



Introduction

A Wander through the Scene of British Urban Walking

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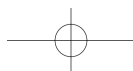
WHAT IS PSYCHOGEOGRAPHY?

Get a map of your local area and spread it out on the floor. Study the map, imagine the terrain, find your preferred route—perhaps a bridleway or a towpath—and trace it on the map. Grab your coat off the hook in the hallway and put on your sturdy shoes. Leave the house and dump the map in the wheelie bin. Forget the map. Go to the nearest bus stop and get on the first bus that comes along. Get off when you feel you are far enough away from home that the area is unfamiliar. Begin your walk here.

Psychogeography does not have to be complicated. Anyone can do it. You do not need a map, Gore-Tex, rucksack, or companion. All you need is a curious nature and a comfortable pair of shoes. There are no rules to doing psychogeography—this is its beauty. However, it is this that makes it hard to pin down in any formalized way. It is also this ‘unruly’ character (disruptive, unsystematic, random) that makes for much discussion about its meaning and purpose, today more than at any other time.

This volume does not pretend to have a definitive answer to what psychogeography is, but it does propose to open up the space that can be defined as psychogeography, providing examples and encouraging debate. In his introduction to *Psychogeography*, Merlin Coverley asks, ‘Are we talking about a predominantly literary movement or a political strategy, a series of new age ideas or a set of avant-garde practices?’ and goes on to say that it is all the above (2006, 9–10). In just a couple of sentences, we have opened up a can of nebulous worms on the ambulatory behemoth that psychogeography (or urban walking) is. What this volume does is present the state of play as it is for psychogeography in the United Kingdom in the twenty-first century.

As most texts covering the subject of psychogeography state, the origins of the term stem from the work of the avant-garde Situationist International (SI) (1957–1972), a fluid group of revolutionaries made up of artists and writers. For the SI, psychogeography was the ‘study of the



specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behavior of individuals' (Andreotti and Costa 1996, 69). The *dérive* was a walking strategy used by the SI. Abdelhafid Khatib, a member, described the *dérive* thus: 'At the same time as being a form of action, it is a means of knowledge' (1996, 73). For the SI, it was important that the walks included in the *dérive* could not be considered a 'journey' or a 'stroll' (Debord 1996, 22). Despite the fact that a playful element was deemed essential, those taking part were expected to be conscious of the environment, especially in the way it tied in with a critique of capitalism. Walkers were encouraged to be aware of 'fissures in the urban network . . . microclimates . . . administrative districts, and above all the dominating action of centers of attraction' (ibid.). This book does not focus solely on the SI because there is ample material already available on and by them. Their work is referenced where relevant to the topic at hand, and there are two chapters that discuss their work in the context of practice and theory (see chapters 8 and 14).

While this volume concentrates on British psychogeography, dividing international and home-grown psychogeography into clearly delineated groups is not representative of the lineage of contemporary urban walking. Psychogeography is about crossing established boundaries, whether metaphorically or physically, locally or globally. The Situationists did not limit their psychogeography to their own location (Paris). They walked other cities, such as Venice and Amsterdam, and incorporated existing maps of cities (for instance, of the New York and London transport networks) into their own maps. Recent projects in the United Kingdom have involved international cities working together. One example was the Leeds-Dortmund Project (part of Superimposed City Tours 2002–2003) and incorporated a simultaneous psychogeographical mapping of both cities and their accompanying narratives. The newly created superimpositions were then seen as a virtual city, this third city resulting from the overlap of the other two. So, too, British psychogeographers often do not limit themselves to just British towns and cities. Will Self's *Psychogeography* (2007) includes walks in Liverpool and London, alongside those in Istanbul and New York. And Phil Wood, in chapter 5 of this volume, discusses two places he has explored abroad—Lviv and Odessa—demonstrating the peripatetic migration of walking across international lines.

Many see the origins of British psychogeography in the work of the SI. As Duncan Hay explained in his paper to the Literary London Conference in 2008, the methods of the SI can readily be translated to that of the contemporary London psychogeographer and writer Iain Sinclair:

The technique of drifting, navigating the city on foot, the reading of the city in terms of the psychological effect that it has upon the individual that are present in the Situationist definition of psychogeography are all present in Sinclair's understanding of it. However, if one examines

the development of the concept from its emergence in 1950s Paris to its contemporary London usage, whilst the methodological foundations of psychogeography remain more or less constant, its teleological assumptions have shifted radically. (Hay 2008)

Hay goes on to explain that for Sinclair the method of walking itself might be similar to that of the SI. However, for the Situationists it was a revolutionary and utopian act, while Sinclair 'finds its expression as a literary mode, a position that would have appeared paradoxical to its original practitioners' (ibid.).¹

The *flâneur* of nineteenth-century Paris is also considered an influence on urban walking today. Charles Baudelaire created the term, which referred to the male stroller of the city who took the position of a passive and detached observer of urban phenomena. While it is a rather nebulous term and still remains so, the *flâneur* was usually considered bourgeois, or at least independently wealthy, most likely a writer of sorts, and often a dandy. The first description of this character appeared in Baudelaire's 1836 text *The Painter of Modern Life*, which provided Walter Benjamin with material for *The Arcades Project*, his unfinished project on the Parisian arcades.

To a degree the surrealists have also been influential on contemporary urban walking. Translating the unconscious act of automatic writing into moving about urban space, the surrealists encouraged a form of walking influenced by subliminal desires. In 2013 the Museum of Modern Art (New York) put on a series of walks organized by Todd Shalom of the group Elastic City that was influenced by the surrealists' approach to urban walking. And a summer solstice walk was organized in June 2014 in London by Southwark Council and CoolTan Arts Largactyl Shuffles, which was a surrealist-influenced five-hour nighttime walk.

While these examples demonstrate the historic influence of European traditions of urban walking on those taking place today in Britain and elsewhere, what adds to the complexity of psychogeography is its heterogeneity. Rather, when using the term *psychogeography*, one should always be thinking of *psychogeographies*. The bricolage nature of psychogeography means that its influence for a specific group or individual will be vastly different from that of another. Even if two psychogeographers define what they do in, say, Situationist terms, this will result in a different practice and result for each of them. It might be better to think of the historic influences of urban walking practices as being a kind of toolbox for contemporary psychogeographers.

This volume sets out to demonstrate the diversity of urban walking in Britain today through the numerous factors that make up the walk itself: the individual walker(s), the space of the walk (town/city, rural/urban/suburban and so on), the 'method' (if there is a defined method being utilized, and, in fact, if there is no method, this is also a type of method

for carrying out psychogeography) and the phenomena under observation or critique (urban decor, surface textures, prohibitive signs, other people, buildings, cars and so on). These are just a few of the factors that influence the walk itself. One could look further at such factors as night-versus daytime walking, as this also greatly changes the experience, and also the weather, especially in somewhere like Britain where it can change from moment to moment. The city looks hugely different on a bright sunny day than when it is overcast. These features of the walk change the subjective nature of the walk in the same way the intentions of the individual walker do.

Ultimately, people's motivations to walk are multifarious, and alongside psychogeography there exist many different terms for alternative forms of walking: rambling, perambulation, strolling, staking, trekking, hiking, streetwalking, yomping, cruising and so on. I am discussing psychogeography as a method of walking that responds to and critiques the terrain. Nevertheless, I would like to add that in the instances it is used in this book, the forms of walking discussed are to be distinguished from a casual 'Sunday stroll.'

The authors in this book all practice or study urban walking as a way of responding to the environment, and it is carried out in an active rather than passive way, even though their methods differ. There are many different approaches to psychogeography. This might be in the way the paths are chosen (for example, by creating chance routes through space, as it would have been for the SI) or in the way the practical work is analysed or written up (for instance, in a prosaic or fictional account or with accompanying theoretical analysis [or the two combined, as some of the chapters in this volume show]). This book illustrates the variety of approaches and outputs of the walking practice. Significantly, what it sets out to do is bring together the work of the contemporary psychogeographer, who comes from a creative and literary background, with academics also working in the field. I appreciate that this might engender the criticism of the academization of psychogeography. However, because I am oriented in academia and my field is psychogeography, it is impossible to do the work itself without being caught in this trap. I would prefer to see it as an acknowledgement that, as academics, we do not have sole knowledge on this subject.² Academics might be able to philosophize, theorize and critique walking-based practices—while observing them from the outside—but it is the walking itself that is psychogeography. It is the psychogeographer who makes psychogeography happen. And, most of the time, these bipedal critics of urban space are not located in academia, nor are the product of their explorations. This means that psychogeographical texts have a tendency to be classified and indexed separately from academic texts. This is because it is the professional location of the psychogeographer that influences where his or her work is published. Not only are they filed under different book catego-

ries outside of the institutional library (in the high street or on the online bookshop) but, even within higher education, the books on walking are a disparate set. They can be indexed under anything from philosophy to English literature, art to sociology.³

The biggest concern, as it pertains to the vagueness of the term *psycho-geography* and to the task at hand, is that the texts by urban walkers that do not emanate from academia might be considered to have less ‘value’ in an academic setting. Not ‘high-profile’ published texts on the subject—such as the work by Sinclair or Self—but other forms of published content, such as blogs or small-production hard-copy zines. This can be seen as a value judgement on the material itself, although it has little to do with the quality of the actual work, in regards to both the practice of walking and the quality of writing. It is often these types of outputs, like blogs, that demonstrate the creative expression that language takes in psychogeographical accounts.

In *Cityscapes*, Ben Highmore uses the term *thickness* to describe a depth of description attached to cultural spaces (2005, 17) and says that it can be found in nonacademic texts about the city (30). These ‘invented’ terms bring something to descriptions of the city that acknowledge its complexity and at the same time focus on the subjective responses to its spaces. Psychogeography’s modus operandi is this very subjective response, as is clear in the style of a number of the chapters contained here and their acknowledgement of terms like *affect* and *aesthetics*. These terms deal directly with psychological and individual reactions to objects, spaces and environments and feed into such concepts as mood and feelings. In a way they are the ‘bread and butter’ of psychogeography, the matter that enables its output (for example, in the form of the written word or in filmic images). It is this that means psychogeographical accounts can sometimes appear to be at odds with academic writing. The reflexive and subjective nature of responding to space in a psychogeographical way involves not only the negotiation of the terrain under exploration but also sometimes the negotiation of the site of writing itself. At times a space has to be carved out within academia to accommodate new types of writing and enable disruptive ‘situations’ to arise, challenging well-established conventions and provoking discussion.

It is apparent in this introduction, and the following chapters, how complex the term *psychogeography* is. There are no doubt readers who disagree with whom I have classified as a psychogeographer, and I accept this. However, this text is designed to reflect the broad field of urban (also suburban and at times rural) walking in Britain today and to promote discussion on whatever it is we might see psychogeography as being and becoming. I encourage readers to define their own form of *psychogeography* or use one of the many definitions included herein and to debate the merits of psychogeography and how we might put it to use in the twenty-first century. Indeed, this is the intention of the book: to spark

discussion as much as to provide a representative sample of the work of some of the contemporary psychogeographers in the United Kingdom.

So far I have mostly used the term *urban walking* synonymously with *psychogeography*; however, this is an oversimplification. Because historically psychogeography is often associated with the SI and was one of their methods for critiquing the spectacle, it tends to be associated with urban space, as this is where the spectacle is most clearly expressed (in the images that mediate capital, the high street being a good example). But some psychogeographers do countertourist activities, which stray into more rural areas. Also, one might do a walk that crosses urban, suburban, or rural boundaries, so can we fairly say that we are not doing psychogeography at the point we cross these nebulous lines? Nick Papadimitriou's geographic concentration is the English county that used to be called Middlesex, and his book on the region, *Scarp* (2012), expresses the musings of someone who has walked and studied the area at length.⁴ This region is urban and suburban but also contains Greater London's green belt. Papadimitriou was inspired by Gordon S. Maxwell's *The Fringe of London: Being Some Ventures and Adventures in Topography* (1925), where the author walked the outskirts of London, including the area containing Papadimitriou's geographical formation, the scarp itself. In 1925 these parts of what later became the peripheries of Greater London would have been much more rural than they are now when walked by Papadimitriou.

And what about areas that could be classified as completely rural? Can one be considered to be carrying out psychogeography in this terrain? There was a type of psychogeography that was developed by Howard F. Stein and quite likely preceded that of the SI. In his book *Developmental Time, Cultural Space: Studies in Psychogeography* (1987), Stein did not see psychogeography as an indefinable or cryptic response to space at all but something that is ever present in the individual. Approaching it from a psychoanalytical angle, Stein saw psychogeography as referring to 'people's shared psychological representation or "map" of the natural and social world' (1987, 3). In his edited text with William G. Niederland, *Maps from the Mind: Readings in Psychogeography*, Stein describes it thus: 'Psychogeography is the study of how issues, experiences, and processes that result from growing up in a male or female body . . . become symbolized and played out in the wider social and natural worlds, which serve as "screens" for these inner dramas' (1989, xvii). For Niederland and Stein, psychogeography took a Freudian look at space, which considered the inner life of the individual and, therefore, also his or her gender. This psychogeographic study aimed to look at what connected someone to place and how geography (whether urban or rural) made a person who he or she was.

There is little left of what might be described as 'natural' land when we look at rural space. What we see as 'nature' today is often what

geographers would call second nature; it is land that has already been worked on (e.g., rural 'beauty spots' that have public access but can also be used for sheep grazing). W. G. Sebald's *The Rings of Saturn* (*Die Ringe des Saturn*) (1995) is a psychogeographical book covering the county of Suffolk. Sebald's protagonist (considered to be Sebald himself) walks urban, rural and coastal Suffolk (and parts of Norfolk). This region is also covered by Self in *Psychogeography*, where he acknowledges Sebald's walks. Chapter 2 in this book, by Ian Marchant, covers a regular walk he takes in Presteigne in Powys, Wales. The town sits at the edge of the countryside on the river Lugg, demonstrating that delineating psychogeography as a purely urban act is not representative of the practice. While the term *psychogeography* has generally been applied to urban and can be a convenient way to differentiate the walking from that carried out in the countryside, its urban and rural deconstruction is just one of the qualities that adds to its indefinable character.

This volume is not a history of psychogeography, as Coverley has skilfully and more than adequately already written. Instead, it looks at the nuances between different types of critical urban walking. Psychogeography has its problems and its detractors, not least because of its vague label, although this vagueness could be seen as being positive as much as it is negative. I am sure that, in part, it is its undefinable quality that has led to its endurance. It can be utilized in a critical, creative and productive way and enable us to turn psychogeography into a micropolitical act, giving us a sense of autonomy when moving through the urban landscape. While the philosophical theories of Michel Foucault, or even Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, do not deal specifically with walking in regard to power, their theories on micro- and biopolitics enable a useful critique of the body in space, which anyone interested in walking and power might find helpful in applying to walking practices, especially if one is a student or researcher in the field. Undertaking walking, while being cognizant of the urban decor around you, draws your attention to the power structures that are laid down in urban topography. These authoritarian schemas are not necessarily apparent on a casual walk, nor on the well-trodden routes that one might take daily: it is easy not to question the homogenizing effect of urban planning, where everything looks comfortably in its place and, in a sense, like it has been that way 'forever.'

The interdisciplinary nature of psychogeography enables a crossover with many broad academic fields (for example, art, performance studies, cultural studies, geography, social history and politics).⁵ Four recently issued books reflect not only the current resurgence of walking-based practices but also the diverse nature of the authors' backgrounds: *Explore Everything: Place-Hacking the City* (2013) by Bradley Garrett (a human geographer), *A Philosophy of Walking* (2014) by Frédéric Gros (a philosopher), *The Psychogeography of Urban Architecture* (2013) by David Prescott-

Steed (a sound artist and urban walker) and *On Walking . . . and Stalking Sebald* (2014) by Phil Smith (an academic from a performance background who also wrote chapter 10 in this volume).

There are many texts on the subject of walking that are often applied theoretically to urban space. An example of this would be Michel de Certeau's 'Walking in the City' (2006; first published in 1980). It offers us a method of walking as a 'space of enunciation,' which he opens with his observation of New York's Manhattan from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center (de Certeau 2006, 98). His text provides us with a new character in the urban story, the city itself: the '*universal and anonymous subject*' (2006, 94; italics in the original). De Certeau makes useful semantic comparisons with the city and language, explaining that below the dominant discourse of the city lie alternative stories. This provides an opportunity for the city to be examined at the micro level through what he describes as 'spatial practices,' which take the form of modes of resistance (2006, 96). What de Certeau calls 'pedestrian speech acts' enable connections to come into being through a type of social contract (2006, 97–98). Thus, the 'act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to statements uttered' (2006, 97).

Rebecca Solnit opens her introduction to *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (2002) with the example of Doris Haddock, who in 1999 at the age of eighty-eight set off to walk across America because of her dislike of hostile financial corporate interests and to campaign for finance reform. Solnit explains, 'It was no coincidence that she chose an activity that required openness, engagement and few expenses to make her protest against the hidden corrosion of big money' (2002, xi). Solnit's concise study of walking—from Rousseau to Wordsworth, the Boy Scouts to the Situationists—provides us with every possible way of looking at walking, beginning in the first chapter with the physiological movement itself and finishing with one of her own walks in Nevada. At times Solnit also describes the city as a language; however, referring to de Certeau, she adds a caveat: 'If the city is a language spoken by walkers, then a pedestrian city not only has fallen silent but risks becoming a dead language' (2002, 213). Solnit also discusses the lack of theory on walking, something that this volume proposes to work towards addressing.

There are also many texts that deal with the city and urban space that can be applied to the practice of walking. And because these fields of theory are so broad, it is possible to find texts that deal with the specific type of psychogeographical enquiry one might wish to explore. Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991) supplies us with terms that enable us to analyse urban space and the practices that are involved in it. Also, in his homage to Raymond Williams, the geographer David Harvey offers us another approach to looking at space. In 'Space as a Keyword' (2006), Harvey breaks down space into absolute, relative and relational. Both Lefebvre's and Harvey's frameworks allow for methods of catego-

riking space that highlight a place that can appear at once dominant or rigid but also subjective or fluid, allowing room for negotiation or even appropriation. And one of the ways these challenges to space can take place is through the performative act of walking.

The zine-style format of Laura Oldfield Ford's *Savage Messiah* (2011) demonstrates the flexibility of the output of a walking-based critique of urban space that takes an activist approach. There is also a vast selection of psychogeographically oriented blogs available online. Most of the writers included in this volume have their own blogs, but other British walking blogs and bloggers include *Liminal City* (Matt Barnes), *The Lost Byway* (John Rogers), *The Psychogeographic Review* (Bobby Seal) and *The Fife Psychogeographical Collective*. As is the case with these blogs, the chapters in this book reflect the diversity of practice and context for British psychogeography today. And, so as not to duplicate the work by others on the lineage of British psychogeography, I shall include a short and selective history of contemporary psychogeography in the United Kingdom so as to orient the content of this volume. Coverley has written extensively about the British psychogeographical writers (primarily) of the late twentieth century, so I am not repeating that history here (see chapter 6, 'The Art of Wandering: Arthur Machen's London Science,' by Coverley, in this volume). But I briefly summarize some of the characters of the recent urban landscape so as to orient the current cohort within its relevant ancestry. I look in more depth from the point where Coverley's *Psychogeography* leaves off and introduce some of the recurring motifs that are redolent of current British psychogeography. This introduction should not be considered an extensive history of the past ten years (which would require its own book), but rather more a wander through the winding passageways of the topography of today's urban walking.

PERSONALITIES AND PERMUTATIONS

Arguably the most high-profile British psychogeographer is Sinclair, who is often labelled as being one of the 'London psychogeographers,' although this grouping tends to imply that all their approaches are the same when not even the geographical concentration is, it being so vast an area. Sinclair's influence and expertise in the field should not be understated. And while he describes William Blake as the godfather of psychogeography, the godfather of contemporary psychogeography is really Sinclair himself. Originally a filmmaker, Sinclair's books on London include *Lights Out for the Territory: 9 Excursions in the Secret History of London* (1997) and *Hackney, That Rose-Red Empire: A Confidential Report* (2009), in addition to such films as *Swandown* (2012), made with Andrew Kotting (which took a critical look at the impact of the London Olympics on the region).⁶

Coverley describes Sinclair's view of London as being one that 'views the present from the prism of the past' (2006, 14), which means he is often criticized for taking a nostalgic perspective of the landscape. British psychogeography, in particular, is often highlighted for its nostalgic bent, with Sinclair being cited as one of the main proponents of an approach where 'loss and redemption are explored and negotiated' (Bonnett 2009, 54). Alistair Bonnett's article 'The Dilemmas of Radical Nostalgia in British Psychogeography' explores these notions alongside a consideration that this strand frequently sits next to a radical activist lineage of psychogeography in Britain. Bonnett's question centres on how walkers can 're-enchanted and de-mythologize prosaic geographies' (ibid., 46), and while this could be considered a positive thing, he sees it as not being constructive to contemporary political situations because it can sometimes be 'inadequate' and 'eccentric' (ibid., 48).

Nostalgia was recognized by the Situationists, who attempted to use old ruined buildings as sites that represented a historic mythical narrative—what they called the 'charms of ruins'—in order to critique the use of these buildings as spectacle. An example of this is their interest in the paintings of Claude Lorrain, a French baroque artist known for his romantic approach to landscapes and ruined architecture. In their map *Axis of Exploration and Failure in the Search for a Situationist Great Passage*, the SI used Lorrain's *Seaport with the Embarkation of Saint Ursula* (1641). This reappropriation by the SI was, as Thomas F. McDonough explains, a recognition by them 'that these "norms of abstract space" that construct the public domain as evacuated were not "charming at all"' (1994, 77). Nevertheless, Bonnett's recent work with Catherine Alexander demonstrates that nostalgia can be a positive reaction to postmodern space: nostalgia can be seen as a "'productive" and "living" disposition' (2012, 391; see his 'Walking through Memory: Critical Nostalgia and the City,' chapter 4 in this volume).

The criticism of nostalgia is often attributed to the occult aspect of psychogeographical texts that are written, in particular, about London. These books reveal hidden histories and forgotten characters and attract disapproval from some critics. It could be related to a 'harking back' to a 'rose-tinted' past that probably did not really exist. It might even be that the critique is levelled more at the reader, who can consume the rediscovered histories from the comfort of home without needing to do the actual 'legwork.' The reader of the book is then seen as viewing history at a distance, in a way as if it is not history at all but just a story about a mythical place.

Sinclair is considered part of the 'earth mysteries' strand of psychogeography, which looks at the more historic and hidden aspect of the landscape and contrasts with the activist psychogeographic tradition of the groups, such as the SI (although Hay states that Debord's walking style can be transposed onto that of Sinclair in *Lights Out for the Territory*).

Included within the earth mysteries strand is the theory of ley lines, a phrase coined by Alfred Watkins to explain the ancient paths that connected monuments and places of cultural and spiritual importance (often connected with paganism). Papadimitriou is also interested in ley lines, although he would not describe himself as a psychogeographer, but rather as a deep topographer. In *Scarp*, deep topography is described as the 'land's very structure and memory unfurling in the mind' (Papadimitriou 2012, 255). Papadimitriou has risen to prominence in recent times and had a film made about him, *London Perambulator* (2009), directed by his friend and long-term collaborator, the psychogeographer John Rogers (see Rogers's 2013 book *This Other London: Adventures in the Overlooked City* for an example of his work).

Self's aforementioned text and his *Psycho Too* (2009) reflect his caustic wit, and it is this type of subjective response to place that seems to be acceptable in textual representations of psychogeographic walks that come from a contemporary literary tradition. In an interview with Lee Rourke in 2007, Coverley states that the term *psychogeography* has now become a 'post-modern buzzword' as a direct result of Self's column in the *Independent*, which later became the book *Psychogeography*: 'When a column in a national broadsheet uses Psychogeography as its title you know the game's up' he says (cited in Rourke 2007). However, he believes this is also what has enabled its endurance, taking it out of the somewhat inaccessible field of the avant-garde (ibid.). It is this moment in psychogeography that Coverley says reflects the shift of its perspective and its accessibility to those who might not have an interest in the more activist Situationist approach. Coverley says it is writers like Peter Ackroyd who reflect this strand. Although not necessarily a psychogeographer in the way we might describe Sinclair, Ackroyd's books on London, such as *London: The Biography* (2000), alongside his connection to what has been termed *urban exploration*, have drawn psychogeographers to his work. Phil Baker says of Ackroyd that his 'almost Platonic worship of continuity is a neo-conservative attempt to change, and to reinscribe the city that threatens to become illegible' (2003, 328). More recently, Ackroyd published *London Under* (2011) which looks at the hidden London concealed beneath the concrete surface of the city, like sewers and underground stations. This idea of the unseen and often unreachable spaces that exist beyond the Londoners' gazes is in keeping with an interest expressed in such pursuits as bunkerology (the exploration of disused military bunkers). The urban walker Luke Bennett (originally a lawyer and also known for bunkerology) contributes chapter 3, 'Incongruous Steps toward a Legal Psychogeography,' in this book.

The current place-hacking work carried out by urban explorers (also known as UrbEx groups) and such individuals as Garrett responds to the city in a very specific way. Garrett illegally climbed the Shard in London in 2012 and was arrested for his efforts, to much media attention (see also

Mount London: Ascents in the Vertical City [2013], edited by Joe Dunthorne and Bradley Garrett, for similar studies). While there is a crossover with UrbEx and psychogeography, in order not to divert this introduction into other fields of urban exploration, I return to the literary tradition of psychogeography-oriented texts by briefly talking about J. G. Ballard, who, like Garrett, often responded to the vertical nature of the expanding city, although in a way much less threatening to his own life.

Ballard's dystopic novels on the encroaching nature of the effects of urban space on identity are reflective of a postmodern moment of a sense of loss that can provoke strange behaviour in the city dweller. His novel *High Rise* (1975) is about the residents of a tower block who, following a long-term power cut, organize themselves hierarchically (vertically by social class within the building itself) and devolve to a basic level of human development in order to survive (*High Rise* is currently being turned into a film). Ballard's books, while looking at the extremes of maladaptation to city living, bring to our attention the affective response of people to space.

Chris Petit's film *London Orbital* (2002), made with Sinclair, provides a Ballardian journey (and actually includes Ballard) around London's largest ringroad cum motorway, the M25. Patrick Keiller's films also reflect the idea of loss, but one rather more couched in mourning than in dystopia (although they do deal with what could be termed *societal decline*). Keiller's 'Robinson' films—*London* (1994), *Robinson in Space* (1997) and *Robinson in Ruins* (2011)—chart how the economic climate has played out in the London landscape during this period (the last of these films moving from the urban to the more suburban and rural). Owen Hatherley, regarding whether Keiller is a psychogeographer, says that he is 'occasionally welcomed into this zone, which is curious, given how it represents the precise opposite—a concretely politico-economic interrogation of landscape and its production, leavened with a flirtatious humour far from London literary laddishness' (2012). Keiller's protagonist Robinson—a part-time lecturer who in *Robinson in Ruins* has just been released from an open prison for a white-collar crime—haunts the spaces of his past. The concept of haunting (hauntology) is a key theme in some psychogeographical writings (see Phil Wood's chapter 5 herein). This is often reflected in the complexity of the palimpsest terrain of postmodernity, whereby psychogeography opens up the layers of space to reveal the ghosts of the past.

Keiller's essay films cum mockumentaries exemplify the subjective and aesthetic responses individuals have to space. They 'contain an instructive story on the relationship between cultural research and aesthetic practice, on the one hand, and the encroaching reach of neoliberalism as it has reshaped public bodies responsible for culture and the arts, on the other' (Dave 2011, 19). This neoliberalist approach to space is dis-

cussed further in my 'Developing Schizocartography: Formulating a Theoretical Methodology for a Walking Practice' (chapter 11).

Keiller's *Robinson in Ruins* also reflects the current interest in what could be termed *ruinology* or *ruin lust* (a polite term for what is often called *ruin porn*). In 2014 the Tate Britain held an exhibition on art and the ruin. The exhibition, and its supporting book by Brian Dillon, coincided with Geoff Nicholson's book *Walking in Ruins* (2013), although Tim Edensor's book *Industrial Ruins: Space, Aesthetics and Materiality* (2005) predates this example. Ruin lust is a subject in its own right, and many texts are available, depending on the angle one chooses to take to it. Edensor is also a walker, and industrial ruins are a common interest for contemporary psychogeographers. Nicholson is a walker, too, but, though British, he is based in Los Angeles.

Artists (both performance and visual), while not always describing themselves as psychogeographers, might call themselves 'walking artists.' There is a Walking Artists Network, which was set up in 2007 (www.walkingartistsnetwork.org). It enables artists to connect with each other, share ideas and further explore their art practices. Richard Long's *A Line Made by Walking* (1967) is a good example of a walking-based art project. It was a track left in the grass from walking backward and forward over the same trail. A discussion on the walking collective Wrights and Sites is included in Phil Smith's 'Psychogeography and Mythogeography: Currents in Radical Walking' (chapter 10 in this book). But I provide an example of another performance-oriented walking collective so as to situate this area within a contemporary interventionist approach to space.

C. Cred is a fluid arts collective that works on collaborative projects that attempt to connect to politics by opening dialogue, forming networks and encouraging learning. *Counter.Cartographies* is the title they have given a series of walks. Mostly based in London, they also worked in conjunction with the 16Beavergroup in New York on the aforementioned cartography project. They describe the motivation behind their walks as follows: 'Using the simple medium of collective walking, we wanted to explore and intervene in the historical, cultural and socio-political contexts of artistic practice and challenge what we felt were a set of often normative and authoritarian structures put into place by the various cultural and academic industries that seemed to us to govern the parameters of artistic production' (Cred 2007, 119). They explain that the walks created spaces for dialogue in the 'nomadic structures' that were made available, with the walking becoming a way to take apart dominant narratives that are invested geographically (ibid.). The walks were archived through images and texts, which were accessible to anyone and could be altered in any way or even totally destroyed. While the members of C. Cred might not describe themselves as a 'psychogeography

group,' there are commonalities between such art-activist collectives and some psychogeography and urban-walking groups.

Many British psychogeography groups have appeared since the resurgence of interest in the field in the 1990s that came about with the London Psychogeographical Association (LPA; 1992–2000). These include the Loiterers Resistance Movement (LRM; a Manchester group run by Morag Rose, who wrote chapter 9 in this volume) and the Leeds Psychogeography Group (set up and run by myself from 2009 to 2013). In Scotland there is the Fife Psychogeographical Collective, which organizes field trips in the liminal spaces of Fife, and also the Psychogeographical Commission in Glasgow. At the time of the LPA, there also existed groups like the Nottingham Psychogeographical Unit and the Manchester Area Psychogeographic.⁷

Baker describes the LPA as a 'far-left post-Situationist group with a penchant for pranksterism and disinformation' (2003, 327). They were strongly influenced by the avant-garde artist Stewart Home, who produced a number of newsletters, pamphlets and journals under the fluid collective that was the LPA. Coverley says of Home that his 'flair for self-publicity has led him to be equated with the group and to be regarded as the author of its newsletter, yet, in reality, he appears not to have been a member' (2006, 129). Coming from the radical left and often representing antiestablishment ideals (rather like the Merry Pranksters of the hippy movement), Home presented the philosophical concepts that interested him in an ironic fashion. An LPA article titled 'Why Psychogeography?' appears in Home's own book *Mind Invaders: A Reader in Psychic Warfare, Cultural Sabotage and Semiotic Terrorism* (1997) and describes the LPA's principles along these lines: 'Psychogeography places itself beyond democracy. There is no process of sifting through everyone's experience of daily life to reproduce it as a soap opera, a political programme or college doctorate' (London Psychogeographical Association 1997, 136). *Transgressions: A Journal of Urban Exploration* was associated with the LPA and produced for four editions from 1995 to 2000. The final issue includes an editorial by Bonnett, an essay by the lecturer in architecture Thom Gorst and a report by Luther Blissett (a pseudonym that is also associated with the group).

Connected with the LPA were Fabian Tompsett (a.k.a. Richard Essex) and Tom Vague. Vague produced postpunk fanzines and psychogeographical reports. One pamphlet entitled *Wild West II* includes a large poster of Trellick Tower, the brutalist public housing project in London designed by Ernő Goldfinger (1972). Vague's booklet *London Psychogeography: Rachman Riots and Rillington Place* has an article in diarized format of the Christie murders at 10 Rillington Place, and another on the scandal and myths surrounding the 'slum landlord' Peter Rachman, who owned properties in Notting Hill. These types of short-run, low-cost production



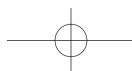
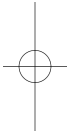
magazines are representative of the LPA (and psychogeography zines in general) and are an important part of British psychogeography heritage.

THE OTHER OF AND IN PSYCHOGEOGRAPHY

In the film *London Perambulator*, Papadimitriou acknowledges the issue of the other of psychogeography in regard to 'the gaze': 'It's about getting a very, very dangerous balance between finding the overlooked, and showing it to the other people who have an eye for the overlooked and not making the overlooked into something that is gazed at . . . like people looking through the bars of a monkey house while some baboon plays with his penis or picks his arse' (cited in Rogers 2009). In defining *deep topography*, Papadimitriou makes it clear that he does not want it to become 'touristic.' While this concept highlights the political dialectic of the other as being outside, located in urban space, it should also be noted that the other is also an issue for the inside of psychogeography, both from the perspective of the gender bias toward male psychogeographers and in the imposition of power in space itself as it is directed at the urban walker, whatever his or her gender.

Psychogeography has been oriented in a masculine tradition. This may have something to do with the historical exploration and colonization of space and the discovery of the New World, a domination of space that creates an order out of a chaos that is oriented in the lack of an anthropological understanding of other cultures. I am not suggesting that today's male psychogeographers are simply living through some evolutionary governing of geographical space via the phallus, but one should look at the stereotype of a psychogeographer. In the past this field has often been considered the pursuit of middle-aged men who are fortunate enough to have the luxury of time and money in order to wander through urban space formulating a commentary on it, as was the case with the flâneur. Today we might imagine a stereotype of a middle-aged, middle-class man with a rucksack and an Ordnance Survey map.

Ford dislikes her work being described as psychogeography for that very reason: 'I think a lot of what is called psychogeography now is just middle-class men acting like colonial explorers, showing us their discoveries and guarding their plot. . . . I think my understanding and negotiation of the city is very different to theirs' (2011, xiv). While this stereotype might describe a good percentage of psychogeographers, it nevertheless is not completely representative, and Ford demonstrates this by proffering herself as an example of the contrary, as do I with my own form of urban walking and as you will also see from the contributions included herein by female psychogeographers: Andrea Capstick (chapter 13), Victoria Henshaw (chapter 12) and Morag Rose (chapter 9).



Michèle Bernstein was a rare female member of the SI (and wife of Debord) and undertook some interesting psychogeographical work, specifically on places in Paris that she thought were being destroyed, such as the Square des Missions Étrangères. There are many more female psychogeographers (and urban walkers or critics of urban space) now than there were only a few years ago. There is even a branch of specifically feminist psychogeography that has developed in recent times. An example of this is the work that Judith Burnett, Erika Cudworth and Maria Tamboukou have done with women and *dériving*. Groups that carry out feminist walking practices include Precarias a la Deriva ('precarious women workers adrift'), a Spanish collective of activists interested in labour issues. One could also look at the work of the academics Dee Heddon and Cathy Turner in this field. Regarding this unrepresentative aspect of psychogeography, Smith states, 'I think it may be time to make a very clear distinction between what the dominant narratives and values tell us that walking women do and what those women, in the face of both real physical challenges and tales of their absence, actually do' (2014, 163). I direct you to chapter 9 by Rose and chapter 14 by Bridger in this volume for a discussion on feminist psychogeography.

While this feminist perspective alludes to the power located in historically gendered professions in general, there are also power structures that both female and male urban walkers are subjected to. Sinclair provides an example of how individuals who do not fit the model of a certain type of citizen can become a *persona non grata* in urban space:

And so it was, on the fine and pleasant afternoon of Saturday 8th April, 1995, that I found myself trying to walk in through the front entrance of the Barbican Arts Complex and being treated like a bogside bomb-carrier. The sensation is not uncommon in the new City. It's how they want you to feel, uncomfortable: the stranger in town. They want you to carry a card, with a photograph and a number, that defines you as some sort of non-person lowlife. (2003, 99)

The Barbican Exhibition Hall is located in the heart of the finance district in London, and during the 1990s British security became very constricted because of the IRA bombings in the capital at that time. The reaction that Sinclair was subjected to is a common side-effect of being a psychogeographer (and also an urban photographer). Anecdotes abound of psychogeographers' 'run-ins' with security staff. This is a by-product of the paranoia inherent in surveillance society which has increased since 2001.

The elements of urban decor that reflect this phenomena, such as prohibitive signs that appear in the environment, can be intriguing to psychogeographers; however, they often represent the authoritarian approach of organizations in 'guarding their plot.' In his essay on walking around Bromley-by-Bow in London, Dougald Hine (a specialist in urban

space and community living) explains how the signs that forbid action are the ones that predominate: 'Spaces are defined by the games we can't play, the activities which won't be tolerated' (2011, 4). He then remarks, 'Where are the suggestive signs, I wonder—the signs which invite you to try something you might not otherwise have thought of? . . . Even the sign at Prospect Park which reads "Play Here" feels like a command, rather than an invitation' (2011, 5).

Psychogeographers have to decide what boundaries they are prepared to cross, legal or physical, in order to find their 'story.' Maxwell states, 'The true rambler must never be afraid of committing the crime of trespass; fair words are a better help than fast legs' (1925, 22). However, in 1925, society was far simpler in structure, and such crimes as trespass might have not even been reported. Maxwell goes on to say, 'On the whole, people are courteous, when they know your errand is harmless. . . . I have known an Ordnance Survey map works wonders if prominently displayed. You are sometimes then mistaken for a Government surveyor by a farm labourer—a mistake which is often useful' (ibid.). This innocent comment is starkly contrasted to Sinclair's experience outside the Barbican. Nowadays a map in the hands of someone whose appearance might be deemed suspicious could be seen as a sign of a potential 'terrorist threat.'

THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF PSYCHOGEOGRAPHY

Coverley describes psychogeography as 'cutting across established routes and exploring those marginal and forgotten areas often overlooked by the city's inhabitants' (2006, 12), and I think this would be a good way of describing why many contemporary psychogeographers walk. It would at least be partly correct to say psychogeographers 'seek to reveal the true nature that lies beneath the flux of the everyday' (ibid., 13), although I would extend that to 'truths' in order to reflect the multiplicity of histories captured in the postmodern terrain. And, if individuals have a problem with labelling themselves, or others, as psychogeographers, then we can remain cognizant of Coverley's earlier quote and ask, 'Is this what I do?' If the answer is 'yes,' then we can call ourselves psychogeographers in the vein of one of the myriad versions of what that urban character represents, if we choose to.

To provide an aphorism of what psychogeographers do and why they walk assumes they are a generic group, which is not the case. It is as difficult as trying to provide a pithy sentence to describe what a writer or artist does and why they do it. Nevertheless, there are some universal qualities that are representative of many psychogeographers and that can help explain their intentions. For instance, they attempt to connect with the terrain in a way different from that of a casual stroll, bringing a focus

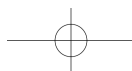
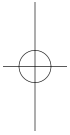


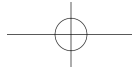
to the walk that takes it beyond both a 'Sunday walk' in the country (where the landscape almost appears to be placed there in order to be admired) and a Saturday shopping expedition in the local high street. It is neither of these. Nor is it about getting from A to B—it is absolutely about the process itself, however clichéd that may sound. The walker connects with the terrain in a way that sets her- or himself up as a critic of the space under observation, but at the same time, they unite with it through the sensorial acknowledgement of its omnipresence. The space becomes momentarily transformed through this relationship. The psychogeographer recognizes that they are part of this process, and it is their presence that enables this recognition to occur.

The form and purpose behind the critique of the topology and topography will be very dependent on the individual walker. It might involve making mental connections with the space through a song or piece of literature, or it might involve a philosophical or theoretical analysis of particular objects under scrutiny. It could also be an overtly political process that applies an assessment of the power structures in play in a given situation or even a physical act of challenging those very structures directly in the moment. This could be thought of as a kind of traversing, whereby the walker sees this as a negotiation of the space that questions established routes and draws attention to the possibility of approaching the territory in a different way.

One thing that unites all these approaches is the concept of viewing anew what is often manifest as seemingly 'natural.' I do not mean natural in the sense of nature but in the sense of 'naturalness.' Louis Althusser used the term in relation to subjectivity and ideology, and this would lend itself to the way that urban space (especially) has the appearance of being 'perfectly natural' when in fact it is imposed through the process of an ideological effect. Psychogeographers want to see beyond this ideological effect and challenge the conventional discourse of a particular space through their practice.

Practitioners are continually reworking psychogeography and renaming it to suit their requirements and to differentiate what they do from each other. These nuances are very important to psychogeographers (psychogeophysics and cryptoforestry, to provide just two examples). Smith's chapter on mythogeography (chapter 10) and my own on schizo-cartography (chapter 11) reflect the need for practitioners to name their own approach and formulate it into a more clearly defined methodology. Both of these forms of psychogeography are politically oriented, and it could be argued that, without this disruptive emphasis, an investigation into the palimpsest postmodern urban space we occupy is absent. If a psychogeographer is not revealing the hidden topographical layers of social history or questioning the physical manifestation of some capitalist edifice or other, is psychogeography actually taking place?





Are we any closer to understanding why psychogeographers do what they do? If one looks at this as an ontological dichotomy between ‘doing’ and ‘being,’ we might get closer to the answer. For instance, if we make the assumption that ‘one is a psychogeographer because one walks,’ we are looking at the object of the walking process (we know that, just because one walks, it does not make one a psychogeographer). If, however, we reverse this and assume ‘one walks because one is a psychogeographer,’ then we are closer to the truth because it looks at the psychogeographer’s subjectivity—his or her being-ness—and not what she or he does, but rather the ‘why.’

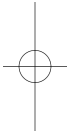
THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

Part I, ‘The Walker and the Urban Landscape,’ looks at visual urban phenomena from public sculptures to pavements. Concentrating on the appearance of the urban landscape and how walking with a critical eye opens up the spaces in which we live and move, these chapters draw our attention to both the aesthetics of spatial manifestation and the minutiae that can be easily overlooked on a casual stroll.

Roy Bayfield’s reflective walk, taken in the company of a colleague, is set in Merseyside. His account in chapter 1, ‘Longshore Drift: Approaching Liverpool from Another Place,’ provides an excellent example of a walking-based narrative. Bayfield responds subjectively to the landscape, including affective cues alongside contemporary politico-cultural references sparked by the phenomena encountered. He weaves filmic, literary and geographical references together, producing a firsthand description of his walk from Crosby Beach to Edge Hill University.

Chapter 2, by Ian Marchant, ‘Walking the Dog (For Those Who Don’t Know How to Do It),’ comes from the field of creative writing and covers a walk in his hometown of Presteigne. Marchant ruminates on walking literature and questions the label of ‘psychogeographer’ while making observations on the town he knows so well. The chapter includes personal references to the author’s life, historical information on Presteigne and commentary on his fellow townfolk. In a writerly way, Marchant brings to life a walk that he takes with his dog every day and demonstrates how urban walking can become a reflexive tool but also how creative writing can bring a place to life.

Luke Bennett’s ‘Incongruous Steps toward a Legal Psychogeography,’ chapter 3, takes an analytical view of the work of the deep topographer Nick Papadimitriou. By highlighting passages from Papadimitriou’s *Scarp*, Bennett teases out conjunctions that arise in relation to the law and the built environment. Originally from a legal background, he uses his knowledge to bring a different perspective to urban walking (for example, by looking at public policy and geography in connection to Papadi-



mitriou's descriptions of the Middlesex landscape). Bennett's chapter references theorists from the fields of geography, psychogeography and cultural studies, foregrounding both the landscape and the text of Papadimitriou's from the perspective of someone who can see beyond the surface of space to the policy decision making that lies beneath.

One of the ways past psychogeographical accounts have been used is to understand the aesthetics of a particular city at a specific moment in time. In part II, 'Memory, Historicity, Time,' the chapters deal with explorations and knowledge of the cityscape (in the past and today) by examining personalized accounts and histories. They reflect on how space is mapped out and how it is connected to memory, nostalgia, culture and geography.

In chapter 4, 'Walking through Memory: Critical Nostalgia and the City,' Alastair Bonnett introduces the Situationists and the way nostalgia influenced the creative aspect of their critique of the spectacle in order to explore the memory of place for ex-residents of Tyneside. He discusses his interviews with the group and their issues with the modernization of urban space in the way it affects them. Bonnett's text includes qualitative research in the form of individual testaments and discussion on memory map making. Situated within a psychogeographical framework, his chapter also references Sinclair and the magico-Marxist work of Home, demonstrating that nostalgia is not necessarily a negative response.

Phil Wood uses the walks he has taken in Lviv and Odessa to explore the concepts of memory, trauma and loss in chapter 5, 'Selective Amnesia and Spectral Recollection in the Bloodlands.' Drawing on his relationships with people from the region and the friendships he has developed, he introduces fictional characters in order to explore the concept of amnesia and spectrality in urban space. The author uses deconstruction to highlight concepts around haunting and the visible and invisible. The historical and contemporary politics of the region is woven into the account to produce a chapter that is both creative nonfiction and theoretical in its form.

Merlin Coverley situates the work of the Welsh author Arthur Machen within contemporary psychogeographical debate in chapter 6, 'The Art of Wandering: Arthur Machen's London Science.' By introducing the work of Sinclair and Self, Coverley fleshes out how the act of wandering was for Machen and reveals some of the tensions that psychogeography incorporates. He discusses Machen's walks in London, his purpose for walking and the influence of the flâneurs, making reference to specific regions of London in regards to Machen's texts. The chapter elucidates two 'fields' of psychogeography: the Situationist strand and that of earth mystery. Coverley situates Machen within a psychogeographical lineage, particularly that of De Quincey and the Northwest Passage, bringing a historical element to the volume.

Gareth E. Rees uses the urban phenomenon of memorial benches as a way of exploring the themes of memory, memorabilia and the landscape in chapter 7, 'Wooden Stones.' The author includes fictional dialogue and a storyline to fill in the gaps in what he perceives might be the lives of the people memorialized on the benches. Rees adds moments from his own life, which are sparked by the aesthetics of the terrain, particularly the protagonist of the chapter, his childhood friend Mike. This poignant and witty chapter reflects the creative aspect of urban walking, and the author demonstrates how the affective response to space can be used to produce a literary text.

Looking at psychogeography from the differing perspectives of a community artist and an academic researcher, the two chapters in part III, 'Power and Place,' discuss how urban walking can be used in an activist way through the insertion of the body into sociopolitical space. By demonstrating how psychogeography can become an intervention once applied to the objectives of a specific group, these authors explore and critique the way collectives of individuals can challenge dominant power structures through the act of walking. Analysing the more anarchic nature of psychogeography, today and in the past, these texts offer specific case studies so as to critique their efficacy as a means of radical political engagement and social change.

Christopher Collier's 'Psychogeography Adrift: Negotiating Critical Inheritance in a Changed Context,' chapter 8, foregrounds this section by providing the historic background of the Situationist's project of psychogeography within a framework of ontology and deconstruction. This academic chapter examines the literary heritage of psychogeography and the problem of seeing its critical origins as being solely located in 1950s Europe. The chapter discusses the problematic term *psychogeography*, introducing contemporary psychogeographers to explore some of the ideas related to its (mis)use, appropriation and circulation. It discusses both the 1990s and the current resurgence of the practice and includes many useful examples and practitioners.

As the organizer of the LRM, Morag Rose provides a personal overview of the origins and aims of the group within the context of her own experience as an anarcho-flâneuse in chapter 9, 'Confessions of an Anarcho-Flâneuse, or Psychogeography the Mancunian Way.' The author discusses such concepts as diversity and democracy within the LRM, offering her chapter in a journal format in order to introduce the practice of walking as it is for the group. Rose demonstrates the passion some individuals have for city life and how this can be expressed through engaging with it on a very concrete level. She believes psychogeographical practices should be made accessible to anyone who is interested and that engaging with your city can be ludic and political at the same time.

By examining the walking and spatial practices of individuals who specialize in psychogeography as a critical methodology, the chapters in

part IV, 'Practicing Psychogeography/Psychogeographical Practices,' look at how it can be used as a tool and developed in particular ways so as to offer the practice as an analytical device. The urban walkers represented here have worked through their walking strategies and created their own specific types of urban walking. These customized psychogeographies suit the individual requirements of the practitioners, enabling them to analyse the city in a very specific way. The first two chapters deal with the formulation of psychogeography as a methodology, while the last one looks at the various aspects of setting up a walk for the purposes of research.

In chapter 10, 'Psychogeography and Mythogeography: Currents in Radical Walking,' Phil Smith provides the background to mythogeography, explaining how it emerged and developed over time. He compares mythogeography to historical walking practices, such as those of the SI, and introduces many useful contemporary references. This reflective and critical chapter describes the evolution of a walking practice that has changed over time, providing examples of the walks and collectives involved. The chapter also includes a useful discussion on the depoliticization of psychogeography.

I developed my own form of urban walking critique at the beginning of my PhD. Required to create a methodology that would stand up to academic rigour, I used the psychogeographical practices of the SI to underpin my own approach, which I call 'schizocartography' and explore in chapter 11, 'Developing Schizocartography: Formulating a Theoretical Methodology for a Walking Practice.' Incorporating psychogeography alongside a Marxist-oriented and poststructuralist analysis of space, I use Félix Guattari's theory on critiquing the institution of psychiatry and his work in Brazil to develop schizocartography as a spatial tool. Schizocartography is a process that, while analysing the space under review, looks for the plurivocality presented there, offering counterevents that might be occurring behind the veil of the everyday and that challenge the dominant representation of that space.

Victoria Henshaw specialized in sensory walking and developed it as a methodology that provides qualitative research on the city. Her 'Route Planning a Sensory Walk: Sniffing Out the Issues,' chapter 12, discusses the implications of organizing sensory walks in regard to selecting sites, route selection and research data. Henshaw introduces the 'smellwalks' she carried out in Doncaster and with the Smell and the City Project, explaining the suitability of particular cities for research and the practical considerations for leading the walks themselves. The more formal science-based writing style of Henshaw's chapter (and Bonnett's chapter 4) complement the more 'relaxed' style of the creative-writing aesthetic of the psychogeographical accounts in the volume.

The contributions in part V, 'Outsider Psychogeography,' do not sit within the usual arts-based humanities walking practices previously dis-

cussed. Here the authors use the interdisciplinarity of psychogeography within their own academic fields in creative and constructive ways in order to introduce it to a discipline that might otherwise not consider it a standard practice. These chapters look at how psychogeography can be used within the social sciences as a way of helping individuals via a direct engagement with urban space. The chapters also open discussion on the value of psychogeography in its acknowledgement as an affective methodology.

Andrea Capstick, a lecturer in dementia studies, looks at remembering and amnesia in dementia patients and their 'wandering' narratives around a sense of place, such as getting physically lost and the act of forgetting, in chapter 13, 'Rewalking the City: People with Dementia Remember.' The author takes a spatio-temporal look at walking, place and the past, connecting 'signposts' that take the form of real events and places to the patients' narratives as a way of validating and understanding them better. This chapter brings social science, walking-based literature, philosophy, social history and psychogeography together. The chapter includes qualitative research in the form of walking interviews and the author's own research in verifying the validity of the participants' memory of place.

Alexander John Bridger discusses the issues around using psychogeography within a predominantly behavioural or cognitive (and sometimes reductionist) discipline, such as psychology, in chapter 14, 'Psychogeography, Antipsychologies and the Question of Social Change.' The author provides his own examples of walks and drift methodology to elucidate people's experiences in relation to their environments so as to examine the concept of *détournement* and to open discussion on mobile-methods research. Bridger attempts to introduce psychogeography within his own discipline as a way of helping others to understand their spatial environments and therefore help them realize their lived experiences more fully. He introduces references from his own field and those of urban walking and spatial critique so as to champion psychogeography in a discipline where it might be disregarded due to being considered 'unscientific.'

In order to keep this introduction as relevant as possible in terms of a history of contemporary psychogeography in the United Kingdom, I have had to be concise, which unfortunately means that there are many 'urban walkers' I have not included. For instance, I did not discuss the 'travel writer' Robert Macfarlane or Richard Mabey, whose 1973 book *The Unofficial Countryside* takes a naturalist view of the urban fringes. Due to the vastness of the subject area that psychogeography potentially encompasses, I have had to impose certain limits. Other contemporary psychogeographers and urban walkers (whether they would describe themselves thus, I am unsure) I have not discussed are Alex Cochrane, Tristan Gooley, David Southwell, Paul Conneally, Peter Watts, Graham Hooper

and Hamish Fulton. I have not included individuals who practice psychogeography among a variety of other practices, nor have I discussed walking as a form of ethnography or how, on occasion, psychogeography has been used in town-planning projects.

In 2002 Sinclair said of psychogeography that the 'next step is to bury it completely! Let it go and let it re-emerge. I think it needs 15 years to gain some new energy, as I think this energy is rapidly running out' (cited in Pilkington and Baker 2002, 7). Because we are now fast approaching the end of Sinclair's fifteen-year embargo, perhaps this is a salient moment to begin to discuss psychogeography again in a critical way and to take a serious look at the work being carried out in the field. I hope this text contributes to this discussion. Sinclair further comments on this problem when discussing the work Home did with the LPA:

Stewart Home says that the LPA deliberately mystified and irrationalised their psychogeographical ideas in order to prevent them from being academicised in the future. But they inevitably will be because Stewart himself is a sort of rogue academic, so it's self-contradictory in some ways. By doing it, it becomes part of this machinery in talks and interviews. (cited in Pilkington and Baker 2002, 3)

Nevertheless, Sinclair is in praise of walking despite his concerns with the term *psychogeography*. One thing that many walkers are preoccupied with, from activists to the Ramblers, is not just the marginalization of our public spaces but also the marginalization of the very act of walking itself. As Sinclair says in an interview in the Ramblers' own publication, 'We're at the bottom of the food chain and the day will come when we'll have the equivalent of bike lanes: a narrow suicide strip chucked in among the traffic. We'll have to have ghost walkers, like the white ghost bikes you see to commemorate dead cyclists' (2012, 98). So, it seems, psychogeographers perhaps do have more in common than can be expressed in their differences.

In *The Art of Wandering: The Writer as Walker* (2012) Coverley includes a chapter on 'The Return of the Walker.' Situating the preceding thirty years within a literary tradition that is also reflected in the creative arts, he finishes his closing chapter with Papadimitriou, whose rise in popularity followed Coverley's previous book. *Walking Inside Out* presents the work of some of the contemporary literary psychogeographers alongside those working in academia, thus bridging the gap that would mean that usually these texts are presented to different audiences but also demonstrating the inherent value to academia of the creative psychogeographical account. On 1 May 2014, the BBC online news magazine published an article by Finlo Rohrer, 'The Slow Death of Purposeless Walking,' which is posed rather more as a question than a statement and alludes to the number of recently published books in the field. While his article is not about psychogeography per se, it provides walking advice to the novice,

some of which supports and some of which counters psychogeographical practices in the broadest sense. But, despite this, the article is an encouragement to walk, and one of the tips that is common to ‘purposeless walking’ and psychogeography is to ‘walk mindfully’ (Rohrer 2014). This mindfulness is apparent in the chapters of this book, as well as in ‘Conclusion: The New Psychogeography,’ which deals specifically with the direction that the current revival of psychogeography is taking in the United Kingdom and internationally.

The beauty of the inexact art that is psychogeography, appearing in the innumerable forms that it has historically taken and continues to display, attests to the durability and relevance of it today. It can be crafted, manipulated and even reappropriated to suit your particular needs. It can be carried out fundamentally, creatively, or ironically. And it can be picked up and put down like a handy implement that helps you metaphorically whittle away the parts of urban space of which you disapprove, rather like the SI did with their maps. Psychogeography is continually being reworked, reflected upon and reimagined. It has the ability to absorb the urban space it occupies, situating itself sociopolitically and creatively employing innumerable ways to express itself.

NOTES

1. Hay has done much work on looking at the influence of the SI on Sinclair’s own work, so I refer you to his thesis ‘Form, Place, and Memory: Materialist Readings of Iain Sinclair’s London Writing,’ University of Manchester, 2012, for his analysis.

2. Stewart Home (from the London Psychogeographical Association, as it was in the 1990s) is known for his critique of the academization of psychogeography and, indeed, anything countercultural.

3. At the University of Leeds, Rebecca Solnit’s *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (2002) was filed under ‘Sports Science.’

4. What was left of the county Middlesex (after the forming of the county council system in the 1800s) was incorporated into Greater London and other counties before World War II. However, it is still considered a geographic area, so it remains in that sense.

5. The short-lived online academic resource *Journal of Psychogeography and Urban Research*, circa 2001–2002 and edited by Ian McKay, attested to the variety of origins of psychogeographical writing.

6. Because of his appearance in the broadsheets—often in the form of interviews—but also because of his extensive work in the field, Sinclair is often set up as the ‘union rep’ of psychogeography and is expected to defend it in the press against its detractors. His vast knowledge means that he has experienced and thought about many of the problems that more recent psychogeographers might still be working through.

7. International urban walking groups of recent times include the New York Psychogeographical Association, Associazione Psicogeografica di Bologna, Toronto Psychogeography Society and the International Psychogeographic Society (Ontario).

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