

Chapter Seven

Understanding 'Heritage' in the Landscape: Visual Repertoire, Focusing and a Sense of Identity.

Introduction.

This chapter draws together and discusses the analysis of the previous chapter. The discussion addresses two of the original objectives of the study; to investigate how people may understand 'heritage' around them as symbols in the landscape, and to gain insight into the role that this understanding may have in the negotiation of identity at European, national and local levels. The discussion deals with the ways in which people involved in the family focus groups coped with the difficulties of the task presented to them. The chapter is in two halves, the first considers how people may understand the landscape around them as a visual experience. The second identifies ways in which people articulated a sense of identity in relation to the buildings in the landscape around them.

1. Visual Understandings of the Landscape.

The study has identified two interrelated aspects to people's understanding of the landscape:

- a) People in the family focus groups referred to mental images drawn from their own experiences of looking at landscapes (seen with their own eyes or presented through a variety of media) and the cultural representation of landscapes discussed in chapters one (nationalism) and three (local identity). These visual reference points, 'pictures in the head', laden with cultural meanings, I have termed *visual repertoire*. This particular study concentrated on the visual but there is no reason why the same concept of repertoire cannot be applied to other senses by which people know the world around them, smell or touch for example.
- b) The chapter next considers ways that people taking part in the family focus groups managed to deal with conflicting cultural meanings held by the same landscape image, for example national and local meanings. I have termed the accommodation of multiple meanings in the same landscape, *focusing activity*. When engaged in focusing activity, a person takes particular aspects of a landscape and focuses on them to vest that landscape with meaning, or they blur the focus to allow it to take on a different meaning. Focusing activity works alongside the idea of visual repertoire, when viewing landscapes through the lens of socially constructed mental images. The study cannot claim that focusing is an everyday activity, as the people taking part in the study were required by the task to look beyond their 'common sense' (Billig 1992) perception that a landscape can only have a local meaning. It may be however, that when required, focusing allows even the most 'mundane' landscape feature to take on special meaning. This is particularly important to the

'value of heritage debate', discussed in the next chapter, as it allows for sites and monuments to take on apparently sudden prominence in the landscape.

a) Stereotypes and Visual Repertoire: Using the 'Mental Library of Views'.

Through out the family focus groups family members talked as though they were referring to another image, somewhere else, and not one of the images set out before them. It seemed that people were referring to an image in their mind. For example Bill and Doreen in the extract below discussed what 'every town centre looks like'.

Bill Worcester we've got now that has got to be British coz
every town centre in Britain looks like that (22).

Doreen Looks like that yea.

On one occasion John referred to his own set of images of Worcester, that he held like a 'mental library' and which he used to compare with the images presented to him. He was talking about the court buildings and the art gallery, neither of which appeared on the images used in the focus groups, one building was significant for him the other not.

John No. Its not in my mental library of views of the
city. Whereas the art gallery is.

The observation of reference to mental pictures of the world, which help to understand the images placed before them, is a function of memory. Walter Lippmann referred to a specific function of memory through mental pictures when he proposed the idea of stereotypes in the 1920s (Lippmann 1922). Lippmann used the term stereotypes or 'pictures in the head' to illustrate the idea that people might make sense of the world through visual activity, by 'picturing' the world to understand it. This idea is central to the present study and deserves further consideration.

Lippmann's ideas of 'pictures in the head' and stereotypes.

In 1922 Lippmann's book *Public Opinion* was published, in it he investigated ways in which people formed opinions based on information that they received, both from their own experience and via media (predominantly the printed word, photographic image or painting in the 1920s). Lippmann developed a way of describing how people made the world around them understandable. He suggested that to understand a highly complex environment (in the 1920s Lippmann referred to an environment with ever increasing sources of information) people create a pseudo-environment by which to understand it. This pseudo-environment is created through the use of 'pictures in our heads' to understand 'the world outside' (Lippmann 1922, 3-20).

Lippmann was writing in the wake of the First World War. This context led him to draw on examples concerned with American people's understanding of the war. In many ways people in contemporary society continue to be confronted with an increasing range of information, drawn from a greater variety of media. Lippmann commented on how people in 1914 were one day living lives based on peace, having careers, contemplating enterprises having hopes and expectations, but that after 25th July 1914 lives changed, yet their local circumstances remained the same. They had to find new ways to understand their world, to cope with events that were not happening in their immediate environment. Just like the people who took part in the family focus groups, Lippmann's contemporaries were forced to try to understand global issues whilst grounded in the local. Some experienced the war at first hand, but only small chunks of it. The majority of others had to experience the war at a distance. Lippmann (1922) cited the experience of a Miss Sherwin of Gopher Prairie who was aware of the war raging in France and tried to conceive it. She had never been to France or seen a battlefield. She had seen images of French and German soldiers but could not imagine three million soldiers. Even the Generals, the professionals said Lippmann, had to conceive such numbers as brigades or divisions. Miss Sherwin fastened onto individuals, General Joffre a French General who was lionised by the Allied side, and the Kaiser who became demonised. Lippmann surmised that Miss Sherwin might see Joffre in her 'minds eye' as an eighteenth century engraving of a great soldier, 'standing there boldly unruffled and more than life size, with a shadowy army of tiny little figures winding off in the landscape behind' (Lippmann 1922). The families used in the family focus groups had all travelled more than Miss Sherwin, but they still felt that their experience of the world was inadequate to truly visualise Europe. Perhaps this is unsurprising given the size of the landscape in question. Like Miss Sherwin's image of General Joffre, the respondents had to refer to images in their mind to characterise Europe or Britain.

Contemporary society in Britain is confronted daily with concepts of the nation or Europe, especially through communications media like television, newspapers, radio and increasingly the Internet. This plethora of information and images gives us a mass of indirect experience of the world. Lippmann commented that when the news of an armistice came in 1918, people had to readjust their perception of the world beyond their experience once more. Yet in the five-day period between the celebration of the announcement of an armistice and the end of hostilities several thousand people died on the battlefield. In the minds of many, the war was over yet people were still dying. Lippmann commented that in retrospect it was possible to see how 'indirectly we know the environment in which we live' (Lippmann 1922, 4). Lippmann explained how people cope with this indirect knowledge by generating 'pictures in our minds'.

This process of relearning pictures in the mind can be understood in relation to the hermeneutic cycle of interpretation and reinterpretation (Kuhn 1962). In the case of developing pictures in the mind the images are often out of step with reality. Hence people got ahead of reality by celebrating the armistice before the killing had ceased.

Lippmann was particularly concerned that because ‘pictures in the mind’ could be fictions, they might be used by those with the power to control the media to misinform public opinion. Despite these reservations Lippmann’s recognition of this part of the machinery of human communication is very important in explaining the observations made in the previous analysis chapter and outlined above.

‘Our first concern with fictions and symbols is to forget their value to existing social order, and to think of them simply as an important part of the machinery of human communication.’

(Lippmann 1922, 8)

Lippmann’s contention that the media informed ‘pictures in the head’ still holds in contemporary society where the availability of such media has expanded to create a ‘network society’ (Castells 1997). The contemporary concept of ‘social construction’ (Shotter and Gergan 1989) suggests however, that it is not just the media that inform Lippmann’s ‘pictures in our heads’ but almost all interactions between individuals or groups or between people and the environment around them.

Lippmann termed these simplified ‘pictures in the head’, stereotypes. This has become a commonly used and redefined term in social psychology and has found its way into general usage. Stereotypes, based on Lippmann’s ‘pictures in the head’ may give insight into the way that people in the family focus groups appear to refer to mental pictures to make comparisons with the images presented to them. If we understand stereotypes as ‘pictures in our heads’ it seems very likely that members of the family focus groups drew on such images in the extracts used at the beginning of this chapter.

Refining and redefining stereotypes.

The idea of stereotypes has been redefined in a number of ways since Lippmann first introduced the concept. Some definitions lose the idea ‘pictures in the head’, but in others the idea is given further support. Donald Katz and Kenneth Braly in 1933, and Gordon Allport in 1954 analysed racial prejudice using the idea of stereotypes. A definition of stereotypes drawn from Katz, Braly and Allport refers to a commonly and consensually held and shared belief about a particular social category. Like Lippmann, Katz, Braly and Allport all saw stereotypes as potentially undesirable. Although Lippmann recognised the process of stereotypes he believed that they could all too easily misrepresent the ‘real world’. Because stereotypes simplify the world Lippmann suggested, they also ‘preclude the use of reason’. They were a simple reception of media images instead of rational thought grounded in personal experience. Since the 1970s however, the lack of rational thought involved with using stereotypes to understand the world has been sidelined by social psychologists preferring to emphasise their utility in understanding the complexity of life. Susan Condor has described the change in perception of stereotype from an undesirable limit to rational thought and democracy itself, to a useful cognitive way in which people can process the information thrown at them in every day life (Condor 1997). The new definition of stereotypes Condor described as ‘stereotyping-man’ a programmed machine that works largely on automatic pilot, able to deal effectively with the chaos of the world he inhabits. This new

idea of stereotyping emphasises data processing rather than the visual. Condor observed that the role of the media has been sidelined by this change in emphasis in social psychological understanding of stereotypes. In the same way as the media has been sidelined so has the visual aspect of stereotypes, so insightfully introduced by Lippmann.

Visual representation and stereotypes.

Lippmann's work on stereotypes made clear reference to visual elements as well as written evocations of 'pictures in the mind'. Jean de Pierrefeu made reference to the creation of the hero myth surrounding General Joffre, a process that included the painting of a portrait and the sculpting of a statuette. Those who photographed him further developed the heroic image of Joffre; de Pierrefeu an officer in Joffre's retinue described how photography played a part in establishing him as a hero. His office was 'middle-class' in appearance so the photographers made it look more utilitarian by adding maps and the like which were removed after the photo session.

Visual referents like those used to create a 'picture in the head' of General Joffre, the hero, are important for understanding how the families in this study may be comparing mental images to the images presented to them. One approach is to understand these stereotyped images as 'ready made, provided by our culture. We acquire them in the process of being socialised and in expressing stereotypes, we are, in a sense, reinforcing them' (Miller 1977, 14).

One approach to stereotypes is to reify the role of visual representation, in the form of 'the media' (television, newspapers, Internet and the like) or the environment in which a person exists, all of which act as stimuli that the receiver processes as efficiently as possible. In this case individuals have an active role in processing images. The suggestion is not that there is a rational engagement with images as Lippmann suggested but that people 'filter information reaching their senses in a relatively automatic, largely unconscious, manner, in order to relieve pressure on their cognitive systems' (Rothbart *et al* 1977, 238).

Other commentators have dealt with social representation, as it is located in social discourse. Jonathan Potter and Margaret Wetherell (1987) and Michael Billig (1987, 1991) have argued that social representation takes place in a sphere that comprises multiple repertoires or common-sense ideologies from which individuals draw to construct understandings of the social world.

The idea of repertoire.

In their analysis of people's talk, Potter and Wetherell (1987) select out particular associations, phrases or words in talk that occur in particular contexts. These common factors are termed 'repertoires' (Potter and Wetherell 1987). Repertoires are not associated with particular social groups 'so research has not been hampered by the need to engage in the often-problematic exercise of identifying natural group boundaries' (Potter and Wetherell 1987, 156). A repertoire is recognised in use during talk in similar contexts, e.g. talking about sport, rather than by a particular social group e.g. teenagers. For Potter and

Wetherell the action of talk, particularly the strategic use of phrases or clichés (repertoires), is a key point at which researchers can actually study the process of people's understanding of the world. They do not subscribe to the idea that underlying beliefs or assumptions structure talk, only that repertoires will be used in different ways according to context. The introduction of context into the use of repertoire has important implications for the 'heritage debate' when the landscape surrounding a person is part of their context.

The idea of repertoire is very important for this study, as it seems likely that people in the family focus groups drew from a repertoire of visual images to compare with the images presented to them. Potter and Wetherell are not interested in the role of images however, as they do not physically appear in talk as words and pauses do.

Despite Potter and Wetherall's rejection of underlying beliefs or assumptions about the use of repertoire the concept of a set of available phrases or clichés is persuasive. The idea of a repertoire of images or 'pictures in the mind' to which an individual can turn to help understand the world around them is also persuasive. This I have termed a *visual repertoire*.

Visual repertoire and 'common-sense' values.

Michael Billig (1987 and 1991) and others (Condor *et al* 1988, Shotter 1990) have used what Billig terms 'rhetorical psychology' to study people's discourse in particular contexts. Billig subscribes to the idea that members of a particular 'culture' will hold a series of popularly held or 'common-sense' values. It seems probable that this 'common-sense thinking' is structured in contemporary 'Western' culture by post-renaissance or enlightenment thought in the same way as visual perception of the landscape (Cosgrove 1984). It is possible for a person to hold a variety of 'common-sense' assumptions at any one time and these may be utilised in talk depending on the circumstances. Many of these 'common-sense' assumptions are indeed contradictory and the talker must weave between them when they express an attitude to something. 'Common-sense' values inform repertoire in a way that Potter and Wetherell would not recognise, they do however, demonstrate similar characteristics to visual repertoire. More than one 'picture in the mind' can make up a visual repertoire and it would seem from the discussions of the family groups taking part in the present study they can also be contradictory, the cathedral can evoke local place-identity and Europe. An activity is proposed below by which particular 'pictures in the mind' drawn from the visual repertoire can be made to represent contradictory positions.

Defining visual repertoire.

The idea of a visual repertoire as I alluded to above may be defined as a set of 'pictures in the head' or stereotyped images that are commonly understood and available to a person to make sense of the social context in which they find themselves. It is not possible, naturally, to actually see the image held by a person when talking in a particular context, but we can see in the data collected for this study that people are making reference to images not present at the time of the study. These references suggest

that a person is tapping into a visual repertoire, a set of commonly understood visual images that they can then use to form their talk.

Visual repertoire can be found at work in much of the rhetoric about the presentation of sites and monuments as representations of the past in the landscape, as 'heritage'. Most commentators on 'heritage' make reference to the visual nature of their subject. In his book *The Past is a Foreign Country* published in 1985 David Lowenthal set out to show that contemporary constructions of the past are both important and constraining on society. Lowenthal believed 'heritage' to be a particularly modern concept that has developed since the Renaissance (he developed this idea in *The Heritage Crusade* published in 1996). In his initial discussion of 'heritage' Lowenthal dedicated a chapter to *The Look of Age* (1985) in which he discussed various social views of age in people and in places. Lowenthal suggested that a 'look of age' evokes particular understandings of the past. I believe that this suggests a visual repertoire (an old looking building for example) can have multiple meanings. As Lowenthal suggested in the quotation below the same 'look of age' may suggest a prototype for the present (e.g. the Roman's were the first capitalists) or a long lost past that is eroding to nothing.

“These viewpoints shape conflicting but often coexisting perspectives on the look of age. The past can be seen as a prototype of our own epoch or alternatively as an era made distinctive by the erosions and accretions of its own remains. The choice of perspective affects not only what we decide to recall and preserve, but how we distinguish past from present.”

(Lowenthal 1985, 182)

Lowenthal carried on from his chapter on the look of age to consider how we know the past, as it is experienced and believed and remembered through memory. His emphases on the visual aspects of memory however, are not as explicit as those of Raphael Samuel (1994). Samuel suggested that contemporary interest in history and 'heritage' may result in a more pluralist history, a central plank of this process is the visualisation of history that becomes more 'graphic' (Samuel 1994). Samuel characterised this view of history as a popular 'Theatre of Memory'. Samuel described 'sleeping images which spring to life unbidden, and serve as ghostly sentinels for our thought' on his theatre stage 'the visual provides us with our stock figures, our subliminal points of reference, our unspoken points of address' (Samuel 1994, 27). Samuel suggested that mental images are somehow subliminal and unspoken yet that can 'spring to life' as 'ghostly sentinels, the evidence of the data in this study agrees with his premise but suggests an active element to visual repertoire greater than mere 'ghosts'. Visual repertoire can become active points of reference in discussion, most especially when it is centred on visual representations. As Lowenthal suggested when writing about 'the look of age' representations of the past would have multiple meanings that at times come into conflict and require dealing with in the process of discourse. Through visual repertoire, at least in part, we make sense of the multiple meanings of visual stimuli like those described by Lowenthal and Samuel.

Samuel's evocation of history and 'heritage' as a theatre stage described how images may come and go from use. He showed how the image of the Bayeux tapestry was 'added to the repertoire of visual aids' in the nineteenth century. The tapestry was virtually unknown for the first eight hundred years of its existence until it was exhibited by Napoleon in 1803 in his preparations for an invasion of England. In the 1820s the tapestry was hit upon by British Gothicists, Charles Stothard in particular, who set about creating a full size replica of this depiction of part of England's medieval past (Samuel 1994). The graphic representation of the Bayeux tapestry is an obvious visual referent that has become part of many people's visual repertoires. Samuel lists other images that I would term visual repertoire: 'The Crimean War is Florence Nightingale with her lamp. The retreat from Moscow is Napoleon on a horse looking downwards. The Viking is a man wading ashore from a long-boat; dressed in a horned helmet, and grasping a broad-sword in his right hand: he is off to sack a village' (Samuel 1994, 27). Samuel described these images as having unconscious meaning but the present study would argue that these images are more consciously available to help inform our talk as visual repertoire. The visual images conjured up by Samuel are open to variation according to the individual, some might replace the sword in Samuel's Viking image with an axe, the horned helmet may lose its horns in many contemporary visual repertoires whilst for others the figure may have the face of Kirk Douglas as seen in the film 'The Vikings'. These variations represent the active role of visual repertoire; because they are available for use in talk they are also available for adjustment according to the context in which the talk takes place.

Samuel's drawing together of the visual, on the stage of his 'Theatre of Memory', with the idea of popular history generated through people's interaction with a wide sweep of sources in society is a key issue for this thesis. The idea that people understand the world around them, including their history, by using visual props and characters suggests that they hold a visual repertoire to help them talk about issues like old buildings in relation to a sense of nationhood, Europe or a locality.

Tourism and visual repertoire.

Urry has given a great deal of consideration to the role of the visual in the context of tourism and is discussed in chapter five in relation to images of the Lake District (Crawshaw and Urry 1997). Urry emphasised the primacy of the visual by pointing to Rorty's assertion that 'It is pictures rather than propositions, metaphors rather than statements, which determine most of our philosophical convictions' (Rorty 1980, 177). In *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) Urry used the ideas of Foucault to develop an approach to tourism based on the visual. Foucault described how the visual can act as a disciplining and dominating gaze in society. Urry highlighted the role of observation and spectacle in tourism, particularly after the focus of travel shifted from the scholastic to the pleasurable in the eighteenth century (Urry 1992). Tourism is based on seeing and collecting sights, generating a phraseology of visual statements like; 'seeing the sights', 'capturing the view', 'eye-catching scenery' or 'pretty as a postcard'. Indeed Urry commented that 'tourism seems to be understood as little more than the collection of disparate and unconnected sights' (Urry 1992, 178), but how does the tourist gaze

discipline those who are observed? Urry felt that the tourist gaze was an 'all-seeing eye' that seeks to identify the 'real and authentic' which in turn leads tourist sites to create 'staged authenticity' (Urry 1992). In other words the visitor acts as a consumer buying experiences of places, people and very often 'heritage' sites. Locals, in response to this consumer activity, seek to manage and limit the effects of the all-seeing eye. Whilst attempting to manage their environment locals are also subjected to the feeling that they are constantly being gazed upon.

Tourist activity was certainly an important source of knowledge for the people who took part in the family focus groups. By visiting a place, a person appears to attain genuine knowledge rather than second hand knowledge gleaned from the media. This was particularly important when it came to talking about Europe, where even a small amount of first hand experience was considered superior to views seen on television or in print. It appears that tourist activity informs visual repertoire, seeing and remembering were the most valuable sources of 'genuine knowledge' for the families struggling with evoking Europe.

Local claiming and visual repertoire.

Local responses to coming under the tourist gaze, which is 'an abiding concern in tourism research' (Macdonald 1997) appear to be bound up with an activity recognised in the analysis of data in the present study, which I have termed *claiming*. Claiming was a process by which members of the family focus groups used a narrative approach to describe parts of their landscape or to describe their own special interactions with that landscape, thus making it an authentic local experience. When the family groups told their claiming narratives they broke into a different pattern of speaking, using long uninterrupted descriptions rather than the staccato style that typified the rest of their talk.

Claiming narratives appear to claim parts of the landscape as the respondents' own and not just part of a global stereotype. The effect of the tourist gaze on local inhabitants has a variety of effects. According to Sharon Macdonald, local people 'run the risk of losing the authentic meanings of their culture and debasing it to mere local colour for outsiders' (1997). Macdonald also described a sense of alienation from the local landscape and local culture when parts of that landscape are commodified and given over to a single market value to the exclusion of all other values. Such erosion of 'authentic meanings' are resisted, Macdonald identified this resistance on the Isle of Skye where she identified that whilst local people were 'well aware of external images of them, they may also attempt actively to counter those images and to construct alternative visions of their history and culture' (Macdonald 1997, 175). This same activity appears to be in action through the process of claiming, by which people talk through particular narratives that describe and make authentic their local landscape, especially where it is being deliberately compared to Europe or Britain.

There are many examples of 'claiming' in the family group discussions; Karen talked about her walks down to the canal basin, George talked of the river flooding levels, Maude told how the scented garden was taken out from the Commandery and 'heritage buffs' Brian and Rose told of the importance of the

river to Worcester in the past. Others highlighted specific details of their town that they might focus upon and appreciate whilst others simply walked on by.

The process of 'claiming' has a resonance with Rowles work in which he suggested the idea of an 'autobiographical' sense of place (1983). The same sense of place was also noted by Sarbin (1983) who suggested that people develop a relationship with the landscape through a process of 'self narrative'. The observations made regarding local place identity in this study support the idea that 'self narrative' or 'claiming' is a key part of people's understanding of the local landscape and particular features within it.

Also key to 'claiming' was activity. In all but one of the examples of 'claiming' the narrative described an activity. Some had special knowledge about Worcester that they had gleaned from a local history society on the one hand and reading on the other. The 'heritage buffs' were able to talk at length about the history of the city but also discussed their activity as local amateur historians. More commonly the activity behind 'claiming' narratives was moving through the landscape, visiting places like the sensory garden at the Commandery or taking visitors from outside Worcester to places like the bridge to see the flood levels marked on it. Walking was a common activity behind 'claiming' narratives, either to get somewhere, along the canal towpath for example, or simply for exercise on the Pitchcroft.

Looking was a separate activity that informed the special knowledge of 'claiming' narratives. This meant looking at things with particular attention to detail, spotting things that the casual visitor would miss. Closely related to looking as part of 'claiming' activity is travelling. This means looking for particular landmarks, especially when returning home. These landmarks were quite important in Worcester where there are particularly evident landscape features in the area, the Malvern Hills and the cathedral.

One 'claiming' narrative did not seem to be underpinned by activity. This was racist dialogue about a particular part of the city. This seemed to be underpinned by ideology of belief rather than particular interaction or activity within the local landscape.

Remembering and visual repertoire.

Urry discussed the role of the visual in generating memory as part of his work on tourism. The visual is not the only referent at play here, as senses of touch, hearing and smell have all been discussed as generators of memory. 'Nevertheless' said Urry 'the visual is centrally important in the construction of touristic memories' (Urry 1992, 179). Urry highlighted the way that the visual influences our anticipation, experience and remembering of tourist activity, visual images are an important part of anticipating a tourist experience. The visitor, whilst acting as a tourist, remembers images formed whilst anticipating what they would see before they travelled. I would describe the remembered images as a visual repertoire to be used whilst partaking in tourist activity. The photographs that tourists then take whilst on holiday, and the postcards they buy, actually serve to discipline their next holiday

experience through a particular visual repertoire. This repertoire is reinforced at home where visual images are interwoven with verbal commentary to remember the experience (Urry 1992, 179). Urry's work again shows that the use of visual repertoire are a function of memory and an important part of understanding the landscape around us not just as tourists but as locals too.

Structuring visual repertoire.

In his book *The Construction of Heritage* (1996) David Brett followed a broadly similar approach to 'heritage' as Urry did to tourism. Brett did not apply Foucault to his analysis or discuss the contemporary 'heritage' industry as a post-modern phenomenon but he did concentrate on the importance of visualisation in people's understanding of 'heritage'. Brett argued that Urry is too cursory in his discussion about the origins of visualising 'heritage' and he looks more deeply at the aesthetic and artistic rules of the visual rooted in the early nineteenth century that influence contemporary visualisation (see Chapter one). I suggest that visual repertoire, stereotyped 'pictures in the mind', are structured as Brett argues by a shared sense of the aesthetic and artistic that are grounded in the post renaissance and industrial revolution. A contemporary visual repertoire is likely to be structured according to different aesthetic and artistic rules to those of medieval visual repertoire. For example, medieval pictures do not follow the same artistic rules and do not require perspective within their narrative roles. A rejection of medieval painting as primitive due to its lack of proper perspective only serves to underline the cultural differences underpinning contemporary and medieval visual repertoire.

By encompassing the work of Urry and Brett we can understand visual repertoire more clearly. It is not only a stereotyped 'picture in the mind' to which people may look to help them make sense of the world but it is structured along lines of what makes us feel comfortable, following aesthetic and artistic rules that we understand. This allows the visual repertoire to act as a referent to understand both the landscape that we see and the landscape that we expect to see.

Many contemporary visual mediums follow similar rules of image construction to painting (as discussed by Brett), photography and photojournalism. In addition to these examples of images used in contemporary culture the medium of television can be added. It is surprising that only Samuel suggests that this is currently the most important source of the structured images of 'heritage'. Samuel identified specific television programming about the past in documentary and series such as 'Timewatch' as an example of growing representation of the past (Samuel 1994). He also identified sources of more 'unofficial knowledge' through recreations of the past as backdrops to dramas and comedy. Both of these representations of the past on television (as subject and back-drop) are carried out through sets of visual images. The creation of a television programme still conforms to the same sets of rules as Brett's paintings or Urry's photographs, but it is now an increasingly important part of contemporary society's daily life on global scale. Despite the apparent lack of authenticity (when compared with seeing things in the flesh) suggested by the family focus groups, the proliferation of television programming concerned with the past must have an input into people's visual repertoire. Television and film sources

may have influenced the visual repertoire that members of the family focus groups used, especially when looking for ways to overcome their difficulties with evoking Europe. These kinds of visual repertoire were however, considered inferior because they lacked authenticity when compared with personal experience.

It is important at this point to return to the flexible nature of the visual repertoire. A visual repertoire is not always subliminal as Samuel suggests in his commentary about images but is available to people in their every day life. The family focus groups used their visual repertoire in a conscious way when pressed by the difficulty of the tasks that they were completing. When not pressed, when evoking nationalism for example, the content of the visual repertoire was not used in such a self-conscious way, suggesting an approach more akin to Billig's 'common sense values' (1987, 1991, 1992) and 'banal nationalism' (1995). Macdonald found the same consciousness with the people of Skye who were well aware of external images of them when subjected to the tourist gaze. In the case of the family focus groups used in this study, people in Worcester were asked to use images of their local landscape to evoke Europe and Britain. Although this was a problematic process the families were able to find ways to justify seeing the local as national or even global. The very fact that people were able to compare images given to them with their visual repertoire in a flexible way suggests that visual repertoire can have multiple meanings. This contradiction however, pushes against Lippmann's notion of stereotypes that are culturally fixed; this in turn suggests that visual repertoire should be consistent. A mechanism is required to allow the landscape different meanings within the same discourse. This mechanism can be observed in the family focus groups discourse and I have called it a process of focusing activity.

b) Focusing Activity: Allowing Visual Repertoire to be Flexible.

Focusing activity allows visual repertoire to be both predetermined and flexible. This in turn allows visual repertoire to remain, consist and conform to general cultural rules about how 'Western society' views the visual world (Cosgrove 1984, Brett 1996) but are also constantly up dated through life experiences. Thus visual repertoire is flexible but at any one time they appear predetermined. There are particular landscape features in the visual repertoire that are expected when an image is evoked through talk or viewed in a landscape or picture. These features can be looked at in different ways to give different meanings to the landscape depending on the context in which the talk takes place. To avoid the appearance of taking contradictory positions in conversation people focus on different aspects of the landscape or their visual repertoire to give it different meaning in different contexts. A person can focus clearly on a feature, or set of features, in the landscape and compare it to their visual repertoire. They can also blur parts or the entire mental image to allow it to take on different meanings. By this three-fold process an apparently fixed set of visual repertoire can have many meanings or focus sharply on a single feature with special meaning to an individual or group. I have called these three focusing activities: *core focusing*, *blurred focusing* and *sharp focusing*.

The idea of visual repertoire represents the 'common-sense' understanding of the landscape, which can 'flag' identities as suggested by Billig (1995), this is a prop for those who wield power in society,

especially in terms of national identity. The idea of focusing reconciles 'banal' landscapes with the 'contested' landscapes of Barbara Bender (1998), allowing both approaches to the landscape to act at the same time. It is focusing that allows an unnoticed 'common-sense' interpretation of a landscape or 'heritage' site or monument to suddenly take a new focus, possibly a local one. The focus concentrates on a particular detail that allows people becoming aware of the 'contested' nature of the landscape.

Core Focusing Activity.

Core focusing is an activity by which an image being discussed or viewed is matched easily to a person's visual repertoire. For example, a landscape may have important features that match the viewers visual repertoire for England, these might be trees, fields, a river, a mill, a Hay-Wain and perhaps a peasant farmer driving it. The matching of key features like this I have termed core focusing. In the instance of the landscape image described above it may well fit so tightly to a person's visual repertoire evoking England that the viewer would make that connection between their visual repertoire for England and the picture without much difficulty.

In the extract below John and Karen are looking for visual evocations of Britain that were missing from the images of Worcester. Here they describe their visual repertoire by latching onto features of their visual repertoire in the context of Britain that were missing from the images presented to them. They are attempting to use core focusing but cannot. The discussion raises two features from their visual repertoire that they would look for in core focusing in a British context; the Houses of Parliament and the white cliffs of Dover.

John Lets take Britain first, you'd have a sort of um. A landmark, building. Such as the Houses of Parliament. What is original to Britain? That isn't on the rest of the continent. White cliffs of Dover.

Karen I can't think of anything. But yeah the Houses of Parliament springs to my mind. But that's just one building isn't it. Its got to be something that's...

John I'd quite like a coastline.

Karen Yeah, Jane's always commenting that we are very lucky to have all the coastline.

David and Debbie took one look at image 17 that showed a terrace of two up two down houses and immediately matched the view with their visual repertoire for Britain by core focusing. Indeed Debbie even hinted at how an image like this came to take a place in her visual repertoire for Britain.

David This is very (17) well that's very British isn't it?

Debbie Like Coronation St.

Only one image was consistently taken on board instantly as an evocation of Britain. This was an image of Stonehenge taken at sun set. The image was presented to the families as a parting shot, they were asked which category they would place the image in and they all replied Britain. This particular image shows core focusing on an image highly evocative of Britain. It is important to note that the image of Stonehenge only showed some of the stones, emphasising the 'partial' nature of the stereotyped view of Stonehenge. The core focus on the stones at Stonehenge as an evocation of Britain is supplemented by the sunset, which may also be the subject of core focusing. An image that has been considered a 'tasteful' aspect of British art since the publication of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (1843-1860), a set of five volumes that 'established the visual taste of the Victorians and their successors' (Fussell 1975, 53).

Blurred Focusing Activity.

Where a landscape or image being talked about or viewed appears to fit too many or none of the images held in a person's visual repertoire the image might be ignored. There are two ways of using blurred focusing. The first is demonstrated by the family focus groups who discarded images because they simply 'could be anywhere'. The phrase 'it could be anywhere' is used in a number of contexts and it discussed in more depth later in this chapter as the 'it could be anywhere rule'.

Blurred images may not normally be noticed in the landscape at all. There is a second way of using blurred focus, this occurs when the term 'it could be anywhere' is qualified by adding some definition. In the case of the family focus groups this was generally 'it could be anywhere in Europe' or 'it could be anywhere in Britain'. This second kind of blurred focus activity is more specific and fits enough parts of a person's visual repertoire to characterise a landscape that is too large to be wholly perceived by any one person such as a global concept like a nation or Europe. The process of blurred focusing on images so that they stand comparison with a visual repertoire was a commonly used response to finding images to evoke Europe and Britain amongst the family focus groups.

Blurred Focusing Activity: Meaningless Landscapes.

The key phrase used when blurring the content of an image to allow it to work as an evocation of Britain or Europe was 'it could be anywhere'. In the extract below John and Barbara use the phrase to reject an image because it evoked nothing at all. The image was entirely blurred and had no meaning for local, British or European identity.

John Or that one for Britain? It's a struggle isn't it?
 What about those two for Worcester? This is
 what we're doing for Worcester at the moment. I
 mean the Odeon could be anywhere. I mean it

would be easier to reject a few. The Odeon could be anywhere and it's um not necessarily reflecting the...

Barbara I don't know, I always seem to find, a lot of cinemas seem to look like elsewhere....

Blurred Focusing Activity: It Could Be Anywhere.

Blurred focusing activity can give meaning to a landscape by allowing enough focus to locate it as anywhere in Europe or Britain. A blurred image may have enough referents to fit an equally unclear and unreliable visual repertoire (one that is based on partial media information instead of authentic evidence of one's own experience). In the family focus groups the visual repertoire for Europe and in some cases Britain was blurred and unreliable because it was based on limited personal experience and a range of media images that may have been incomplete. In the extract below Maude and George make it clear that media pictures are not the same as personal experience.

Maude As I say we've not really travelled

George We just learn from pictures that we see

Maude Well I suppose so

Researcher Thing is even if you haven't travelled you still have an idea in you head of what you think it is

Maude Well you see pictures

There are alternatives to blurring images to overcome a perceived or actual lack of knowledge. When people in the family groups talked about their local landscape they were able to focus on specific details to facilitate claiming activity.

'It could be anywhere' references often referred to images that appeared to have no significance to the family focus groups. This is the most completely blurred kind of focusing, but it is important to remember that the slightest change in context may cause the viewer to review the image or part of the image by sharp focusing instead of blurred focusing. Sharp focusing activity differs from core focusing because it picks out a single element of an image that relates to a part of a person's visual repertoire that has special meaning.

Sharp Focusing Activity.

In addition to core and blurred focusing activity, the family groups also elected to focus on very specific features in an image that had a particular symbolic meaning in their visual repertoire. These small features, when brought into sharp focus, changed the meaning of the landscape. An image may be vested with very specific global meaning by sharp focusing on the McDonalds symbol as seen on image 26 in the study. Alternatively particular parts of images had special local meaning, perhaps described through narrative about the significance of that place. In these cases sharp focusing allows even the most obvious core focusing to be changed to have special meaning.

Particular details can be brought into sharp focus by demonstrating specialist knowledge or particular experience. This kind of sharp focusing activity picks out particular features. These may not be features that one looks at on an everyday basis, but they do become important when trying to establish or claim local identity. This relates to Urry's idea of the gaze. A person's sense of the local highlights details that might not be noticed by a visitor, e.g. small details like the cupolas on the buildings on Worcester High Street. These are not the kind of detail that a visitor might hold within their visual repertoire and thus they may not be sought out. This suggests that visitors may see what they expect to see (Urry 1992) whilst locals know the places that the 'tourist gaze' does not alight and picks them out for sharp focusing to claim them as local features. It is unlikely of course that people spend all their time noticing special details about their own local landscape. This very specific form of focusing may be encouraged when confronted with a visitor's gaze on the same landscape. This asks the question what makes our landscape special to us?

A landscape feature may not always have a particular local meaning. The most glaring example of this from the family focus groups was the McDonalds symbol on one particular image. In the extract below, Jane and Phil recognise the symbol in the image and focus very sharply on it. This takes over the meaning of the whole image, that contained many other features. Of course the symbol itself does not relate to the task in hand, evoking Worcester, Britain or Europe, because this is a truly global matter.

- | | |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jane | McDonalds (26) would be univers.. well it would be the whole world actually. |
| Phil | Where's the McDonalds |
| Jane | It is... isn't it |
| Phil | Oh |
| Jane | Coz that in Australia it was terrible wasn't it McDonalds were everywhere. Thats not just Europe though is it thats just everywhere. |

2. Evoking Identity in the Landscape.

The analysis in chapter six identified ways in which the family focus groups discussed their identification with the sites and monuments of the landscape around them in national, European and local terms. This chapter above has considered the ways in which people perceived the landscape through a visual repertoire and focussing activity. These resources and activities are evident again, in this half of the chapter being used in relation to identity issues that fall into six categories:

- a) The 'it could be anywhere' Rule.
 - Using the rule to reject an image / Heterogeneous use.
 - Use of the rule to include an image / Homogenous use.
- b) Evocations of Britain in 'day to day life'.
- c) Roles of Timber Framed Houses in Worcester in Evoking Britain / England or Europe.
- d) The Role of Medieval Monumental Buildings in Worcester in Evoking Britain, Europe or the Local.
- e) Evocations of a Europe of Social or Cultural Activity.
- f) Focusing on the Local: Claiming Activity.

a) The 'it could be anywhere' Rule.

The phrase 'it could be anywhere' was used by people when looking at aspects within the images of their local landscape, which might evoke Britain or Europe. There were two contrary approaches to the use of the 'it could be anywhere' rule. It was used when either rejecting or including images in a category.

Using the rule to reject an image / heterogeneous use.

'Inter-category heterogenisation' is an activity by which a person may place an image or part of an image into a category by excluding it from other categories. For example, an image of the composer Elgar might not fit the Worcester category because he was born in Malvern and he might not fit the European category because his music may not have been that widely known, so consequently he fits the Britain category. When the 'it could be anywhere' rule is used to reject an image from a category it can be described as 'inter-category heterogenisation' activity.

The 'heterogeneous' use of the 'it could be anywhere' rule occurred during rejection of an image. In order for an image to be rejected from a category, and consequently placed in an 'other' category, a judgement was made about that image. This judgement was made using either 'sharp focusing', spotting a special detail that had particular global significance or by 'blurring' the focus on an image to exclude any special detail.

The influence of 'inter-category heterogenisation' activity was reflected by two particular aspects of the

landscape in this study; the impact of focusing on the McDonalds symbol and the blurred focus of modernist architecture. The McDonalds symbol and the fast food restaurant are symbols of the twentieth century; the symbols displayed by some fast food outlets have become so common that no urban landscape would be complete without one. This gives symbols like the McDonalds double arches a strong symbolism as special features that 'could be anywhere' in the world.

Relph (1987) commented on the development of roadside strips in the United States that epitomise the free market and the corporate economy. In Relph's analysis the neon signs, advertising hoardings and customised architecture appear chaotic in their dazzle of colour, bright lights and company logos. The uniformity of such replicated mini-landscapes across the United States is however, perceived to be comforting due to their familiarity. The town centre location of the McDonalds in Worcester is not the same as the roadside shopping experience in the United States. The golden arched symbol is nevertheless a recognisable symbol of the global corporate economy that is found on newly developed out of town shopping and leisure centres where uniform landscapes are growing in the same way as Relph's American road side strips. The recognition by the family groups of the McDonalds golden arches as a global symbol acknowledges a supra-European dimension within their landscapes. This recognition of global symbols in the landscape was similarly found in reaction to modernist town centre architecture that 'could be anywhere' if the image was blurred, rather than sharpened. This blurring removes any evocations of the category that is presumed to be 'us' and leaves the image available to represent 'them'.

The blurred image of a modern shopping centre appears to evoke a sense of the global just as the focused image of the McDonalds sign did. Attempts have been made to characterise this global landscape that 'could be anywhere'. Johnson *et al* (1995) tried to categorise the main features of contemporary global landscapes as representations of; 'new economic processes which emphasise flexible accumulation with a polarised workforce; the collapse of rural economies and the growth of mega-cities; migrations of elite workers and the very poor and religious revivals'. It appears that like the McDonalds sign, blurred images of modern shop fronts in Worcester evoked 'anywhere' beyond the bounds of the city, Britain or even Europe evoking Johnson *et al's* characterisation of the global landscape.

Use of the rule to include an image / homogenous use.

A quite different evocation was created when people used the phrase 'it could be anywhere' to include an image in the Britain or Europe category by qualifying the phrase with 'in Britain' or 'in Europe'. This is 'inter-category homogenisation' activity in action. This activity defines what evokes the category in question, for example Elgar evokes Britain because his music is characteristically British and is played at the last night of the Proms, a symbolically British and institutionalised event. An example of the qualifying of 'it could be anywhere' comes from the family focus groups. Bill and Doreen (Group 3) described Worcester town centre by saying that 'it could be anywhere' but then qualifying their statement by adding 'all of Britain looks like that' and that the image might be Britain

or could 'be in Europe'.

The phrase was used in two different inclusive ways; either in reference to the architectural 'improvement' and rebuilding of British town centres that has taken place since the Second World War or in connection with places of consumer activity.

When the family groups looked at the architectural features of the shopping centre images they used the 'it could be anywhere' rule but they never came to a specific agreement that the image might be evoking a homogenous category of Britain or Europe. In contrast, when it came to the activity portrayed in these same images (e.g. the shoppers going about the business of consumption) the 'it could be anywhere' rule was firmly qualified as 'in Britain'. This issue is dealt with in more detail in this chapter as an example of 'day to day life' in Britain and as 'cultural activity' in Europe.

The reaction to the image showing a cobbled alleyway with a customers sitting outside a café was that it was placed in the European category without any real debate amongst the families. This may simply have been because the groups couldn't quite place the view in Worcester but also has a resonance with the construction of Europe as a culture suggested by George Steiner. This was best exemplified by the institution of the café, which defines a 'historical space roughly from western Portugal to that line which runs south from Leningrad to Kiev and Odessa,' (Steiner 1992, 43-44).

The use of the 'it could be anywhere' rule has important implications for the study of 'heritage' in the landscape because it suggests that 'heritage' in the landscape may either have special meaning in the process of 'inter-category heterogenisation' or be a blurred back drop to other activities.

Any kind of 'heritage' that has a special meaning in 'inter-category heterogenisation' activity will be rejected from any category except the most global, just as the McDonalds arches were. The comments of Hewison (1987) and Wright (1987), the 'heritage baiters', suggest that they would recognise the hand of global consumerism in many public and particularly tourist presentations of 'heritage'. The standardisation of best practice in conservation and presentation amongst a developing 'heritage management' profession adds credence to this suggestion.

The second 'heritage' implication derived from the 'it could be anywhere' rule is that 'heritage' is not continually focused on but simply forms part of a stereotyped backdrop to Europe or Britain. This blurred role for 'heritage' does not mean that it is actually meaningless. With regard to the evocation of nation, i.e. 'it could be anywhere in Britain' the 'heritage' is playing a part in the 'banal nationalism' of the landscape. The nationalist stereotyped backdrop would generally remain unnoticed because the nationalist symbolism of that landscape has become, as Billig (1995) describes it, routine and is not noted in our absentmindedness. If however, a part of the blurred and stereotyped landscape is threatened or if part of it is changed or removed the banality of the nationalism will quickly turn 'hot' (Billig 1995). 'Banal nationalism' is not only found in the landscape as a back drop to human activity

but is also found in the activity itself.

b) Evocations of Britain in ‘day to day life’.

The use of the ‘it could be anywhere’ rule highlighted shopping activity as an evocation of Britain. This was one of five examples of Britain as evoked by images containing or suggesting ‘day to day life’, the examples were; cultural activity, in opposition to stereotyped Britain, houses as homes and perceived problems like transport.

In his work *Banal Nationalism* Billig considers the idea that nationalism is flagged on a daily basis through a number of social mediums, some are visual like flags or symbols but many more are spoken (1995). This ‘flagging of the homeland’ goes on a daily and routine basis using words like ‘you’ ‘we’ ‘us’ ‘here’ and ‘now’ to point to the nationalist flagging in verbal discourse. Billig shows through analysis of media output during an ordinary day (one without national celebration or electoral campaigning) how these messages are transmitted to the general public. The production of news in particular employs a complex process by which journalists claim to stand in the eye of the country and use a nationalised language of hegemony ‘simultaneously speaking to and for the nation’ (Billig 1995, 114). He emphasises that in the day-to-day talk of nationalism; ‘nationhood is not something remote in contemporary life, but it is present in ‘our’ little words, in homely discourses that we take for granted’ (Billig 1995, 126). This daily flagging of the nation also delivers ways in which the national ‘we’ act in our day-to-day lives. Such common activity is discussed by members of the family focus groups who reflect on activities like shopping, going to the pub on a weekend, following sport, not conforming to stereotypes or making homes.

As discussed earlier, the activity of shopping was an example of the use of the ‘it could be anywhere’ rule as both a British or European activity. There was however, a distinction between bustling activity (European) and shopping that was British. Shopping or consumption could be considered as a global activity or at least a homogenous European activity, after all, fast food at McDonalds was considered by the families to evoke global consumption. So why was shopping considered a British activity? ‘Banal nationalism’ may have had an influence here.

Billig (1995) dedicated a whole chapter in his book *Banal Nationalism* to the role that newspapers play in ‘flagging the homeland’. Billig carried out a ‘Day Survey’ of the British national newspapers on 28th June 1993 to illustrate the variety of ways that the British press flags ‘banal nationalism’. References to nations are found most frequently in the news items themselves, reinforcing the very idea of nationalism as an uncontested way of organising society. Billig also notes ‘the deictic of home-making’ (Billig 1995, 114) that is illustrated in the use of words such as ‘here’ and ‘us’ or ‘we’ as the receiver or the writers of the columns. An example was taken from the *Sun* on the day of Billig’s survey, an article on Britain’s contribution to the European Community described ‘our money’ being taken. The term ‘the nation’ was also widely used, the *Guardian* cited a politician referring to ‘the nation’s interest and love of music’. Amongst these deictic of home-making Billig also noted that the newspapers characterised

certain activities as particularly British, the weather and sport (Billig 1995).

Another activity can be added to this list of 'our' British activities, that of shopping. Although consumerism has been characterised as a global activity (Relph 1987) the British newspapers prefer to write about British shopping as an activity with distinctive national characteristics. This is illustrated by considering just one newspaper, *The Observer* published on Sunday 17th September 2000. The main news section of the paper contained five articles with a consumer activity theme. The news of the time was a fuel shortage brought about by protesters blockading fuel distribution points in reaction to fuel prices. This was described as a very British protest in comparison with similar action that had recently taken place in France. Fuel is not quite British shopping however, the other four articles were. One discussed new clothes for the British Girl Guide movement -whose former members include the Queen and Princess Margaret- who were to be 'kitted out in designer gear' (Summerskill *The Observer* 17th September 2000). The second article considered the power of 'pester power' in 'this country' in relation to sales of junk food (Hinsliff *The Observer* 17th September 2000). In the third article Serena Rees was profiled, she was 'head of a lingerie firm' who 'simply wanted British women to fall in love their breasts and bottoms and thighs'. In the article Euan Ferguson described how Rees built up her chain of shops and having set up the reader to understand that it is British women's shopping habits that she is discussing characterises underwear available in Britain 'just got absolutely fed up being unable to buy anything that was good quality but also pretty' (Ferguson quoting Rees, *The Observer* 17th September 2000). The last article taken from a survey of *The Observer* was actually about David Shayler, Stuart Jeffries began his article by describing the contents of Shayler's apartment in Paris. The description subtly contrasts British shopping and French by playing the products in the refrigerator off against each other 'Who would have Daddies sauce, mesquite and a nearly empty bottle of Pastis in their kitchen?' (Jeffries *The Observer* 17th September 2000). *The Observer* on 17th September 2000 appears to characterise British shopping, 'pester power', 'kitting out', 'designer gear' or Daddies sauce as distinctive from other nations, suggesting that this day to day activity is another example of 'banal nationalism'.

The families who took part in the family focus groups suggested ways that shopping activity is 'ours' and British. According to some of the younger members of the groups shopping was fun and the images should have carried more trendy shops. Certainly the media sometimes sell the shopping experience as fun, or at least shopping for their product or in their shop, and portray it as an important part of British cultural activity. Other members of the family groups highlighted 'traditional' shop names in the images, particularly Marks & Spencer. The Marks & Spencer store in Worcester evoked a sense of national pride, it may be described as flagging banal nationalism. This flagging was so prominent that some individuals suggested that the store had a more global reputation, perhaps like the McDonalds symbol. This suggestion however, was rejected and re-categorised as an evocation of Britain. On further analysis it appeared that the reputation of Marks & Spencer may have brought about a sense of national pride in similar ways to feelings of pride amongst the villagers in Abbasanta brought about through international interest in the nuraghe (Odermatt 1996).

Idiosyncratic references were also made in the family groups to cultural activity such as visiting the pub at the weekend or following sport. It may be that these issues remained idiosyncratic because no images were presented to the groups that illustrated this kind of activity. The media has presented such images to the groups as British however. Bragg's comments to the Guardian for example; 'to me Britishness is a Saturday night in London, in Glasgow, in Cardiff, or in Belfast' (Bragg 1999) suggest that the national 'we' have an affinity to go out at weekends. Sport was only mentioned as an idiosyncratic reference, perhaps because again it was not represented by the images given to the groups. Despite this omission it was raised as being a national activity. Billig uses the newspaper's reference to sport as a key influence in the flagging of banal nationalism. Indeed the flag is waved with 'regular enthusiasm' to many readers who, like Billig himself (he writes 'in a confessional tone'), 'read the sports pages, turning to them more quickly than is appropriate' (Billig 1995, 125). Both 'going out' at week ends and following sport are important day to day flagging of national identity that were raised by the family groups in this study.

Day-to-day evocation of Britain was also raised with reference to stereotypes. When families were working with the images, searching for evocations of Britain, they often reflected on the stereotyped images that they were looking for, indeed this activity is at the root of visual repertoire as discussed in the previous chapter. People within the groups were however, aware of their use of stereotypes and drew on extremes to joke about the practice. The families did not 'wear bowler hats' or 'carry umbrellas'; 'soldiers in bearskins' do not guard all-important buildings. These stereotypes were available as jokes, possibly because all those present were British, and were not day-to-day images that the groups recognised to be the 'real' and of course representative of 'them'. Despite the fact that people rely on a stereotype to make sense of the world it should not be forgotten by those who present sites and monuments as 'heritage' that people also see through such stereotypes when they look for the 'real' in their own day-to-day lives.

All of the family focus groups made reference to houses when they discussed the evocation of Britain. Group members commented on the visual qualities of the houses, terraced or detached, large or small in the same way as an estate agent might. Some were aware of the style of the houses, Georgian or Victorian but they were viewed primarily as homes. Some passages of talk about the brick built domestic architecture, dallied with evocations of Europe but these arguments were always turned around by reference to day-to-day living (houses as homes or places that people walk past on their way home) and the evocation was firmly attached to Britain. This day-to-day home evocation was best illustrated by the comparison between two up two down terraced houses and the Television soap opera, Coronation Street. By associating the houses with the soap opera, the image could only represent Britain, not only because the programme is an institution in itself but also because the day-to-day lives that it claims to portray are vested with a sense of 'banal nationalism'.

The final example of day-to-day issues evoking Britain is references to transport. Transport was either

referred to as a traffic problem or a nostalgic evocation created by the canal images. Reference to traffic problems are an interesting day-to-day waving of the 'banal nationalist' flag. Due to its consistency as an ongoing issue in the news media, traffic problems and possible solutions may not be an issue of pride however they still relate to a British experience. Negative issues as well as the positive are dealt with by the media as matters for 'us' who may even compare ourselves with 'others' who have different solutions to similar problems.

c) Roles of Timber Framed Houses in Evoking Britain / England or Europe.

The initial response to the three images showing timber-framed houses was universal amongst the family groups. This was to view the images as evocative of Britain, there was no controversy amongst the families, and these were easy choices that allowed them to get on with the more difficult parts of the task. This uncontroversial approach to the image of black and white timber framed town houses with shop fronts built into their lower floors suggests that they match a particular visual repertoire.

After the initial assumption that the timber framed buildings represented Britain (after all the object of the exercise was to find three images to represent Britain) some groups reflected on the Englishness of the images.

In terms of landscape the role of the timber-framed house has traditionally been labelled as English rather than British. In 1878 Richard Jeffries wrote a detailed and highly idealised evocation of *The Gamekeeper at Home* that began 'the keeper's cottage stands in a sheltered "coombe", or narrow hollow of the woodlands, overshadowed by a mighty Spanish chestnut' (Jeffries 1878). Like the English landscape painters of the time Jeffries was writing of an idealised rural past, he wrote in response to a perceived erosion of a sense of belonging created by the squalor of Victorian cities. Jeffries was not alone in this homage to a 'disappearing' landscape; Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) wrote a number of novels and poems that described the English countryside in detail and W.H. Hudson (1841-1922) who wrote *A Shepherd's Life* that notably described the English countryside and the 'rustic', often timber-framed, buildings in which people lived.

Even before the work of Jeffries and Hardy, Charles Knight had published *Old England: a Pictorial History of Regal, Ecclesiastical, Baronial, Municipal and Popular Antiquities* (1845). This work was full of engravings of old buildings, pictures and objects from every period in English history. Many of the engravings showed timber framed houses in both rural and town settings. It was engravings such as these, in addition to the English landscape painting tradition and literary works, which helped to popularise domestic buildings that dated from the late medieval period. The same interest in medieval architecture in the landscape of the 19th century is reflected in the 'Gothic revival' of monumental buildings like churches and some public buildings.

This idealised image of England has been perpetuated through movements such as the 'arts and crafts' movement, particularly the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) formed in 1877.

Hunter (1996) contends that this movement to conserve buildings like those illustrated by Knight grew from a reaction against the 'Gothic revival' that replaced buildings of many periods with simulacra of one particular period in time. This conservation movement gathered pace in the 1900s, Hunter suggests, as the result of general anxiety about the effects of 'the rush to improvement of the previous decades' (Hunter 1996). The idea of the timber-framed house had been conserved as part of the English landscape by the artistic, literary and antiquarian movements. Such buildings had actually been covered over by many owners, who could afford it, in brick facades. The remaining exposed frames were generally on the poorer streets in town or in failing agricultural areas. In the last hundred years these buildings have been conserved as part of the landscape, often painted black and white and some new building has shown 'Tudor' style decoration particularly the 'Tudor semis' in the suburbs of expanding cities (Burnett 1978).

Given the place of the timber framed building in the artistic and literary landscape it is perhaps understandable that these buildings should sit easily in the visual repertoire for Britain.

Despite the fact that the images of timber framed buildings that were used did not show the same sort of human activity as those portraying modern shopping streets, it should be noted that these buildings were not simply part of a visual repertoire handed down through stereotypes of England, they were also places that the families regularly visited. They were also to enter such buildings that were shops and they formed the backdrop to the same shopping experiences that were identified from the images of the modern shopping street. This is particularly interesting when compared to the families' reactions to the medieval monumental buildings in their landscape that they did not identify as British or English. Despite their appearance in the local landscape these medieval monumental buildings do not appear to fall into the day-to-day life construction of national identity.

Despite the ease with which the family groups identified the timber-framed buildings as evocations of nation, they also used them to represent Europe. The process of selecting images to represent Europe was far more problematic than the process for Britain. These problems mostly stemmed from a self-perceived lack of knowledge to talk about Europe. When families talked about the images of timber framed houses to evoke Europe they began by using the 'it could be anywhere' rule, qualified by 'in Europe'. This was further focused however, to demonstrate sufficient knowledge about the presence of such buildings in Europe. This extra focus was given by relating to specific nations, particularly Belgium, Holland and France.

In the case of timber framed buildings there is an important slippage from national evocation to the European. These particular landscape elements have a strong English / British connection but can also reflect a particular construction of Europe. The construction of Europe concerned here reflects the sense of Europe that developed during the cold war; a Europe of nations, with a central institution, that sought legitimisation along nationalist lines creating a flag, choosing an anthem and seeking a sense of common history. This construction of Europe was presented as unified by 'high culture' through a

choice of anthem and a dedication to 'cities of culture' (Delanty 1995). The use by family focus group members of nations to represent Europe appears to connect to this cold war construction of Europe. Given a different context the timber-framed building may be understood as a 'heritage artefact' rather than a day-to-day part of the local or national landscape, thus connecting with the 'high culture' aspect of cold war Europe. The slippage between day-to-day nationalist landscape and a 'heritage' landscape evoking Europe demonstrates just how easily the family groups could change their focus on the same image and allow it to work for them in more than one context.

d) Roles of Medieval Monumental Buildings in Worcester in Evoking Britain, Europe or the local.

The medieval monumental buildings of Worcester were represented in the images used in the family focus groups by the cathedral and the Edgar Tower (the last remains of the castle). These imposing stone buildings are a clearly visible part of the Worcester landscape. The family focus groups suggested that they are available to talk about evoking Britain, Europe or a sense of the local.

The cathedral was discussed by five of the groups as a candidate for representing Britain, however in each case it was always a matter of some debate. The problem appears to have been that the cathedral seemed to fit in any one of the categories being discussed. Those people who felt that the image of the cathedral should evoke Britain had to look for other details in the images to support their position e.g. the statue of Elgar or the distinctive sound of British cathedral bells. As other images became accepted as evocations of Britain without much argument, the 'versatile' image of the cathedral was generally moved on to represent Europe or Worcester. This does not mean that in other contexts (i.e. outside of the interview task in which respondents have been asked to fit a limited number of images into pre-defined categories) the image may have been considered an evocation of Britain too.

When it came to evoking Europe, the cathedral image appeared to be an important representation for people when seeking 'inter-category homogenisation'. There are definite associations here with its role as a large Christian house of worship rather than its medieval history or architectural characteristics. This is an interesting reflection about the construction of Europe as a Christian territory once understood as Christendom opposed to Islam (Delanty 1995). This means that cathedrals can be placed in a homogeneous category evoking Europe, not because they are medieval *per se* but because they are Christian houses of worship. Most of the large cathedrals in Europe are nevertheless either medieval or imitations of medieval architecture. This homogenous categorisation of cathedrals raises the spectre of the divisive nature of the conflict between east and west throughout the medieval period that might be recognised in contemporary constructions of 'fortress Europe'.

Some of the families focused on particular nations in Europe where the monumental architecture was similar to that in Worcester. This was akin to their approach to the timber-framed buildings. Worcester cathedral was considered to be similar to buildings in Belgium and France. Because of this it was used to evoke Europe.

The visual repertoire for Europe plainly contains buildings like Worcester cathedral. For some the objectification of a building as an example of an architectural type in their local landscape is enough to evoke Europe. I would suggest that this 'objective' categorisation of Europe reflects the cold war construction concerned with 'high culture'. An interest in cathedrals as examples of medieval architecture has a resonance with 'high culture' and the landscape of a 'city of culture'. For some members of the family focus groups the evocation of Europe through 'high culture' was supplemented by the erecting of statues and busy social or cultural activity, the latter is discussed in the next section.

The cathedral was most definitely a part of the visual repertoire evoking Worcester; it was used in combination with other aspects of the city like the river and the cricket ground. This is illustrated in the symbol used by the local authority on the 'Welcome to Worcester' city boundary signs. These show a silhouette image of the cathedral tower the river and a bridge.

Only one family viewed the cathedral as an institution or part of the local community (This may reflect their age or Irish roots but the research did not seek details of the religious background of the participants at the outset). Neither did any of the families have any particular 'claiming' narratives to tell about the cathedral. It is not possible for this research to make any claim about an absence of data here, especially as 'claiming' will vary from person to person. One 'claiming' narrative was told of the Elgar tower suggesting that an important issue raised by this research is that at the local level there is interaction between people and the places in their landscape rather than the particular type of landscape features talked about. The activity that I have termed 'claiming narrative' is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

e) Evocations of a Europe of Social or Cultural Activity.

As noted previously, whilst the discussions about images that evoked Britain were relatively uncontroversial, the task of finding evocations of Europe was more difficult. The struggle was the result of an epistemological dilemma for the family groups who questioned their knowledge of Europe. To overcome these problems the families either used the 'it could be anywhere' rule as discussed above or focused on particular details. This was the case with the images showing people walking along the pedestrianised shopping streets. Families discussed these images as potential evocations of Europe not for the shopping activity but because of people moving about. This was an interesting distinction because as they discussed the images respondents moved between these focus points. The focus changed with the context of the discussion. When the conversation moved towards Europe the evocation was one of 'it could be anywhere' because people were 'out and about' doing things rather than specifically shopping. The distinction was blurred at times however, as family members realised that some of the shops may have global reputations and that people outside Britain do indeed shop.

The evocation of Europe as a sense of undefined activity was underlined by the discussions of image 9 which showed the Christmas fair at dusk with people bustling around a merry go round. The bright

lights seem to accentuate the sense of the European, perhaps evoking the colour of fireworks. The idea of people congregating suggests that it is tapping into the same 'high culture' construction of Europe that the cathedral does, reflecting on the cold war construction of European culture. John (from Group 1) described image 9 thus: 'the cathedral spires and things silhouetted behind. The cluster of houses (has) got a European feel about it, people congregating, and evening activity. It is quite European', he seems to be comparing the image with his own 'visual repertoire for Europe. I would suggest that the images of Europe that John is talking about might relate to images evoking cold war European Community attempts to create its own 'national' identity (Delanty 1995). This constructed homogenous identity might contain images of northern European squares, medieval churches, people congregating around street café which is all overlaid by classical music much like the 'heritage' of the European idea, described by Ashworth as a reification of Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxembourg City (Ashworth 1998). The same homogenous idea of Europe is also likely to have a resonance with the post cold war construction of 'fortress Europe' (Delanty 1995, Hobsbawm 1997) and be a celebration of reunified Germany at the heart of Europe. This homogenous construction of Europe based on the 'heritage' of the European capitals (Ashworth 1998) may also have a ring of authenticity in central European cities like Prague that may soon find them as part of the institutionalised Europe. They do not have any place however, in a Europe of new nationalism where heterogeneous imagery is more likely to strike a chord (Ignatieff 1993).

The 'fortress Europe' construction of contemporary Europe was reflected by some of the families. This was certainly the case when families struggled with defining Europe in the first place. Whilst talking about the nature of Europe people became aware that there were categories outside Europe. This talking about Europe in a global context raises difficult issues of racial differences from third world and Asian regions who become the 'other' to the European 'us'. When challenged (by the rest of Group 2) to justify the selection of a particular image (on homogenous grounds) to evoke Europe (i.e. that other places in Europe resembled it), Jo turned upon her critics by resorting to 'inter-category heterogenisation'. Jo defined Europe on racial grounds and what Europe was not (the people did not have Asian faces so they could not be Japanese). Instead of finding something in an image to focus on that allowed Jo to say this is 'ours', through 'inter-category homogenisation', she instead opted to focus on issues that highlighted differences. In her 'inter-category heterogenisation' of Europe Jo not only commented on the people in the landscape, (they were not Japanese), she also commented on landscape features, pointing out that there was no Pagoda in the image. This openly divisive definition of Europe along racial lines was not continued but it does suggest that constructions such as 'fortress Europe' may also be evoked by the landscape

f) Focusing on the Local: 'Claiming Activity'.

As suggested in chapter eight, some images of Worcester were considered to be 'classic views' that tapped into local visual repertoire. There was a more subtle process occurring while people discussed senses of local landscape. This I have called 'claiming', an activity that was highlighted in this data by a sudden use of a narrative style of speaking. Most of the time the family groups spoke in a short

staccato style, however this was not the case when they talked about local landscapes. Respondents had just been categorising parts of their home landscape as British or European however in there seemed to be a need to claim back this familiar European or British landscape as local, as being 'theirs'. This process of marking out a local place takes the form of a story, describing either their experiences with the place or some special knowledge that they have of the place.

Conclusion

This chapter has developed a thesis to address some of the objectives set out in the introduction. It suggests a way of understanding of how people interact with the landscape and 'heritage' around them and allows further insight into the role of 'heritage' in identity negotiation. The investigation of people's understanding of 'heritage' buildings in the landscape has suggested that such buildings can convey 'banal' and 'commonsense' meanings held as 'visual repertoire'. The thesis also introduces the idea of 'focusing' that allows people to deal with the complexity of multiple meaning in the landscape. The interaction of visual repertoire and focusing are of particular interest. The effect of visual repertoire is socially stabilising but focusing can play two roles. Focusing can either maintain stability by allowing a person to hold conflicting opinions about a particular image without becoming aware of the conflict or can allow the break down of 'banal' identity negotiation to be replaced by active contestation. The next chapter considers how this understanding relates to the 'value of heritage' debate.