Much more than just an empty void… utilising the 'production of space' to enhance young people's understanding of the concept of space

Abstract

This article examines the disconnect that exists between conceptualisations of space in the academic discipline and pre-university subject of Geography. Utilising the works of key thinkers on space including Doreen Massey, David Harvey and Henri Lefebvre, it argues that exploring the 'production of space' in pre-university geography, can help to facilitate a richer understanding of the concept of space in young people. To illuminate these discussions, it draws on data from doctoral research that aims to explore the research question 'what do young people's narratives reveal about their geographies and imaginations of London?' The article specifically focuses on the theme of national identity (specifically 'being British') that emerged from the analysis, in exemplifying the rich discourse that 'production of space' can encourage with young people.

Introduction

In 2008 Doreen Massey asked the short, but exceedingly powerful, question 'whose geography?' in relation to a variety of under-represented people(s) in London. Massey's question implies power relation(s) and potentially hidden geographies. It can also lead us to numerous other questions including; how do different people(s) experience and imagine place; and If, and how, do different people(s) share and represent these experience(s) and imagination(s), and do all people(s) have equal opportunities to do so?

In this short question, Massey projects that there are relationship(s) between the social and the spatial (Massey, 2013). Social factors such as power dynamics within space can affect both people(s) experience(s) and imagination(s) of the world, and also the places and physical environments they create and exist within. In this way, the concept of space is integral to the critical consideration of the questions raised above. Indeed for Massey, space is a 'dimension

of co-existing actors' (2008, p22), which have their own energies and stories 'which may mingle in harmony, collide, even annihilate one another' (ibid.). If these stories are not listened to or shared, and the trajectories not examined, then Massey goes on to argue that we risk both not taking space seriously, and reducing space and time to a single linearity in which hegemonic imagination(s) of the world are not challenged. In short, we do not question 'whose geography?'

Massey is not alone in her recognition of the importance of space to both the study of Geography, and to examining the (re)production of power and inequality across places, space and time. Indeed, it is a much-debated concept in the academy (see for example, Smith, 2008; Thrift, 2009; Lambert and Morgan, 2010). However, despite recognition of the value of these debates to ensuring the pre-university geography is 'intellectually-informed', there remains a large gap between conceptualisations of space in the academic discipline and pre-university subject (Lambert and Morgan, 2010).

This article argues that without a deeper consideration of social space, and the discourse that exists in this field in the academic discipline, pre-university geography risks limiting its students' knowledge of the nuances of spatial practice, how space is (re)produced and represented, and how power relations and inequality are constructed. It argues that the 'production of space', an idea made famous by Henri Lefebvre in his 1974 book 'La Production de l'espace' (Smith, 2008), provides a useful theoretical basis for the examination of these ideas. To illuminate these discussions, the article utilises data from ongoing doctoral research, which aims to explore the research question 'what do young people's narratives reveal about their geographies and imaginations of London?'

Young people are the focus of this article; they are both the subjects of the research and also *who* we teach in pre-university geography. As such, the article begins by examining the social-justice based motivations for conducting the research. It then moves on to critically examine how space, and 'the production of space', have been conceptualised in university and pre-university geography. Finally, it returns to the doctoral research and uses the example of national identity (specifically 'being British'), a theme which emerged from the analysis, to consider how, and why, the 'production of space' is a valuable idea for pre-university geography to critically engage with.

Introducing the research: why explore young people's geographies and imaginations of London?

When Massey asked her question 'whose geography?' with regards to many under-represented people(s) in London, it struck a chord with me in relation to the young people I was teaching at the time in a secondary school for two-inter-related reasons:

- o Firstly, I considered the geographies of the children and young people I taught, questioning whether they were sometimes some of the people(s) whose geographies were not as widely considered. In academia, children and young people are a growing area of research and discourse. Children's Geographies emerged as a sub-discipline of Geography in the 1970s, and recognises the socio-cultural and historical variability in both the construction of childhood and children(s) experiences and imagination(s) of the world (Aitkin, 1994; Horschelman and Van Blerk, 2012; Aitkin, 2018). Children's Geographies recognises children as 'active producers of space, as geographical subjects and environmental agents' Gregory et al. (2011, p80). Despite this, in everyday life young people are often subject to distinct social rules (Aitkin, 2001; Freeman and Tranter, 2011), and their voices are often not recognised as being as important as those of adults in mainstream political and social debates (Porter et al, 2012; Shafer, 2012; Skelton and Valentine, 1998).

- o Secondly, I began to consider if, and how, the school subject I was teaching (geography) provided me with opportunities to consider Massey's question with the children I taught. Margaret Roberts's (2013) argument that children's lives are 'rich and saturated with experience' and that it isn't enough to leave the exploration of their geographies in the classroom to the teacher, is a useful starting point in this discussion. Roberts argues that everyday geographies, including children's geographies, needs to be made an area of study in the pre-university subject as it is in the academy (Roberts, 2013; Roberts, 2017). Her argument is representative of the well documented disconnect that exists between schools and universities (see for example Castree et al, 2007; Tani, 2011; Butt and Collins, 2018). This disconnect is exacerbated in the study, and teaching, of everyday geographies, including those of children and young people (see Caitling, 2011; Biddulph, 2012; Tani, 2011; Roberts,

2017). Geography is a subject that researches everyday life, but this is also an area of discourse, which is at times absent from the pre-university subject.

This discourse relates to wider academic debates in Geography Education, and Education more broadly, about the relationship(s) and 'borders' (see Castree et al, 2007) between academic disciplines and pre-university subjects. In 2010, Young and Muller introduced the concept of 'Future 3 Curriculum' (see also Lambert and Biddulph, 2014; Young et al, 2014; Young and Muller, 2016; Butt, 2017), arguing the centrality of subjects to pre-university education as they are the 'most reliable tools we have for enabling students to acquire knowledge and make sense of the world' Young (2014, p67). They coin the phrase 'Powerful Knowledge', defining it as knowledge that is created, and tested, in an academic discipline; vehemently arguing that _all_ students should have access to this knowledge to support them in exploring the world and deepening their knowledge of it.

This led me to consider how pre-university geography teachers and educators can support students in critically examining everyday geographies and lives (both their own and others) through utilising ideas and research in the academic discipline of Geography. I specifically considered the concept of space, and Lefebvre's 'production of space', arguing that it can support students in examining power relations and 'inequalities'. The two sections below aim to explore this disconnect by considering how space has been conceptualised in pre-university and academic geography.

Space in pre-university Geography

Space is a concept that geography educators in pre-university settings are familiar with. Alongside place and environment, it has described as one of geography's 'meta', or organising, concepts (concepts in which our disciplinary ways of thinking are embedded) (Maude, 2016; Lambert, 2017). It's been a concept that geography teachers and educators have seen included in previous iterations of the National Curriculum (see QCA, 2007) and in content reviews (ALCAB, 2014), and that has been discussed and explored in multiple academic discussions of teaching and learning in geography (see for example, Brooks, 2018; Jackson, 2006; Lambert and Morgan, 2010; Lambert, 2017). Despite this, Thrift (2009) quotes anthropologist Edward Hall in comparing the concept of space to sex, arguing:

'It is there, but we don't talk about it. And if we do, we certainly are not expected to get technical or serious about it' (Page 85)

Thrift's blunt statement initially seems at odds with the idea that space is a 'meta-concept' of our discipline. However, as Lambert and Morgan (2010) point out, this may well be due to the complexity of the academic debates about space and, the fact that school geography has at times ignored Massey's question 'whose geography?'

Lambert and Morgan (2010) argue that school geography has been 'socially selective' (p20) with regard to *what* is taught, meaning that ideas such as cultural production and the 'production of space' (which are significant in the academic discipline of geography) are not necessarily explored, or even considered, in the pre-university subject. They also articulate the importance of being aware of the young people(s) in the classroom, and how their geographies and imaginations of the world vary both within the class, and across space and time. In short, they are arguing for an explicit connection between 'powerful knowledge' and 'everyday knowledge' both in *what* is taught (e.g. 'the production of space') and *how* it is taught (which in the case of space, might refer to young people's own stories of spatial practice or representations of space e.g. through art, music or film).

This has, to some extent, been recognised in recent reviews of the academic content taught in school geography (specifically at Key Stage 5). The ALCAB (2014) report on A-level geography included both place and space as 'key concepts' of geography (p7) and stated as a 'key recommendation' that:

'A and AS level content should enable learners to be inspired by the geographical understanding of the world they live in and engage critically with real world issues and real world locations through the application of geographical knowledge, theory and concepts' (p2)

The report suggests that students should critically consider 'everyday' geography in both the place they live and study, and a contrasting place (through exploring 'Changing place(s)' (page 20)). To support this study, ALCAB include many ideas born from the academic discipline, such as 'meaning and representation' of place (p22) in their recommendations for knowledge to be explored in A level geography. However, the link to the academic discipline of geography

is not explicit in relation to theorists or literature, or how to explore the relationship(s) between place and space.

This same pattern can be seen in David Lambert's (2017) recent chapter 'Thinking Geographically'. The chapter provides geography teachers with suggestions of ways they might consider the concept space when encouraging their students to 'think geographically'; and whilst the suggestions he makes implicitly express ideas related to 'the production of space' in academic geography, they do not explicitly mention production, or reproduction. This lead me to return to the academic discipline.

The 'production of space' in the academic discipline of geography

The 'production of space' is an idea made famous by Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre was a prolific writer, leaving behind over '60 books of original research, editions on the works on Marx, Hegel and Lenin, and a couple of edited volumes', in addition to book chapters, journal articles and his (often untranscribed) lecture courses, Elden (2006, p185). His works have been 'discussed and appropriated' in Anglo-American geography since the early 1970s (Brenner and Elden, 2009), with some of his writings still remaining untranslated from his native French. Despite this, his works have attracted little attention in Education, or pre-university geography, and with 'burgeoning secondary literatures on Lefebvre' (in geography, philosophy and other disciplines) Middleton (2017, p411) argues that this should now change.

This article considers how one of his most influential ideas in Anglophone geography, 'the production of space', might be further utilised in geography education. Lefebvre's book 'La production de l'espace' was first published in 1974, and translated to English in 1991. In 'La production de l'espace', Lefebvre utilises Marxist philosophies and theories of production, to introduce us to the philosophy that 'if space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of reproduction' (1991, p36). Recognising that his argument that 'social space is a social product' might appear tautologous, Lefebvre articulates why it is both a significant, and a necessary, statement to make in the opening sentence of the book:

'Not so many years ago, the word space had a strictly geometrical meaning: the idea it evoked was simply that of an empty area… To speak of 'social space', therefore, would have sounded strange' (1991, p1)

This is an argument that has continued to be echoed, and considered, in academic geography, for example by Tim Cresswell (1996, p112) who stated 'society produces space and space reproduces society', and by Doreen Massey who articulates that in both academic and everyday discourse, we often use the word *space* without being 'fully conscious of what we mean by it' (2005 p17). Massey argues that the reason for this is that despite the fact that geographers now recognise that social space is much more than an empty void, our 'inherited imaginations' of space are often so 'deeply ingrained', that we do not always consider how space is produced, sustained, understood and evolves.

To help us examine the 'production of space', Lefebvre introduces a conceptual triad in 'La production de l'espace', which he repeatedly returns to. This triad, often referred to as the 'perceived-conceived-lived', is represented in figure 1, and is made up of three dimensions:

'1. <u>Spatial Practice</u>, which embraces production and reproduction and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristics of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and to some degree cohesion. In terms of social space, and each member of a given society's relationship to space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and specific level of performance.

2. <u>Representations of space</u>, which are tied to the relations of the production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations.

3. <u>Representational spaces</u>, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than a code of representational spaces).' (P33)

Lefebvre's triad provides us with a language to expound, and explore, 'the production of space'. He himself 'regards the dialectical relations between them as the fulcrum of a dramatic tension through which the history of spatial practice can be read' Harvey (1990, p257).

Lefebvre gives us numerous examples of how his theory can be used to critically examine reality. For example, in 'The Urban Revolution', he considers the example of the street. Lefebvre talks of the street as a place of movement and circulation, of play and socializing, it is a place of spatial practice. He notes that it is also a place where people are removed from their homes and private space, and as such often follow common rules and norms. However, it can be a place that different people(s) appropriate (for example, a gang or a homeless person sleeping in a private doorway). People also challenge dominant and ruling powers, through marching or union strikes. There may also be representations of space, with music and advertising. In this way, the 'production of space' reflects everyday geographies, and is a valuable idea to support and inform discourse and research on everyday geographies. In pre-university geography, we might use Young and Muller's (2010) language of using 'powerful knowledge' from the academy to examine everyday lives and geographies.

It is also important to recognise the significance of the triad, as well as its content. As Lefebvre himself highlights, it represents the connectedness of the three elements so 'that the 'subject', the individual member of a given social group, may move from one to another without confusion' (p40).
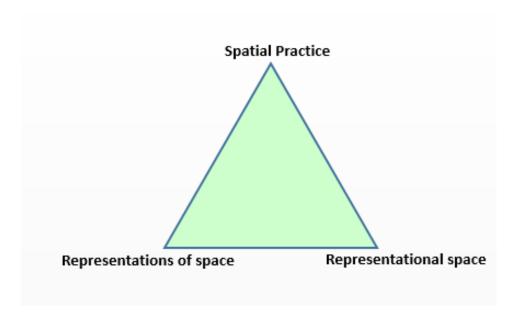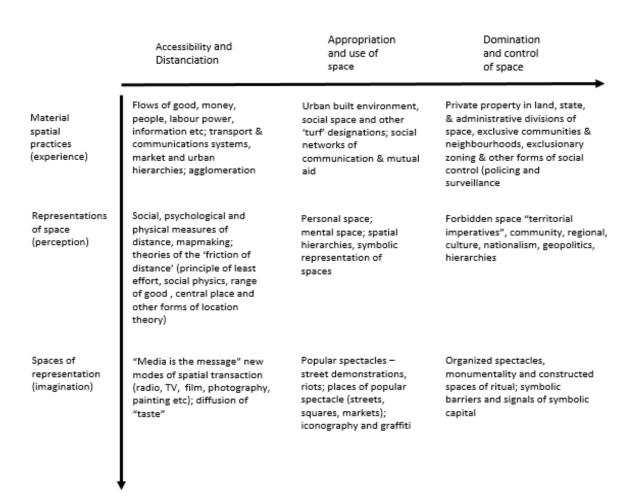
Figure 1: Lefebvre's conceptual triad of the 'production of space'

Lefebvre wrote extensively on topics such as the urban environment, philosophy and everyday life, and the relationships between them (Brenner and Elden, 2009), and began to consider how his triad, and its dimensions, relate to neocapitalism. He has also had many

commentators, and those who have utilised his work. David Harvey, is one such academic who has taken significant interest in Lefebvre.

In 1990, Harvey took Lefebvre's dimensions of spatial practice and developed them into a '"grid" of spatial practices' (see figure 2), which aimed to 'capture the complexities' of spatial practice in urban setting (p256).

Figure 2: David Harvey's (1990, page 257) '"Grid" of Spatial Practices'

	Accessibility and Distanciation	Appropriation and use of space	Domination and control of space
Material spatial practices (experience)	Flows of good, money, people, labour power, information etc; transport & communications systems, market and urban hierarchies; agglomeration	Urban built environment, social space and other 'turf' designations; social networks of communication & mutual aid	Private property in land, state, & administrative divisions of space, exclusive communities & neighbourhoods, exclusionary zoning & other forms of social control (policing and surveillance
Representations of space (perception)	Social, psychological and physical measures of distance, mapmaking; theories of the 'friction of distance' (principle of least effort, social physics, range of good , central place and other forms of location theory)	Personal space; mental space; spatial hierarchies, symbolic representation of spaces	Forbidden space "territorial imperatives", community, regional, culture, nationalism, geopolitics, hierarchies
Spaces of representation (imagination)	"Media is the message" new modes of spatial transaction (radio, TV, film, photography, painting etc); diffusion of "taste"	Popular spectacles – street demonstrations, riots; places of popular spectacle (streets, squares, markets); iconography and graffiti	Organized spectacles, monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual; symbolic barriers and signals of symbolic capital

On the left hand side of the grid, are Lefebvre's three dimensions, and along the top Harvey introduces us to the three further dimensions which he argues help us to explore the complexities and subtleties of spatial practice in urban settings (p256):

'Accessibility and distanciation –'speaks to the role and distance of human affairs. Distance is both a barrier and a defence to human interaction… Distanciation is simply

a measure of the degree to which space has been overcome to accommodate social interaction'

*The appropriation of space 'examines the way in which space is used and occupied by individuals, classes, or other social groupings'

*The domination of space 'reflects how individuals or powerful groups dominate the organisation and production of space so as to exercise a greater degree of control over the friction of distance or over the manner in which space is appropriated by themselves or others'

Harvey is keen to articulate that the dimensions on the grid have clear relationships with one another, giving the example of a gang who through continual appropriation of a street corner, may eventually come to dominate the space.

Following the examination of rich discourse on the 'production of space' in the academy, and considering how Lefebvre and Harvey has utilised the ideas to examine everyday geographies, I utilised Harvey's grid in the analysis of my doctoral research. The following sections provide an overview of the research methodology and analysis of data. National identity, a theme that emerged from my analysis, is then introduced as an example of how the 'production of space' might be utilised in pre-university geography.

How might we explore 'the production of space' in school geography? Sharing an example from doctoral research

To support the examination of young people's geographies and imaginations of London, I conducted involved six semi-structured group interviews with five young people, in which they were encouraged to map and share their experiences of London. The methodology (see Figure 3) used was based on Ivor Goodson's (2013) work on life histories, in which data is 'triangulated' with other documentary resources and testimonies to situate the research in space-time.

Figure 3: An overview of the research methodology

Interview one: The first interview was semi structured, and focused on the young people(s) life history(s). It utilized Goodson et al (2010, p6) strategy of beginning with the question 'can you tell me about your life?' with the openness of this question aiming to encourage young people(s) to tell their stories. Questions such as 'how does this link to London?' were asked to encourage students to exemplify the narratives link to place and spatially orientate their narratives.

Interview two: Young people were asked to map their geographies with 'London' as a starting point. Students were encouraged to add photographs and other objects to their maps to facilitate the sharing ideas, experience(s) and items from their worlds(s) in non-written or verbal ways

Interview three: A semi- structured interview was conducted in which young people were encouraged to tell stories based on their life experiences, and to talk about their geographies and the places they had indicated on their map.

Interview four: Young people were encouraged to share their stories, experiences and imaginations of the world with one another to facilitate group discussion, sharing and feedback. During this interview, the young people were given newspaper articles, photos and clips based on stories they'd shared in previous interviews. This activity aimed to facilitate Goodson's (2013) process of triangulation where life stories, documentary resources and other testimonies are considered of equal weighting in the creation of a life narrative

Interview five: Young people were asked to annotate their maps with their stories and experiences, asking to consider where their ideas, imagination(s) of London and the world, and other representations shared they had cited, had emerged from

Interview six: A semi-structured interview took place in which young people are asked to reflect upon where their imaginations of the London and the world had come from

Following the data collection, the interviews were then transcribed before being subject to inductive coding designed to 'retrieve and categorize similar data chunks so the researcher can quickly find, pull out, and cluster the segments' of the research relating to different themes Miles et al (2014, p72). Fourteen themes emerged. For the second cycle of coding, I worked within the codes assigned in the first cycle (Miles et al., 2014), before further analyzing the narratives using David Harvey's interpretation of Henri Lefebvre's work on the production of space.

Before examining one of the themes that emerged from the analysis, national identity 'being British', it is significant to note, that I had planned for there be a research show at the end of the interviews, to provide an opportunity for the young people to share their geographies and ideas with members of their school, and local community. However three out of five young people in the research expressed that they were uncomfortable with this.

To examine this further, the young people were encouraged to share their feelings and reasons as to why they did not want to share their geographies outside of the group. In response to this, one young person Jack stated 'I'd rather just continue the sessions', before joking 'what happens in East Wing, stays in East Wing!' Jack's narrative suggests that he felt safe to share his experience(s) and imagination(s) within the space of the group, but was concerned about sharing them more widely. When it was suggested that some school teachers' attended the research show, all of the young people stated that they felt that the Head teacher in the school did not care about their lives or view points, with Tilly stating that the Head Teacher 'would have to act as if he cared, but it doesn't help him in anyway'. Two of the group did state that they would feel more comfortable with another teacher, their Head of Year, attending.

Following this conversation, the group made a unanimous decision that the research show would not go ahead. This discourse highlights the importance of both methodology, and the creation of a safe research space, where children and young people are supported and encouraged to be subjects, and not objects, of research and in which their voices are heard (Beazley et al, 2009). The research was conducted in a school. Schools are an environment in which teachers are constructed as authority figures, and where children are often rewarded for conformity and compliance of dominant social norms (Aitkin, 1994; Aitkin, 2001; Freeman and Tranter, 2011). Thus, whilst the young people felt the group felt safe to discuss certain aspects of their lives within the space of the group, they did not feel comfortable sharing this more widely with their school or local community.

This incident raises important questions, not just for the research, but also for geography teachers who explore everyday geographies and children's experiences and imaginations of the world with young people, in a formal educational setting. In this situation, a teacher would have to feel confident in navigating spaces of institutional behavioural systems (which encourage young people to accept adult authority), and to also encourage children to be open

and share their geographies. These considerations are examined further in the latter sections of the article, following the introduction of the theme of national identity.

The 'production of space' and national identify (an example of 'being British')

During the second cycle of coding, using the first cycle theme of 'People', the concept of 'being British' emerged from young people's narratives. The narratives related to 'flows of people' (both their families and ethnic groups) and feelings of distance to Britishness (in regards to both legality and culturally) and not being able to join what Harvey termed an 'exclusive community', citizenship. This is expressed in figure 4 below:

Figure 4: Harvey's 'grid' of spatial practices and Britishness

	Accessibility and distanciation	Appropriation and use of space	The domination of space
Material spatial practices	Flows of people – family and /or ethnicity	←——————→	Exclusive communities - Citizenship
Representation of space			
Spaces of representation			

From this, two key themes began to emerge from the narratives using Harvey's grid:

*Social (re)production of space and how this leads to distance and or acceptance in relation to ethnic heritage **(1)**

*How can you join the 'exclusive community' of Britishness (implies a dominant control of space through Citizenship) **(2)**

These are expressed along with the ethnicity the young people identified themselves as at the start of the interview, whether they match the United Nations (UN) criteria of a migrant, and overarching points related to the young people's geographies in figure 5.

Figure 5: National identity and 'being British'?

Young person	UN criteria of a migrant	The ethnicity they identify as (questionnaire)	Key points
Jack	Migrant	White Iraqi	*Does not identify as being British (1) *Links Britishness to having a passport or being born in the country (2) *Desire for social reproduction of his heritage (marrying an Iraqi girl from his parents) (1)
Alex	British	Left blank	*Identifies as being 'White Irish' due to family heritage in Northern Ireland (1) *The group state to Alex that he is British, due to the fact he is from Northern Ireland (2)
Jessica	British	Mixed Irish and Caribbean	*Feels British but does not think white British people would see her as British (due to her ethnicity and heritage) (1) *Feels you should be British if you were born here or have a British passport (2)
Tilly	British	Mixed Race	*Doesn't mention her own national identity *Feels that London is multi-cultural but people are not accepted if they are immigrants (Britishness and ethnicity) (1)
Rachel	British	British	*Identifies as being British (2) *Notes she has a 'Glaswegian' streak related to her family heritage (1) *Experiences social distance from Britishness in regards to racism due to her conversion to Islam (1) *Links ethnicity (white skin), and religion (Christianity) to being British, and feels that Britishness has been lost due to migration and that white British people want to socially reproduce a 'pure race' (1)

Significantly, all of the young people in this study express that they feel some form social distance from Britishness. This varies from not having a British passport (political citizenship) and not being born in the UK (Jack), which links to the UNs definition of a migrant; to Rachel who was born in Britain but has experienced racism for your conversion to Islam (cultural

citizenship). The young people's narratives illuminate the social distance the young people felt from being British. For example, when asked 'do you class yourself as British?' the following narrative between Jessica and Tilly emerged:

Jessica: not really, because like, white people, are mostly British. I don't think you understand what I'm trying to say. I don't wanna say it because it sound a bit racist. Because people say that you are only British if you're white

Tilly: yeah. Even though British means to be a British Citizen, who lives in Britain or the UK, and to have a British passport, then you're British

Jessica: yeah, because the black people are originated from Africa, and stuff like that, so they aren't gonna feel like they aren't British

The dialogue represents that despite the fact they might not have the formal language to explore it, the young people are considering the links between political and cultural citizenship, and how ethnicity and migration relate to this.

Being British is part of a national identity. The idea of national identity is a debated concept, which in its most basic form links identity to territory. Lord Wallace of Saltaire (2000) argues that the development of national identity is linked to the evolution of the nation state in the 19th Century, in regards to developing the economic, political and social relationships(s) between the individual and the state (e.g. though taxes and shared public goods). There are both problems and positives of national identity. For example, Miller (2016) arguing that it can be used to counter social atomisation in a neoliberal epoch, and Parekh (2000) argues that it carries heavy ideological baggage as a 'national identity' does not necessarily apply to the reality of views of an entire polity as they are not a homogeneous unit. The young people's narratives reflect that they are aware of the differences between people(s) but,are exploring what it means to have citizenship.

If we reflect back on how Britishness was originally constructed (i.e. in opposition to France, with differences in national identity being highlighted to children who were taught about 'us' and 'them', with differences clearly referring to ideas of religion and race (Lord Wallace of

Soltaire, 2006)), this narrative could reflect a longstanding imagination and example of the (re)production of social space.

Can these ideas be explored in geography education more widely?

Whilst every young person is different, and will have different experiences and imaginations of the world, and this article argues that Lefebvre's idea of the 'production of space' and Harvey's 'grid of spatial practice' could provide a geographical lens to help us explore space, place(s), and geographical issues. Using the example of national identity, it can be used to help students' critically consider the idea of place-making (highlighted as area of study in the ALCAB 2014 report), and nation building. As Storey (2017) articulates the political world map which we are so familiar with, represents a human creation not just in the map on the table or on the computer screen, but in the fact that the map represents a dynamic political and social world.

Geography is not the only subject that studies nation states and national identity, cities, London or places. However, applying a 'geographical lens', specifically in relation to using the meta-concept of space, could have significant impacts to exploring national identity with students at all levels of the curriculum (from national – enacted). Nation states are an example of 'place making' and creating a shared imagination and conceived space related to territoriality.

Exploring examples of how place-making is done today, and in history, could facilitate greater understanding of the world we live in. It can also enable an opportunity for students to explore how their 'everyday knowledge' (experience(s) and imagination(s) of the world) link to both 'powerful geographical knowledge' (e.g. about place, historical geographies of London), and also grand narratives (e.g. how their experiences relate to those in London more widely). I believe this can support with creating a 'Future 3' for geography education.
'Future 3' views knowledge as a human product and social construction and enabling young people to consider this in relation to nation states and national identity by exploring geographical content and concepts could enable young people to understand them in new ways (Young et al, 2014). However, as noted earlier in the article, there are challenges for

geography education in doing this. These may occur at a community level in softening the 'borders' that exist between the university discipline and pre-university subject, and also at a classroom level. Geography teachers need to be empowered to feel confident in creating a safe space in which students feel comfortable in sharing their experience(s) and imagination(s) of the world, and in which they can then examine the links to what Young and Muller (2010) call 'Powerful Knowledge'.

Conclusion

This article uses the example of national identity, a theme that emerged from the analysis of doctoral research, to examine how and why we can further enhance young people's understanding of both the concept of space, and everyday life by exploring the 'production of space'. As well as academic benefits, it argues that there are educational benefits to exploring the spatial practice, and representations of space of all members of society. As Lefebvre himself argued:

> *'Space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and action; that in addition to being a means of production is also a means of control, and hence of domination, or power; yet that. As such, it escapes those who would make use of it. The social and political state forces which engendered this space now seek, but fail, to master it completely'* Lefebvre (1991, page 26)

In exploring the 'production of space', we might help to find answers to, and encourage the young people to question the question we started with 'whose geography?' Exploring how space is (re)produced, and the power relations both implicit and explicit within this process, can help students to critically consider complex geographical issues and the relationship(s) between 'everyday knowledge' and geographies and 'powerful knowledge'

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