rearticulating it collectively with others in the community who see it in different ways, whereby there are opportunities for people who exist in and through different pasts, from different places, in other times. With residents it is important to be mindful of what is written about the location and who is writing about it in historical and contemporary terms, what local, regional and national government agencies are doing in the area and for what reasons; set alongside this work a central component of public pedagogy is to walk, map, photograph, write, collect objects, exhibit with residents – towards representations in the public domain that put forward alternative visual and experiential perspectives of the place by its residents.

8.3.3   Spatiality and Public Pedagogy: mapreading and mapmaking

I have already argued for the use and exploration of contemporary and historical cartography since it can allow for possible spaces of intervention to become clear; maps as objects can be translated into public practices through walking, mapping and remapping; re-finding lost and abandoned spaces, as well as spaces now existing as

something else. The pedagogic intervention begins with reading maps that might inspire practices upon, against and within them. Cartography involves a particular representation of a space from an outside perspective, but these readings might also show how the geography has been developed, altered, misrepresented and allowed to degenerate over time. The in-between spaces of maps of the past and of the present show what is missing; these missing, regenerated, damaged spaces - and indeed incorrect mappings of spaces – can reveal a multitude of possibilities for civic action. The map within these engagements is capable of stimulating the unexpectedness necessary to disrupt space as seen 'from above'. I am arguing that these ground-level disruptions are a necessary part of subjectification processes where the map-reader becomes map-maker in the creation of an alternative engagement with their landscape. Similar to the theory and practice of psychogeography and psychogeographic mapping, civic action could deconstruct the mapreading and mapmaking 'order' by exposing it to re-explorations by individuals, who in turn construct tri-layered spatial, temporal and relational maps towards their subjectification and emergence as political agents.

I am arguing for community workers who work in specific locations, to consider engaging with residents at the intersection between representations 'of' geographies relating to the context and to the lack of representational opportunities by residents who live there; between these two poles are possible entry points for engagements in civil society. Of central concern to this representational work is to redraw the borders of their place, insert different time zones to maps (i.e. historical map 'pieces' that represent parts of the landscape that need to be dealt with today) as central to engaging in the present, reconfiguring the geography in physical or abstract terms through events that reinstate and represent missing or misrepresented places on the map. This creates new

maps that are processes - constantly being made and remade, as well as practices that have the capacity to change the landscape and thus change the map. There is no need to know the history or geography in advance to be able to engage in public acts involving these spaces; any resident can do this, regardless of the length of their residency or where they are 'from'. We can never encourage any particular configuration or 'form' to a location because it consists of many different time zones, practices, experiences and understandings. Mapreading and mapmaking are thus practices that occur in the realm of the civic; maps are starting points for practices because time is not linear - it interrupts the present; these interruptions by time also affect the landscape whether derelict industrial site or conserved village scape. As McMaster (1996) argues, boundaries and borders are central to reconsidering representation practices by the under-represented, towards new territories and possibilities. He further argues these new possibilities are spatial because they can be made 'virtually anywhere'.

8.4   Suggestions for further research

This study has been relatively small-scale and limited to two places in Scotland. It would be of interest to widen the research I have presented here to other places experiencing significant upheaval over time, specifically those 'urban cracks' I have already mentioned, whether deindustrialised or conserved. It is this attentiveness to spaces in smaller towns and villages that are on the edges or hidden completely, or configured in a particular way. There is often a larger concentration on research in cities, which often misses the central issues facing many small villages and larger towns going through processes of transition from past to present. It would also be interesting to engage in research of this type with other ethnic groups, people from other places. Equally, the role of historical societies, walking groups and photography societies

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would be interesting in different ways in further research because they exist in their thousands throughout the UK, with differing purposes and organisational structures. Their work is more complex and more contemporarily-significant than it might first appear, using the past for whatever reasons are relevant to them. As such, groups of people exploring the historical characteristics of their local landscape is a good place to start when beginning any form of community work that begins with the ground upon which people live, and have lived over centuries that can build up a different place; not necessarily one living through its past, but one where our experiences with the past and present can also evoke responses that might spark unknowable engagements with places we are no longer able to say we 'know'.

8.5   Conclusions: histories and maps as processes and practices

In this chapter I explored the role that histories and maps in public pedagogic practices that might inspire processes of civic action, that is, action orientated towards a shared, common or public location. I was particularly interested in how this issue of civic action might be translated into a question for public pedagogy. I outlined Biesta's three modes of public pedagogy: (1) a pedagogy 'for' the public which involves interventions that seeks to define and subsequently change identities of people and places through instruction that brings participants *into* public debate about ignored issues or interests, where the pedagogical intervention is 'outside'; (2) a pedagogy 'of' the public – a pedagogy from the inside which Biesta argues aligns with attempts at empowering groups marginalised in their place, as critical consciousness and critical awareness, shifting the discussion to one of 'learning', and (3) a pedagogy that enacts a concern for publicness through pedagogic interventions that make action possible in an arena of plurality, with possibilities for actors and events to become public (Biesta 2012).

I suggested that active engagements with histories – histories by, and maps – mapmaking – might allow citizens to critically open up official representations (histories, physical spaces, mappings) of their location. Mapmaking has the potential to allow for different ways of acting and being in relation to official representations of particular locations and can thus lead to a critical reconsideration with or reconfiguration of such locations. Histories and maps might allow for possibilities and alternatives to current understandings of place rather than closing them down. Rather than working against histories and maps, they might allow for 'spaces and histories for action' towards mapping their place from the perspective of absence and invisibility. Connecting temporality with spatiality the concept of 'urban cracks' is useful. These 'cracks' refer to spaces left behind, the product of 'changing dynamics within the city', referring to abandoned buildings, pieces of land, deindustrialised locations and demolished sites existing in regenerated or abandoned sites, currently without identity. For these authors, 'urban cracks' refer to areas that are 'in-between', wasteland, residual space, uncertain and indeterminate; a 'no-man's land' and often do not exist on maps, or situated on roads no longer existing. (Verschelden et al 2012). As they argue: "Urban cracks confront us with the city's fulfilment failures in some areas. Oppressed practices are often disclosed in these places, where the dominant logics of economy and consumption, which preside over most historical city centres, openly conflict with the ignored. Therefore, urban cracks are held up as examples for revealing existing frictions within urban life and culture." (2012: 283).

Thus, the creation of public histories and public spaces through actions upon ignored, abandoned, regenerated and conserved spaces might contain possibilities for public pedagogies with potential for supporting civic agency, towards generating new political

identities. Such actions could have the capacity not only to contest existing representations and prescriptions of how a location and its people should be understood, but also towards new ways of being and doing through reconsidering and reconfiguring places. Public histories and mapmaking, then, are public pedagogic tools for opening up official representations of locations – temporally, spatially and relationally – and are therefore political tools for generating public places that weave their way through processes of orientation and disorientation towards reorientation practices that demand attention to alternative forms of places.

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Unpublished data collection sources (meetings/events attended)

Bonnybridge
Greenhill Historical Society
May 2010, walks to Clayknowes, Lochgreen, Bonnybridge
Weekly from February 2011-May 2012
26 March 2011, Open Exhibition
6th December 2011, latest edition of Bonnyseen magazine launch and exhibition and GHS talk 'A walk through the past and present' photograph slideshow based on the original talk given by John C. Leith, Works Director of Smith & Wellstood

Bonnyseen Magazine, January 2011
Bonnyseen Magazine, May 2011
Bonnyseen Magazine, December 2011
Bonnyseen Magazine, September 2012
Bonnyseen Magazine, April 2013

Cumbernauld Village
Cumbernuald Village Action for the Community group meetings
2nd February 2011
16th February 2011
23rd February 2011
2nd March 2011
10th March 2011
6th April 2011
1st June 2011
5th June 2011 (planting day)
15th June 2011
2nd November 2011
1st February 2012
7th March 2012
9th June 2012 (lang riggs allotments open day, celebration of 'Fields in Trust' status)
14th June 2012 (consultation on regeneration of village primary school)

Village Community Council meetings
13th January 2011
10th February 2011
10th March 2011
12th May 2011
9th June 2011

Appendices

Appendix A

Part 1: Psychogeographic Mapping Interview Questions

Background

1. Where they are from.
2. Activities involved in, why and for how long (reflections on the extent to which their work has changed over time).
3. How their work has affected them over time.
4. Purpose of activities.
5. Who they work with in their activities.
6. Who their audience is.

Spatial

1. General discussion about the place and their positioning within it - **tell me about Cumbernauld Village**.
2. What particular spaces/places that in the past and currently engaged in.
3. Their perceptions of the reputation of their place to those outside it and those living in it.
4. How in the past they discussed/used/understood the place before being involved.
5. In the present the effects of being involved in the activities they currently undertake.
6. Knowledge of the geography around them (maybe see changes over time to the development of this geography in particular ways – use of environment, etc).
7. To whom this place 'belongs' and whether they feel that they 'belong'.

Historical

1. General discussion about the history of the area/what they know.
2. The extent to which their current involvement in the place has contributed/is contributing to their knowledge of the place over time.
3. The role of history in the work they do/the purposes of history/what history is 'doing' in these projects.
4. Whose history it is (theirs/others?).

Relational

1. With whom they are working in the area.
2. Who are the different people they see in their neighbourhood and what relationship they have with them.
3. The relevance of their work for residents more generally.

Miscellaneous

1. The positive and negative experiences they have had with living in their community including its residents (past/present).
2. If they were to create a postcard of this place which area(s) they would use to promote it and what they would write (e.g. bring something back from the past/make something visible that they think is invisible/something that they think creates an alternative vision for their place or something they think highlights what people already think/know) Who they would be writing the postcard to.
3. The extent to which they feel they have changed things in their neighbourhood over time (reflections on whether this has been the case in the past and presently).
4. The extent to which they have changed as a result of their actions in their neighbourhood.
5. Through their work with the Society and elsewhere, the extent to which they feel they have the power to change things in their neighbourhood through their actions.

Part 2: Psychogeographic Mapping Exercises

1. Write a word or words on a piece of card and place it on the map somewhere…the word(s) must be something they want other people to know and see about their experiences with the place.

Pinpoint the border of their neighbourhood, and what is outside that border.	Their own colour for the border of the neighbourhood.
Place a sticker on the map denoting the focal points for their work in the neighbourhood. Then questions on how they are changing their place through this work in particular sites and in what ways.	THEIR OWN COLOUR OF DOT
Place a sticker on the map of places strange to them / places they don't engage with in their work.	BLACK DOT
Places that they consider to be historically significant to them personally, and why. Is there a correlation between historical significance and the places they are engaged in civic activity in?	BROWN TRIANGLE
Places that they have been told are historically significant and why. Do these places correlate with their civic activity?	BROWN DOT

Place a sticker on the map denoting changes to the area over time.
    (a) Discussion to understand spatial/temporal/relational change and their positioning within these changes.
    (b) Discussion extending to how they have changed whilst living in the area over time / contributing to particular community activities, etc.
 	
The changes they are making to particular areas over time.
	OVAL IN COLOUR OF THEIR CHOICE

Participant Permission Form 1 – psychogeographic mapping interview

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Residents' representations of space, time and the other towards an understanding of civic learning in transitional neighbourhoods.
Gillian Cowell

Participant Permission Form

In order to give your consent to contributing to this research, you must read the accompanying booklet 'Information sheet for participants', and once you are happy with its contents that you complete and sign this form. By filling in and signing this form you are agreeing to take part in a 90-minute interview with mapping exercises and allowing me to use this data in my PhD thesis.

If you are unsure or unhappy about any of the points in this sheet or in the information sheet please do not hesitate to ask me now or at any point during the research process. You don't have to fill in your address, however if you do I will be able to send you the results of the research.

Name	
Address	
Postcode	
Telephone	
Email	

Are you happy for the data you provide to be utilised in my PhD thesis, which means photographs, mapping outputs and interview transcripts? [NB: your data will be referenced by the colour to which you were assigned during the mapping exercises and not by name]	Yes / No

Are you happy for me to take photographs of the mapping process for use in my thesis later? [the photos will be of the map interactions only and not your face]	Yes / No
Are you happy for me to film the mapping process which I will use in my analysis of the data? [the film will be of the map interactions only and not your face]	Yes / No
Are you happy for the data you provide to be utilised in future journal articles and conference presentations?	Yes / No
Can I contact you for further discussion on points you have raised?	Yes / No
Have you read the information sheet provided?	Yes / No
Is there anything you are unsure of or would like to write below before we undertake the research?	

By signing this form you are agreeing to take part in this research.

Signed	
Print Name	
Date	

THANK YOU!

Participant form 2: permission for use of observational data, writings and exhibition materials by participants

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Residents' representations of space, time and the other towards an understanding of civic learning in transitional neighbourhoods.
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Participant Permission Form: Use of Observations, Practical Work, Activities, Group Minutes and Artefacts

Please fill in each section of this form to state whether you consent to the use of your historical research and practical work with Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community, as well as my observations of your activities in Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community, within my PhD thesis. This includes the thesis itself as well as any printed publications or conference presentations derived from it.

If you are unsure about any of the points in this sheet please do not hesitate to ask me now or at any point during the research process. You don't have to fill in your address, however if you do I will be able to send you the results of the research.

Name	
Address	
Postcode	
Telephone	
Email	

Within my PhD thesis, are you happy for the data you provide to be utilised? This refers to my observations of the past and current practical activities you engage in within Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community – including all events and group meetings? [NB: your data will be referenced by a colour, and not by name]	Yes / No
Within my PhD thesis, are you happy for me to use your own historical research outputs (articles, activities, projects, etc.), as	Yes / No

well as the historical photographs, memorabilia, artefacts and objects you have collected for the purposes of your work with Cumbernauld Village Action for the Community? [all copyright and data approvals will be sought on a case-by-case basis for publications in journals]	
In future journal articles, publications and conference presentations, are you happy for the observations of your work, group outputs, activities, objects, artefacts and minutes of meetings to be utilised? [all copyright and data approvals will be sought on a case-by-case basis for publications in journals, book chapters, etc.]	Yes / No
Can I contact you for further discussion at a future date?	Yes / No
Is there anything you are unsure of or would like to write below?	

By signing this form you are agreeing for your work and my observations of your work to be included in my research.

Signed
Print Name
Date

THANK YOU!