Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter begins with a general laypersons' introduction to psychogeography which is then followed with contextualising why and how such an approach can be used to make sense of the current political order of things with Brexit, COVID 19 and climate change. In order to familiarise readers with a psychogeographical approach, an example of video data is discursively analysed and it is then explained how this can link and lead into a psychogeographical analysis. There is then some reflection on how and why the writer became interested in psychogeography and psychology and this is done so as to explain the rationale for the approach taken in this book. The chapter concludes with a critical review of the field of psychology and why a psychogeographical approach is needed.

Not many people would identify themselves as psychogeographers and even less so as psychogeographical psychologists. However, the practice of psychogeography is something which many of us do already do without naming it as psychogeography or as psychogeographical. For example, we might choose to walk or drive down a different road or path or we may get off the bus at a stop earlier than our designated one and we might more consciously take in and experience our surrounding environments and try to make sense of and critique how things are. We might wonder what lay before a demolished building and what will go in its place and whether it will be another new supermarket or something else. We might consider how environments make us feel and we might consider what a place looks like if it was not based purely on consumerist values. In the online world, we might choose to do a psychogeographical wander by seeing where one random web link takes us via the Google search engine. These are some practices which psychogeographers do. Many of those familiar with the idea of psychogeography might associate it with the situationist practice of the dérive which refers to a radical way to wander around urban environments to critique the capitalist formation of spaces and places. It is therefore a way of not simply going from A to B and re-explaining what we see and think but rather it is a practice of taking ourselves beyond the usual ways in how we do things or think about things to begin to see things from new and possibly more critical perspectives. One example widely used by writers of psychogeography (i.e. Richardson, 2015) to explain what psychogeography means is to pick up a map of somewhere that you would like to go to and then to work out a route from one destination to another. However, rather than using that map to get from A to B you would have to use another map to get from A to B with the overarching aim to lose a sense of place in order to be more open to environmental effects rather than to use the map as a means of orientating oneself. Why should we deliberately aim to disorientate ourselves? This should be asked in relation to the present neoliberal order of things and with respect to what this contributes to extending critical psychology research. These are questions that I now turn to and consider.

In the present context, we are faced with the continuation of austerity measures, the spectre of terrorism, what outcomes the U.K.'s Brexit vote will lead to, the rise of the coronavirus and also the turn by many people to voting for right wing political parties and the rise of populism. One would think that amidst this scenario that neoliberalism would be in crisis and that people would be turning to left wing and 'critical' alternatives, but this does not seem to have been the case, at least in countries such as the U.K., U.S. America and across Europe. Indeed, there is currently quite an anti-intellectual climate and there is thus more favour and support for populist voices such as the ex-US President Donald Trump, the current UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson and the popularity of non-expert voices. Arguably then, there is a narrowing of position from showcasing a range of voices and perspectives in the mass media to just presenting a few dominant and mainstream voices, i.e. right wing, pro-Brexit and nationalist voices. Let me demonstrate this particular argument by focusing on the U.K. General Election of 2019 and by linking this example to discursive and psychogeographical approaches. In order to get to what a psychogeographical approach can do and what it might mean in a critical psychological context, I need to begin with methods familiar to critical psychologists and readers new to this approach via Parker's approach to discourse analysis (1996). I begin with the

position that 'discourses' are 'sets of statements that construct objects and subject positions' (Parker, 1994, 245). I have chosen discourse analysis here because of the focus on relations of power as opposed to studying relations of meaning and because of key concepts which I consider as relevant and useful which include discourses, rhetoric (how language is used and what language does), subject positions (who speaks and who do they speak for), institutions and power (relations of power and not relations of meaning) and finally subjectivity (relations between readers and the text). From that approach I will introduce a brief psychogeographical analysis and will consider the importance of spatialising discourses and what such an approach can offer to critical psychologists. The following analysis also serves as a further way to explain one psychogeographical way of understanding and critiquing the social world.

During the U.K. General Election of 2019, the Conservative Party ran with the moto 'Get Brexit Done' and in various interviews with its leader, Boris Johnson repeated the statement without adding anything to further that plan. Brexit was seen to be a 'natural' order of things and it was viewed by the government as 'the will of the people', even though only 52% of the people in the country voted for Brexit and even with the rationale for Brexit still being largely unclear. In British newspapers, in social media and on television the moto of 'Get Brexit Done' by the Conservative leader was accompanied by various mass media reports such as Johnson driving a JCB Military Backhoe Loader through a white brick wall (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4PYU5q1RJv4).

The choice of vehicle here is important given JCB's connection with the U.K.'s Ministry of Defence and with providing militarised vehicles for theatres of war worldwide. Moreover, Johnson received a £1210,000 donation from the Chairman of JCB, Anthony Bamford (Lockley, 2019). On the JCB's Youtube site, the Military Backhoe Loader is presented as a fast, aggressive and resilient vehicle. Particular words are used to describe the JCB which include, 'MOBILITY, PERFORMANCE, PROTECTION' (JCB, 2019). The vehicle has been designed to provide support for armed forces in order to build trenches, to clear obstacles and to create firing positions. The vehicle also has some armoured protection (Military Today, 2021). It is an unfortunate choice of vehicle to use, given the use of JBC vehicles to bulldoze settlements on Palestinian land (Nieuwhof, 2018). The choice of vehicle by Johnson and the Conservatives is therefore important to the context of Brexit in that it can be represented in the context of war rhetoric. Such representations can be said to map onto other wider social discourses and media texts such as the film *Brexit: An Uncivil War* and also to World War II and the United Kingdom and its Allies against Hitler and the Nazis. Indeed, it seems that Johnson models himself on statesmen such as Churchill and this is often exemplified in the stylisation of his speeches and how he presents himself to the worlds' media. For example, one can see how he presents himself as a statesman in relation to recent government announcements about COVID 19 in various news briefings. In one recent video circulated via various UK news outlets, Johnson drives a JCB through a 'gridlock' wall (On Demand News, 2019). The camera focuses initially on a wall titled as 'GRIDLOCK'. Then a crashing sound is heard and the JCB crashes through the wall with a placard of 'Get Brexit Done' on the front of the bulldozer attachment. The driver is Prime Minister Boris Johnson. He then slows the vehicle to a stop, exits and poses for the cameras briefly. He then walks around the gallery of farming vehicles.

The start of the video clip is a particularly interesting in that it begins with a shot of a white brick wall with the wording of 'GRIDLOCK' in big red chunky letters in the centre of the image. The red text is very clear to read against the backdrop of the white brick wall. The choice of red font may confer a sense of emergency. The gridlock is arguably meant to represent the situation in Parliament back in November 2019, whereby attempts by the Conservative Party to get their Brexit policies through Parliament were repeatedly blocked by members of its own Party and of the other Parties (i.e. Labour, Liberals, Greens and Plaid Cymru). Interestingly, after the Conservative Party won the General Election in late 2019, many U.K. news commentators spoke about the Party breaking through the 'Red Wall' in the North of England and of taking Labour seats. On watching the video clip further, a few seconds later, the sound of the vehicle can be heard and then shortly afterwards, something can begin to be seen crashing through the wall at some speed. The polystyrene bricks crash to the floor. Then becomes visible the text of 'Get Brexit Done' in white font on a dark blue background. This

represents the outcome of an 'aggressive' Brexit strategy by the Conservative party to 'get Brexit done'. The dark blue background of the text looks to be the same as the colour scheme of the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party is arguably responsible for getting Brexit done. The white text on blue background is also clear to read. Beyond the text we see that the placard is carried within a JCB with a bulldozer attachment. In between the bulldozer attachment and the driver window is displayed the British flag. Johnson is sat in the JCB looking very happy with himself and behind him is a person also sat down in the vehicle. Presumably the other person is lending support in terms of driving the vehicle safely. The video clip is only approximately 12 seconds in duration and then is repeated but this time from a side camera view, where one can see the moto from a side angle view and also the JCB arms with the logo of the sales and hire company 'Trucks R Us'. The side view show of the video also indicates that the JCB is fully emblazoned across the whole vehicle with the British flag, right from the wheel allows to the panels and arms. Johnson drives the vehicle a few metres further, stops and then gets out. He poses for the cameras briefly on exiting the vehicle, then climbs down the JCB steps and walks around the vehicle. He pauses briefly by the side of the bulldozer attachment and gives a double thumbs up to the cameras. He has only three words to say to the journalists which is unsurprisingly, 'Get Brexit Done' and then he walks away through what appears to be a photographic gallery of farming vehicles.

A simple account of the video would merely re-explain the context of what happened and what the video means for the strategy of getting Brexit done and thus would not really be any different to a journalistic account. However, a critical psychological and qualitative discourse analysis of the video yields much more detailed interpretation. A critical discursive approach enables us to deconstruct the video image and text as well as to present the dominant visual and textual discourses to explain how those discourses map onto wider discourses in society. The mantra of 'Get Brexit Done' makes sense in the context of 'Brexit means Brexit' because it is a simple and literal 'thing' which will be made possible and thus serves as an effective interpretative repertoire here. It is at this point that it is possible to begin thinking about the video from a psychogeographical psychological standpoint in considering the spatialising of the discourses in the video and to consider the environment presented. In the video, Johnson drives the JCB in a straight line through the brick wall. The solution to Brexit appears as a clear and simple path from A to B with Johnson in the driving seat leading the strategy. The JCB crashing through the wall is akin to a military leader leading the charge against its enemies – presumably the anti-Brexiteers and anyone else from other political parties that didn't support the Conservative policy on Brexit. We have here, Johnson driving the JCB, which we also know is modified to be used as a military vehicle in theatres of war, as discussed earlier on in this chapter. He drives the JCB but could equally have been presented as a war leader such as Duke Wellington on a horse charging against the enemy. The video thus abounds with a rhetoric of war, whereby Johnson positions himself as a statesman of sorts, albeit this time, the general in a JCB vehicle rather than on a horse or in a tank. Now I will present a short summary of the discourse analysis and then will explain how we can use the findings to inform what a psychogeographical approach might begin to look like. The brief analysis has drawn on on Parker's (1994) approach to discourse analysis. The key discourses produced include 'Get Brexit done', i.e. Brexit as the 'will of the people' and a military discourse, i.e. Brexit as akin to a war struggle. The second concept is that of rhetoric. Here war rhetoric is deployed to describe a solution to the Brexit 'gridlock' as well as to represent a militarised version of a JCB vehicle. The subject positions include Johnson as leading the charge against Brexit, Johnson as statesman and Johnson as leader. He metaphorically utilises the machinery of Brexit to get it done, i.e. Johnson driving the JCB and leading the charge into the Brexit 'gridlock. The JCB represents the aggressiveness and ability to get Brexit done. The next concept is that of institutions and power, whereby the Conservative Party can be construed as the party of business and the only party that can enact the change required to get through the Brexit 'gridlock'. The next concept is that of subjectivity where this relates to the 'viewers' as audience and my position on the Left. This position has informed my reading of this set of video images. The final concept is that of the dilemma as Brexit. The argument posited by Johnson is that Brexit must get done as things are gridlocked and change is not possible and therefore Johnson and the Conservative Party are the only 'solution' to get Brexit done. Here then is a brief Parkerian discourse analysis of the video and now follows a short psychogeographical reflection on that work. It is possible to consider the discourse analysis of the

video previously in relation to considering spatialization of these discourses. There can be no simple solution to Brexit. There is no ‘straight line’ from gridlock to a solution to Brexit. What needs to be done is to point to possible alternative solutions and to consider alternatives to a neoliberal solution to Brexit.

The previous discourse and psychogeographical readings of the video hopefully begin to enable readers of this book to become more acquainted with what a psychogeographical approach to critical psychological research might begin to look like. Next, I continue with the theme of the current social context of how things are and from there will then discuss previous academic literature from social psychology, environmental psychology, human geography and political theory.

For many people in contemporary society, the idea of left-wing governments and with their manifestos for change seems out of reach. Many television shows and films fantasise about impending apocalypses, zombie outbreaks and how we could improve our homes and live happier and healthier lives by eating more healthily and taking more active pursuits. In a neoliberal order of things, change has to come from ‘within’ the person and threats to the established order of things come from outside the person and from other groups such as the anarchists, the communists and the terrorists. If people are unhappy with their lives and how things are then they simply have to change their job, their house, their relationships and what they wear. Readers may be familiar with home making programmes such as *The Perfect Home* and *Grand Designs* which encourage its viewers to think about how different types of homes make us feel and to think about what ideal living environments could look like. Whilst such programmes might be useful to think about how we might go about improving our homes they also stop short of thinking about how we might go about changing society. The neoliberal order of things is thus beyond criticism, presented as a perfect ordering of society and as such is an ideological constellation, a particular way of understanding oneself in the world, a way in which one can navigate in a straight-line life’s trajectory from birth to death. Living in a neoliberal way is a less complicated, less conflictual and easier path to traverse. However, being critical of the neoliberal order of things is arguably a different, albeit more critical and balanced way in which one can be patriotic. Billig explains in his book *Banal Nationalism* (1995) that patriotism can be a form of nationalism. The question here I would like to present is why couldn’t there be better alternatives to the current neoliberal order of things? Why should we have to settle with a neoliberal order of things where there are vast inequalities between the rich and the poor, where the richest countries of the world have growing numbers of food bank users and with the capitalist dream where everyone can only be successful if one works hard enough? What could a psychogeographical approach do in terms of providing a critique of neoliberalism and with paving ways forward for a new order of things? In presenting answers to these questions, it is important first of all to conceptualise what a psychogeographical psychological approach could look like, what the key concepts are and then to conclude with what the implications of such an approach could be for considering social change and a possible world beyond neoliberalism. Mainstream psychologists (i.e. cognitive, evolutionary and behaviourist) have tended to shy away from questions about politics and what implications their research has to society and various institutions and groups. However, one of the premises of some qualitative researchers including the Feminists, Marxists and radical psychologists has been to keep politics and their reflective positions at the forefront of their work. In terms of taking a position as a critical psychologist and being involved with this book series, I take seriously the notion of reflexivity and with considering the relations of my work to society. In order to establish the key concepts for a psychogeographical psychological approach, it is important first of all to set out my reflective approach to this research and from what position I begin from. Given that I am talking here about psychogeographical approach it is useful to start with a beginning of sorts and what led me into psychogeography. This could be useful for readers to trace the route that I have taken from critical psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis in order to get to psychogeography.

In my early days as a PhD student at the Discourse Unit at Manchester Metropolitan University, I read Sadie Plant’s (1992) book *The Most Radical Gesture: The Situationist International in the Post-Modern Age* and this led me to various fanzines, books and articles about the situationists. This was a book that my then supervisor, Professor Ian Parker had recommended to me. I think he suggested the

book to me because I had spoken about visiting the Communist Museum in Prague and how I had found it strange that historical artefacts of that time were exhibited in glass cabinets. We spoke in supervision about the conception of recuperation and how dominant groups in society shape political and social narratives of each epoch in history. At the time I was also exploring Left wing political theories and I was particularly interested in the work of the situationists and how they had managed to write in various mediums including full intellectual prose as well as film making, art and photography. Most people would generally equate the situationists with the practice of psychogeographical walking but this was only one phase of their work which took place for a few years from the late 1950s to the early 1960s. Later in this book, I will cover more recent aspects of their work and how this applies to what I do as a psychogeographical psychologist, mainly in terms of psychogeographical wargaming and in terms of developing a psychogeographical psychological approach.

In 2001, I was working on my PhD about the events of September 11th and the aftermath and was doing discursive and situationist analyses of word and image news reports and images of the World Trade Centre attacks and responses from political leaders from Bin Laden to Bush. I began my academic studies in psychology with an interest in discourse analysis and how the concepts could be used to deconstruct the dominant order of things in the world. Discourse analysis is a very useful approach in which to deconstruct dominant discourses and to take apart what is presented by political leaders and the mass media as natural, true and real. I had started my research by using a discursive approach to deconstruct dominant representations of September 11th and the aftermath and this then led me to consider how to go about studying and experiencing the physical space of Ground Zero. There were not really any existing methods or approaches in psychology at the time that would enable me to do that and I was also keen to explore how a situationist approach to psychography could be deployed in a qualitative way. This led me to consider the practice of psychogeography and to their critical political analysis of environments. Situationist psychogeography does not originate from academia and neither would any of its proponents argue that it should be located there. However, as a critical intellectual, artistic and politically based approach, it has value for those wishing to take critical approaches in academia (i.e. critical psychology) as well as those based in activist groups and for anyone else striving towards radical social change. Later in this book I will discuss initial psychogeographical research that I undertook at Ground Zero in New York. For now, I need to turn back to the rationale for a psychogeographical approach and to continue with a review of the literature that sets the concepts and foundations for this critical psychological approach.

Given that psychogeography is still not an established approach in psychology it is necessary to forge new concepts for what such an approach can look like. I take seriously the importance of concepts and theory in one's research and for that reason, the psychogeographical concepts and theory are bound up with my reflective approach. Ontology is thus important as the concepts are what bind together my unique approach as a psychogeographer and as a critical psychologist. My specific interest in psychogeography stems from my curiosity in understanding environments, with a Left-wing position and with considering alternative ways of understanding and critiquing the social order of things. My Left-wing position informs my approach to academic work. However, one does not have to be Left wing or have a political position to practice psychogeography. Academic work is however quite sedentary and involves sitting down for long periods of time. The practice of psychogeography can be rather different in that it can involve movement and as such there can be many positive health benefits. Many of those familiar with the term psychogeography would associate it with walking but this is actually quite a limited way to understand the approach. What I want to do in this book is to present an expanded notion of psychogeography which moves beyond viewing it as simply an approach of 'critical' walking and that it can also be a philosophical approach to the world and a way to spatially deconstruct the order of things whether this be via walking, thinking or other means.

Some readers of this book may have the view that psychogeography is basically just a conflation of psychology with geography and that would not be a mistaken point of view. In the area of academic psychology, the term psychogeography originates in journals such *Environmental Psychology*, where the term was used in the 1980s to refer to an interface between psychology and geography, and with

the study of effects between the human mind and environments (Wood, 1987). In more recent years, such arguments have been connected to the psychological study of spaces and places (Moser and Uzzell, 2003), how environments causally effect behaviours and to the study of societal and social processes (Gifford, 2014). Many such researchers have attempted to study spaces and places as seemingly neutral containers of meaning bereft of any consideration of politics, economics and also social and cultural issues (Spink and Spink, 2015). Seemingly the focus has only been on individual cognitions and behaviour and considering environmental 'variables' such as heat, light and noise (Harris, McBride, Ross and Curtis, 2002). Wider social contextual frameworks such as neoliberalism and consumer citizenship are incredibly difficult things to 'measure' and beyond the methodological focus of cognitive experimental psychological research.
However, I don't wish to simply make a case for psychogeography merely being a conflation of geography and psychology as it can be much more than that as will be explained in the remainder of this chapter. What I want to do here is to lay out arguments for a psychogeographical psychological approach that is attuned to a political purpose and which makes connections to other disciplines including critical psychology but also to human geography and arts-based research. In the position that I take as a psychogeographer and critical psychologist, I see it as highly important to consider the political and social implications of research and for this reason my approach to psychogeography is rather different to that of the classic environmental psychologists, geographers and place-based identity psychology researchers. Next in this chapter, will be considered a review of literature within traditional and contemporary fields of research from psychology, geography, politics and situationist theory.

Within sub-disciplinary areas of psychology including social psychology and environmental psychology key topics of study have included place identity, group conflict and the contact hypothesis. In that work, researchers have studied how people relate to places and spaces and how environments can lead to the construction of new social and personal identities. Much of that work has been important in aiming to reduce social conflict between people and for fostering more positive relations between different communities. In this chapter I will expand further on key aspects of that work. The work of Altman (1993) is important to begin with here. Altman argued that human relationships are contextualised in what he refers to as activity settings. In specific settings, people draw on behaviours which are deemed as normal to those contexts. It would, for example, be perceived as normative behaviour to wait in line in a queue in a coffee shop to order a coffee, but it would not be normal to go back to the end of the queue after waiting to order a coffee. This particular scenario actually took place at a psychogeography festival and conference in June 2008, the *Territories Reimagined: International Perspectives* conference and festival. Such actions thus bring to light what can be deemed as normative and non-normative behaviours. What I want to do here is to extend the arguments to consider other formations of identity and behaviour in places and spaces and so now it is necessary to turn to the work of other researchers such as Cuba and Hummon (1993). Place identity research in social psychology and environmental psychology on the study of place are key areas of research to consider in relation to considering the formation of a psychogeographical psychological approach. How we define whom we are is often bound up with a sense of place and in the context of groups that we may feel a part of. Cuba and Hummon (1993, 112) explain that, 'Like people, things and activities, places are an integral part of the social world of everyday life, as such, they become important mechanisms through which identity is defined and situated'. Indeed, when people make associations of place, they often also bind this together with particular memories (Cuba and Hummon, 1993) and then when we are in particular places we then create and form new identities (Twigger and Uzzell, 1996). Manzo (2003) makes the case that we can often find ourselves 'out of place'. In Godfrey Reggio's film (1982), *Koyaanisqatsi*, the central meaning of the film is the notion that 'life is out of balance'. The study of identity is therefore important to how we might go about understanding ourselves, others and our place in the world. However, Durrheim and Dixon (2005, 180) quite rightly explain that places shouldn't just be viewed as 'inert backdrops to social relations'. Hodgetts, Stolte, Chamberlain, Radley, Groot and Nikora (2010a, 287) explain that places and spaces should not be viewed simply as 'backdrops to social processes'. Taking a discursive point of view into consideration, Billig et al. (1988) state that the ways in which people identify with places is inherently dilemmatic. Any consideration of identity as situated in places should then be considered in

terms of an explicit political analysis and with regards to the context of social processes and political change. These studies then also point to key limits with some of the existing cognitive experimental research with the assumptions of environments as simply being 'backdrops' or factors impacting on social processes and relationships. The arguments that Billig et al. (1988) raise are important in considering how people use language to talk about their identifications with place.

It is to the contact hypothesis as conceptualised by Allport (1954) that it is now necessary to turn to next in this chapter. His work was key in terms of leading many social psychologists to the question of how to reduce conflict between people and in order to increase harmonious relations between people. Contact between different people and groups is crucial. Nowell et al. (2006) explain that when people perceive positive connections with places then the likelihood of people participating in their local communities will be greater. The ethos then of intergroup conflict work as well as work in the areas of place identity and activity settings is therefore most useful in terms of attempting to reduce conflict between people in society. However, the notion of community is a very amorphous term and it is important to consider whose 'community' we are talking about. Furthermore, what I want to argue for here is to focus out from considering conflict between groups to considering the conflictual basis of neoliberalism and consumer society. A political focus of research is a stance not adopted by many traditional and cognitive experimental social psychologists though it is a stance that is key in the approach advocated in this book. In disciplines such as human geography and critical psychology, notions of politics, power and ideology are at the forefront of some peoples' research. For example, Keith and Pile (1993) explain that the focus on place identity research must be linked to the study of power and ideology. In a discourse analytic study by Dixon and Durrheim (2000), they discuss problematic social relations between black and white people at a coastal resort in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. In that study they found that desegregation changed the relations between people and that the then dominant group, i.e. the white people, actively resisted and opposed black people using the same social spaces as them. Reading such accounts seems alarming by today's standards but back then such perceptions were considered as 'normal'. It is thus crucial to conduct research to call into question such normalised perceptions and discourses of race, culture and groups and this is where concepts such as interpretative repertoires are of great importance in order to critique taken for granted accounts which normalise racist ways of thinking and behaving. However, it is useful to consider not only peoples' language but also to study everyday life itself as well. Other writers have argued that social psychological research has focused too much on place identities (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000). Further questioning could be considered in relation to spaces and places which might serve to normalise certain ways of thinking and being. These questions then lead us into other disciplinary modes of inquiry which include sociology, urban studies and human geography. I begin next with the work of Merrifield. Merrifield (1993, 522) explains that places are where 'everyday life is situated'. His argument makes it all the more important to analyse and critique everyday spaces and places. Merrifield (1993) goes further in his thesis and indicates that environments should not be seen simply as blank tabula rasa onto which meanings can be written onto but rather that it is necessary to think about how such places are written onto via various capitalist, consumerist and commercialist institutions and groups and that this in turn has the effect of shaping peoples' experiences. Indeed, Lefebvre (1976, 21) argues that:

> What has happened is that capitalism has found itself able to attenuate (if not resolve) its internal contradictions for a century, and consequently, in the hundred years since the writings of *Capital*, it has succeeded in achieving 'growth'. We cannot calculate at what price, but we do know the means: *by occupying space, by producing a spac*e.

A key question here to consider is where has psychological research made sense of how capitalism has shaped peoples' everyday lives, their perceptions of themselves, their relations with others and social systems and structures in society? These are questions that have only begun to be considered in recent years by critical psychologists and psychologists positioning themselves on the Left or as Marxist, Feminist or as Community social psychologists. Experimental social psychological research on place has enforced European-American ideas of individualism and capitalist achievement (Corral-Verdugo and Pinheiro, 2009). If we want to study peoples' experiences of places then it is important

to locate such accounts in a proper social, cultural and historical context and to explore how such accounts are enmeshed within discourses of, 'capitalism, rationalism, modernisation, the Puritan work ethic and spectacle' (Sadler, 1998, 96). Sadler (1998, 96) argued that individuals' experiences of places are enmeshed within wider discourses of 'capitalism, rationalism, modernisation, the Puritan work ethic and the spectacle'. There are indeed many recent examples where individuals have challenged the dominant order of things in relation to consumer capitalism and democracy to occupations of space in Tahir Square, Zuccotti Park and London (Žižek, 2011).
Psychological research can therefore be extended by considering the impacts of neoliberalism and consumerism upon peoples' everyday experiences of the world and by encouraging such reflections to build greater awareness of current social conditions in order to generate new avenues for action and change. Moreover, how people use space is a question that has only recently been considered by social psychologists and environmental psychologists, but the focus has not been on a political analysis of uses of spaces or in how occupying spaces enables people to produce new spaces. This is where it is importance to draw connections to political and urban theorists. Lefebvre (1976) argues for the importance of politically interpreting spaces and places. However, it is reassuring to find that there are some contemporary psychologists conducting social, community and health-based research that take such arguments seriously (Hodgetts et al. 2010b). What I think is useful here is to consider the current social and political ordering of spaces and places in contemporary Western society. In order to answer that question, it is important to consider social spaces as consumer spaces. Pinder (1996, 414) argues for the need to study the 'social organisation of place' in order to understand how places produce meanings and to consider alternatives to the capitalist order of things. Stephen Miles (2010, 8), a cultural geographer and sociologist, indicates that consumerism is a 'thoroughly cultural phenomenon that serves to legitimate capitalism on an everyday basis'. If consumerism has such an 'effect' on peoples' lives, then why would we not study such effects? The effects of the environment on human minds is a key aspect of social psychological and environmental psychological research though what can be argued here is to consider the notion of effects in quite a different manner to that of the cognitive experimental psychologists. The notion of effects can thus be taken out of a causal and mechanist context of cognitive experimental research and instead should be applied to a discursive Foucauldian approach in considering the implications of language and what conditions of possibility are set up by a consumerist ordering of spaces and place in contemporary societies. This can also lead us to the notion of consumerism in relation to the work of Foucault and Focauldian scholars and their work on power relations and spatiality. The study of relations of power in places and spaces is arguably of central importance in doing psychogeographical work. My own approach as a critical psychologist has been greatly informed by Foucauldian discourse analysis and the attention to the study of relations of power as opposed to studying relations of meaning as with phenomenological research. In Foucault's later work (1967, 24) he turned to two key concepts which he referred to as utopias and heterotopias. Utopias refers to what perfect imagined spaces and places could look like, but which were not actually real. Heterotopias refers to utopias which are realised spaces and places and which he refers to as 'effectively enacted utopias' (1967, 24). It is useful here to extend Foucault's analysis of places and spaces to contemporary consumer spaces such as shopping centres. At first thought, one may think initially that a shopping centre is just somewhere where people generally tend to indulge in a bit of care-free shopping. However, if one considers this example within a Foucauldian framework then such spaces are not just about shopping but are also subject to surveillance and observation (Voyce, 2006). Hook's work (2007, 205) is particularly salient to discuss here as he writes about gated communities in South Africa and how 'spacialisation' is a 'means of meaning making and power' and that 'historical structures of privilege and exclusion are continually reproduced'. Davis and Monk (2008) also point to how spaces can be used as a disciplinary way to classify, police and control populations including various groups such as refugees and those with mental health needs. They also explain that 'the spatial logic of neoliberalism revives the most extreme colonial patterns of residential segregation and zoned consumption' (Davis and Monk, 2008, 15). Such arguments can then lead to the question of what to do about forms of governance that institute 'colonial patterns of residential segregation and zoned consumption' (Davis and Monk, 2008, 15)? This then leads us to considering consumer capitalism further as will now be discussed in this chapter.

One of the key problems with mainstream social psychological and environmental psychology research has been the unquestioning acceptance of the consumer capitalist order of things and the 'failure to acknowledge the social embeddedness and emplacement of subjective experience and the power relations inherent in these dominant institutions' (McDonald et al, 2017). There is a need to produce non-commodified forms of academic knowledge in order to call into question the neoliberal order of things (McDonald et al, 2017). Mainstream environmental and social psychologists have not really undertaken political analyses of spaces and places. This is problematic given that consumer capitalist ideas do inform the design, form and function of urban spaces (Lefebvre, 1974/1991; Miles (2010, 2012 and Peck and Tickell, 2002). Places such as shopping centres, airport shopping areas and theatres have become completely commodified spaces which are structured to 'serve the calculative needs of money which … prioritises modes of interaction through exchange' (Miles, 2010, 17). The tourism industry is an interesting example here in relation to cultural icons, history and heritage which have become part of a new urban spectacle to be consumed' by tourists and visitors. Objects of consumption can typically include merchandise and souvenirs (Gotham, 2002, 2007). Moreover, in recent years, there are examples where websites such as Airbnb advertise holidays in terms of the experiences that can be gained rather than simply as places to visit. Indeed, the types of interactions that human beings have with social spaces is based on 'relationships between individualised consumers and a market detached from local physical space' (Voyce, 2006, 274). Many public spaces have been turned into privatised spaces which actively encourage consumer spending (Voyce, 2006). There is also an emotionality to such spaces as Miles (2012) argues and this can be connected to the argument of psychologization in relation to spaces and places. Though with the emotionality connection comes with it an increased alienation of people from each other and to places and spaces (Miles, 2012, Simmel, 1950). Giddens (1991, 242) discusses this in terms of 'disembeddedness' which he refers to as 'the lifting out of social relationships from local contexts and their recombination across indefinite time/space distances'. Manzo (2003) also discusses how people feel at the same time 'emplaced' and 'out of place'. Hodgetts, Stolte, Chamberlain, Groot and Nikora (2010) discuss how people that are homeless have been increasingly 'emplaced' in towns and cities in which they reside. This then leads to the question of how would people not feel emplaced and what would it take for people to feel situated in places and to feel comfortable, healthy and happy? The answer to this question comes in the form of consumer citizenship. Citizenship is not a fixed term and in its current form it can be considered as something which is tied to consumerism, and thus as consumer citizenship. Consumer citizenship has come to be accepted by many as who we are and how we form our identities within Western societies. Thus, the citizen as consumer is assumed to be self-governing, responsible and independent and whose life revolves around a connection to the free market and to enterprise. Those citizens that do not engage with such an ethic can become targeted as not responsible and not able to manage their own risks. Such citizens can then subsequently be excluded from society (Miles, 2012, Voyce, 2006) and within that demographic can include those with mental health needs, the homeless, the disabled and loitering groups of people whom are invariably young people (Voyce, 2006). The modern Western focus on home ownership is also worthy of discussion here in terms of the cultural capital that it bestows on those that own property and land, i.e. the middle to upper classes. Though this in itself also creates difficulties for those that may struggle to access opportunities and resources (Mandipour, 2004). I am making a case here for doing research not just to simply reaffirm and legitimatise consumer culture and neoliberalism, but which can work to create alternative and potentially counter forms of academic knowledge. I take heed of arguments by writers such as Vail (2010, 312-313) that it is necessary to:

> Promote democratic control over the market … that are politically and socially embedded and grounded in a logic predicated on social needs rather than profit. It would include efforts to undermine the grip of market hegemony by increasing the transparency of the market and revealing its true social costs and consequences.

Psychologists working within the cognitive experimental scientific mode of inquiry have for too long neglected any consideration of the formation and use of spaces in relation to historical and social processes of change. I ally myself with other critical psychologists who argue that psychological work needs to be created to make knowledge that challenges the dominant neoliberal status quo (i.e. Hayes,

2003 and Hook, 2007). Mainstream psychological work has all too often been co-opted by advertisers and consumer corporations to sell objects back to people and to fill their empty selves (Cushman, 1990). Arguably then, there is a need to develop new approaches and methods to critique the consumerisation of the social world and how we experience, make sense of and to be critical of such spaces and places and the organisation of the social world.

At this point in the chapter, it is important to consider what previous existing critical psychology, human geography and political theory can be drawn on to begin to consider the context in which a psychogeographical approach could be forged. There is a sedentary focus to current psychological research (Sheller and Urry, 2006). What I argue for here is for *a spatial turn to place in psychology* (Bridger et al., 2019) which requires drawing on concepts and ideas from geography (Pinder, 1996), radical urban theory (Sadler, 1998) and critical psychology (Burnett et al. 2004). There have been arguments in recent years for a ‘new mobilities paradigm’ (Sheller and Urry, 2006) which involves the study of peoples’ experiences of movement. Arguably then, mobility should be viewed as a central feature of how everyday life occurs (Binne et al. 2007). Radley et al. (2010) explains that people create lived in accounts of experience in specific contexts and to the idea of how we move from place to place continuously. Edensor (2008, 136-137) explains that, ‘walking is suffused with a kaleidoscope of intermingling thoughts, experiences and sensations, so that the character of the walk is constantly shifting’. Other writers such as Sotelo (2010, 16) discuss the idea of ‘participation cartography’ and views walking not as a spatial process but rather as a ‘performance of self in spatio-temporal terms’. In drawing on a methodology to study spaces and places, it is important to consider a full range of human perceptions including visual, auditory, embodied and sensory. It is useful to develop methods to study the visual world (Hodgetts et al. 2007) and to conceptualise visual analytic methods of research (Lykes et al. 2003; Pink, 2004).

One should consider what methods other researchers have used in relation to studying places and spaces and this has included go-along methods where researchers walk alongside participants and conduct interviews (Kusenbach, 2003), the practice of ‘bimbling’ which refers to walking at a leisurely pace (Anderson, 2004) and psychogeographical psychological wandering (Bridger, 2010, 2011, 2015). The three methods listed above will be elaborated further in chapter three where I will talk about key vignettes from my own research practice. Sheller and Urry (2000) point to the sedentary nature of much of current applied social psychological research methods and indeed there is scant work that explains how to use walking to document peoples’ experiences (Sheller and Urry, 2006). In this book, arguments are made for the development of mobile methods and for a ‘new mobilities paradigm’ (Sheller and Urry, 2006, 207) with colleagues Brown and Durrheim (2009, 216) arguing that knowledge is ‘constructed in and through mobile interactivity’. Particular types of mobile methods of research include work on photo elicitation methods and walking interviews (Hodgetts et al. (2010) and walking methods (Radley et al. 2010; Hodgetts et al, 2010a). A psychogeographical psychological approach can connect with the sort of work done in the arena of ‘mobile methods’ (Sheller and Urry, 2006). Qualitative, health and critical social psychologists have argued that drawing on approaches such as walking can be a useful way to study spaces and places (Chamberlain, 2011, Hodgetts et al. 2010a, Bridger, 2014). Moving through spaces and places is arguably a way to make sense of environments. However, one needs to be careful in not assuming that such work can get us closer to how things really are what things really mean. There is scant work in critical psychology with a psychogeographical focus, though it is that work which will be turned to in the next chapter. In the next chapter, I will begin in discussing the lineage of psychogeographical research from the early work of those such as Baudelaire and Engels, through to the work of the Surrealists, the Situationists, ‘academic’ psychogeography and then to the work of new psychogeographers and groups. To conclude this chapter, I present the following key points of summary which include:

- Pointing to the limits of previous psychological research on spaces and places, i.e. depoliticization and apolitical.
- Arguments for a *spatial turn in psychology,* considering social spaces as consumer spaces and a critique of the neoliberal order of things.

- Conceptualising a psychogeographical approach and methodology.

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