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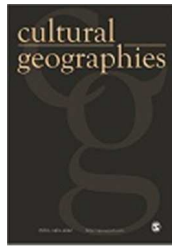
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People of the croft: Visualising land, heritage and identity.

Journal:	<i>cultural geographies</i>
Manuscript ID	CGJ-14-0092.R2
Manuscript Type:	Cultural Geographies in Practice
Keywords:	Heritage, Identity, Scottish Highlands, Photographic essay, Landscape, Taskscape, Affect
Abstract:	<p>This short photographic essay emerges from the recognition that identity, landscapes, and heritage landscapes in particular, are rarely configured and conceptualised wholly linguistically. An affectual and emotional charge can involve visual and tactile metaphors and mnemonics. This essay therefore attempts to capture aspects of this visuality and material mnemonics whilst recognising the constraints imposed by the written word and the need to ask our interviewees to articulate the 'thing' which most spoke to them of their 'croft'. The heritage landscape that is the focus of this paper is that of crofting agriculture in the Scottish Highlands. What emerges is a strong sense of inheritance from the past validated by and made meaningful by work practices and deriving from a very particular land, task and seascape. Together, this constitutes a heritage from below and sense of localised identity.</p>

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List of captions

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

Figure 3.

Figure 4.

Figure 5.

Figure 6.

For Peer Review

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Figure 1.
203x152mm (300 x 300 DPI)

review

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Figure 2.
299x246mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Review

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Figure 3.
299x235mm (300 x 300 DPI)

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Figure 4.
299x172mm (300 x 300 DPI)

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Figure 5.
299x224mm (300 x 300 DPI)

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Figure 6.
299x112mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Peer Review

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9 The croft. A parcel of land surrounded by legislation. A livelihood. Home. Inheritance.

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11 Source and site of conflict. Heritage from below.¹

12
13 **Caption – Figure 1.**

14
15 **A grounded context**

16
17 This short photographic essay emerges from the recognition that identity, landscapes,
18 and heritage landscapes in particular, are rarely configured and conceptualised wholly
19 linguistically. Affectual and emotional charge can involve visual and tactile metaphors and
20 mnemonics. This essay therefore attempts to capture aspects of this visuality and its material
21 mnemonics whilst recognising the constraints imposed by the written word hence the strong
22 and wholly integrated visual element. The heritage landscape that is the focus of this paper is
23 that of crofting agriculture in the Scottish Highlands. Recognising that a sense of inheritance
24 from the past is a crucial part of the making of a sense of self, the guiding question here is that of
25 the role played by the family croft and possession of land in local identity formation. What
26 emerges is a strong sense of inheritance from the past validated by and made meaningful by
27 work practices and deriving from a very particular land, task and seascape. Together, this
28 constitutes a heritage from below and a sense of localised identity.

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Unquestionably, a sense of inheritance from the past carries a powerfully affective
charge that draws on, in the particular taskscape under consideration, visuality as it much as it
does verbal memory. This essay attempts to illustrate that sense of connection in a series of
photographs taken in the midst of research practice. All the photographs were taken by David
Webster, as a member of the research team who took a much less active role in the verbal

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9 interchanges, and looked to a more visual recording mode. David hovered with a camera, while
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11 Iain explained the concept behind the proposed photographs. The intention was to realise a
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13 portrait of the interviewees (many who had been interviewed previously) such that they were
14
15 portrayed with the material thing that most spoke to them of their 'craft'. All took this
16
17 opportunity, though not all wanted to appear in the image themselves. The offer was made such
18
19 that Iain sought to not be overly prescriptive - not 'leading' the respondents unduly. This led to
20
21 some periods of sustained reflection on the part of the interviewees, but this was the goal. It
22
23 was only after people had decided what 'worked for them', in terms of location and artefact that
24
25 David stepped in, and discussed practicalities like light, framing and the like, to ensure the shot
26
27 worked and that their sense of what they wanted included was at the heart of the image. Here,
28
29 then, our participants engage in a task heavy with temporal ambiguity, thinking about the past
30
31 they stand amongst, its present state and its possible futures. Consequently, in the inevitable
32
33 polyvocality which arises from this exchange, both memory and photograph are
34
35 rendered ambiguous and resistant to singular interpretation. Yet in this ambiguity and
36
37 discontinuity lies a coherence and connection that is suggestive of enduring, emotional
38
39 investments. The event thus captured and the ideas thus engendered, variously connect,
40
41 disrupt, but oddly fulfil narrative.

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46 **Caption – Figure 2.**

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49 Seeking equivalent sort of fulfilment in the creative work of representation,
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51 Berger and Mohr eschewed full textual narratives, preferring to speak 'the language of
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9 appearances'.² We draw inspiration from this approach, linking memory, identity and
10 lived experience through self-selected photographs. What emerges is a strong sense of
11 inheritance from the past validated by and made meaningful by work practices and
12
13 underpinned by the interaction between identity, collective and individual memory, and a
14
15 sense of place deriving from a very particular land and seascape.
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20
21 One of the most exciting recent trends in heritage studies has been the turn
22
23 towards the exploration of heritages that are local, particular and mundane.³ This permits
24
25 the recognition of the public consumption of the past and interlinked social memory as
26
27 fluid and polysemic. The home in this context is understood as minor-key marker and
28
29 mnemonic, cutting across the grain of national identity master narratives. The
30
31 photographs, pictures and shrines found therein acquire a sacred character as identity
32
33 markers and manifestations of heritage from below.
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37 **Caption – Figure 3.**

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39 Unquestionably there exist tangible and intangible expressions of heritage that
40
41 draw on perspectives from below and which offer the possibility of alternative
42
43 constructions of the past to that of the hegemonic. Homes, sheds and sea clearly
44
45 'working' for the couple in Figure 3, thus become counter hegemonic landmarks,
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47 written into the landscape in support and expression of local identity. As such they
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49 commemorate from within the lives and thoughts of those otherwise hidden from
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8 heritage.

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11 **Local visions**

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13 In common with Dicks's notion of memorialism heritage from below is
14 primarily manifest in local testimony as lived experience: personal and emotional
15 recollections of the mundane and everyday.⁴ But unlike memorialism, heritage from
16 below – as practice – draws heavily on the cultural realm where a sense of inheritance
17 needs no memorial and instead finds its mnemonic in everyday performances such as
18 that made manifest in Crouch's interrogation of the embodied and repetitious
19 practice of allotment work.⁵

20
21 Performed repetition, as the manifestation of mundane ritual, is key to the ways
22 in which people articulate and construct a sense of their pasts and historical identities.
23 In so doing, moreover, the emphasis is often placed on domestic spaces, routine
24 material culture and the quotidian as prime sites of memory work.

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39 **Caption – Figure 4.**

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41 Working in the garden or with cows in a different space to that of the interview,
42 prompted new narratives and additional layers of meaning to that particular croft house
43 narrative. Here too emerges something of the rural counterpart of de Certeau's
44 fragmentary, ephemeral 'urban ghosts and hauntings', textured as they are with their
45 pasts and animated by people's stories.⁶ If this heritage is made material, or if it is
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9 material, then it occurs almost spontaneously and without fuss and commercial intent,
10 working for the individual but out into localised communities.

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13 Through the agricultural practice of crofting the possession of land remains one
14 of the most significant factors in Highland social relationships. Key to this was the
15 nineteenth-century re-organisation and redistribution of the bulk of the Scottish
16 Highland population away from inland areas and to the coast in order to harvest the sea.
17 From this the crofting system of agriculture emerged. Given the rapidity of these
18 fundamental shifts and the depth of feeling associated with land, it is unsurprising that
19 older attitudes continued to prevail amongst the emergent tenantry. Prior to the
20 eighteenth century, in the clanship era, land served to stabilise and cement social
21 arrangements with access to land, as a form of patronage and drawing on kinship bonds,
22 existing as a customary right within the clan and held as a belief by the land-working
23 tenantry regardless of any question as to whether the custom actually extended to this
24 grouping. Ultimately, as the crofting system emerged over the course of the nineteenth century,
25 the remembered notion of what it meant to have land became manifest in the croft,
26 croft house and crofting agriculture and became means and motif to crofter identity and
27 their protests.⁷

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49 Unquestionably pragmatic but also symbolic, the croft house and its associated
50 land remained central to ordinary Highlanders' sense of self across the nineteenth and
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9 much of the twentieth centuries. Indeed, the last phase of the Highland Land Wars
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11 arguably did not draw to a close until the mid-1950s. Seemingly inevitably however, this
12
13 period was followed, as this last rebellious generation aged and modernising processes
14
15 took full hold, by slow decline and abandonment of many of the tasks which animated
16
17 Highlanders' sense of self. There has been a shrinking away, for instance, from use of the
18
19 common grazings with a concomitant reliance on more individualistic work practices and
20
21 the in-bye land. These changes notwithstanding, beliefs and cultural attitudes remained
22
23 largely in place, sustained in part by the survival of Gaelic as an everyday language. Thus,
24
25 the croft with its small amount of arable land often surrounded by a "sea" of common
26
27 grazing or arranged in linear townships, is a physical manifestation of the crofting
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29 taskscape. The continued importance of access to land (ideally land which had been
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31 worked by previous generations of the same family) for the ordinary Highlander is the
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33 sensing and affective manifestation of that 'scape.
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39 **Caption – Figure 5.**

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41 The home-made peat shovel, the tangle of rope, the poly-tunnel (see also Figure 7)
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43 symbolise and materialise a sense of inheritance from the past that has, over the last
44
45 decade, come very sharply into focus with the introduction of the largely successful
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47 community buy-out legislation that has placed previously privately-owned Hebridean
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49 estates in the hands of their tenants. Buy-outs are the contemporary manifestation of the
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9 historically deep and communally-based way of seeing land and which is materialised for
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11 our interviewees in shed, sheep and sea.

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13 Identity is made and maintained through a series of relationships, associations and
14
15 registers. In any manifestation of crofting identity, the critical associations and
16
17 relationships are those to land and sea and to the flora and fauna which dwelt therein and
18
19 thereon.
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22 23 **Fabrics of past, present and future**

24 25 **Caption – Figure 6.**

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27 Here too emerge local visions of DeSilvey's hardscrabble heritage in which the
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29 dirt, dust and detritus of past work processes are not "mess" but a resource for present-
30
31 day tasks and mnemonic of sense of self.⁸ Whenever and wherever the voice of the
32
33 crofter is heard the consistent claim is to land; for, in this instance, poly-tunnel and shed.
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35 These signify and materialise the array of beliefs, practices and traditions which shape the
36
37 ways in which crofters interact with their environment; how they work their land, both
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39 now and in the past. The "croft" that speaks to those whose material "things" are
40
41 gathered here is constituted by and through these very particular ways of performing
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43 work practices. The sheer physicality, physical presence and affective charge of being in
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45 place and part of a complex and much larger "spatial dance" with other human and non-
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47 human performers, are the very embodiment of place and sense of self. The actions of
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9 tractor, sheep, and cattle, boat and lobster pot (to name but a few) cultivate and bring to
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11 fruition a direct connection to previous generations who nurtured their own identities in
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13 the same soil and on the same water. To work land and water reconnects the individual to
14
15 past practices and places work tasks and the intersection of the human and non-human
16
17 at the centre of localised and spatialised identity making and maintaining in the crofting
18
19 taskscape – an engagement with and an expression of landscape as an enduring record of
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21 the lives and works of past and present generations who have dwelt within it.⁹
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24
25 From birth, people's lives are spaced and timed through their interactions with
26
27 the material 'scape, thus driving the process of imagining the self and a sense of
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29 belonging that is rooted in the very fabric of lifespace and taskscape. As it is its own
30
31 memorial and mnemonic, working the land and sea requires none of the cultural
32
33 apparatus used elsewhere to draw the past into the present. These work practices further
34
35 draw upon and articulate a counter-hegemonic sense of identity which is driving the
36
37 community land buyouts that are radically re-aligning contemporary Highland social
38
39 relations. Individual and collective memory, based in active and dynamic tasks and the
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41 poetics of land and sea, eschews *lieux de memoiré*, and refuses to do the work of, and
42
43 actively challenges the "stuff" of the authorised heritage discourse.¹⁰
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49 The holding of land understood recalled and visualised by those who work it as a
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51 valued legacy from previous generations, the understanding and expression of landscape
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9 as palimpsest and mnemonic containing and maintaining traces of the lives and tasks of
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11 past and present generations who have dwelt within it, come together as engagement
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13 with and expression of heritage from below.
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15

16 17 18 **Acknowledgments**

19
20 The authors gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Mary Macleod-Rivett in capturing
21
22 the oral histories that lie at the heart of this paper. The interviews upon which this
23
24 paper is based are currently lodged with the University of Gloucestershire.
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33 **ENDNOTES**

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37 ¹ The croft is material manifestation of a deeply important set of cultural processes. The
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39 form taken by the full onset of the capitalist mode of production in the Highlands had two
40
41 major landscape impacts: the clearances; crofting agriculture. The latter evolved as a
42
43 small-scale subsistence agriculture in which people lived on the land but not wholly from
44
45 it. Over time aspects of the use crofters made of their land fell away but the land and
46
47 house remained central to their sense of identity. For a full discussion of the issues that
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49 this particular history raises and the subtleties at play in this taskscape please see: Iain
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² John Berger and Jean Mohr, *Another Way of Telling* (New York, Vintage House, 1995), p. 128.

³ David Crouch, 'Spacing, performing, and becoming: tangles in the mundane', *Environment and Planning A*, 35(11), 2005, pp. 1945-1960; David Crouch, 'The perpetual performance and emergence of heritage', in Emma Waterton, and Steve Watson, eds., *Culture, Heritage and Representation*, (London: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 57-74; Tim Edensor, 'Mundane hauntings: commuting through the phantasmagoric working-class spaces of Manchester, England', *Cultural Geographies* 15.3, 2008, pp. 313-333.

⁴ Bella Dicks, *Heritage, Place and Community*, (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 2000).

⁵ Crouch 'Spacing', p. 1949 and p. 1953.

⁶ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Randall, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984); David Atkinson, 'The heritage of mundane places', in Brian Graham and Peter Howard, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, p. 285.

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⁸ Caitlin DeSilvey, 'Salvage memory: constellating material histories on a hardscrabble homestead', *Cultural Geographies*, 2007, 14, 3 pp. 401-424.

⁹ Robertson, *Landscapes of Protest*; Tim Ingold, 'The temporality of the landscape', *World Archaeology*, 1993, pp. 25.2: 152-174.

¹⁰ Pierre Nora, 'Between memory and history: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*', *Representations*, 26, 1989, pp. 7-24.