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Visualising Manchester: Exploring new ways to study urban environments with reference to situationist theory, the dérive and qualitative research

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This paper will outline how mobile methods and documentary strategies (diaries, cameras and maps) can be used to document and reflect on the research process and to consider the political implications of urbanism and gentrification. I draw particular inspiration from the work of the Situationist International and their use of detournement and the dérive. I will refer to a long term project in Manchester city where I have used a situationist qualitative methodology. I will discuss the usefulness of the situationist tactics of the dérive and detournement for qualitative research in psychology. The wider aims of conducting this research are: to extend qualitative methods in psychology; to further politicise qualitative methods, to consider the implications of the gentrification of environments; to reflect on the social roles of the researcher as academic, activist and artist and to consider what changes are possible as a result of doing this sort of research.

Key words: mobile methods; psychogeography; situationism; autoethnography; walking; seeing; photography; maps

Overview

Justification of the research and introduction into the literature

A lot of published research in psychology and across the social sciences has focused on the study of environments, although that work has been predominantly cognitive research relating to environmental psychology and qualitative research in social psychology on place and identity. There are several key limitations to the existing work that I will now outline and discuss. First of all, in environmental psychology and cognitive research, environments should not just be viewed as 'backdrops to social psychological processes' (Hodgetts et al, 2010: 287). A limitation of the cognitive psychology research on environments is that there has been a scant focus on how individuals experience urban living and what impact this has on them (Edwards, 1996). Secondly, the qualitative research in social psychology has tended to focus solely on place-identity (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000). I argue for the importance of studying peoples' 'lived, everyday involvement in the world' (Ingold, 1993: 152). Moreover, some political theorists have argued that urban environments are suffused with dominant discourses of 'capitalism, rationalism, modernization, the 'Puritan work ethic', and spectacle' (Sadler, 1998: 96). Moreover, with the recent public occupations of space in Tahrir Square, Zuccotti Park, Wall Street and the British riots in the Summer of 2011, others have challenged the relationship of capitalism with democracy as well as questioning the consumerisation of everyday life (Zizek, 2011). Therefore there is a clear need to study the 'social organisation of place' (Pinder, 1996: 414). This also begs the question as to whether individuals feel alienated and disconnected from each other (Raban, 1974). In addressing these issues, it is of vital importance to consider how we can develop new qualitative psychological methods to study environments. Qualitative psychologists such as Hodgetts et al. (2010) argued that walking could be used as a method to study environments. De Certeau (1974: 97) argued that 'the act of walking ... is to the urban system what the speech act is to language'. However, the majority of qualitative research in psychology as well as in the social sciences is quite 'sedentary' (Sheller and Urry, 2000). There is not enough research that documents what peoples' experiences are of walking (Sheller and Urry, 2006). Therefore the focus of this work is to develop 'mobile' methods that could produce distinctly different understandings of environments.

Recently in the social sciences and humanities, there has been some discussion about a 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 208; Ricketts Hein, Evans and Jones, 2008). I argue for the need to develop a cross-disciplinary approach and to draw on research from geography (Harley, 1988a, 1988b, 1992; Thrift, 2000), critical psychology (Burnett et al. 2004; Grup de Lesbianes Feministes, 2005 and Precarias a la Deriva, 2005), cultural studies (Pinder, 1996, 2000, 2005) and urban theory (Joyce, 2003 and Sadler, 1998). In terms of the methods used to study environments, this includes: 'go-along' methods (Kusenbach, 2003), bimbling (Anderson, 2004; Evans, 1998), go-along interviews, walking, cycling and driving (Kusenbach, 2003), Irving (2010), and photo-voice methods (Castleton, 2008; Hodgetts et al, 2010; Radley et al, 2010). Mobile walking research has also begun to emerge in qualitative research in psychology with Bridger (2010, 2011), Chamberlain et al. (2011), Hodgetts et al. (2011) and Radley, Chamberlain, Hodgetts, Stolte and Groot. (2010). It has been argued that experiences of walking can be documented with stories, songs and poems and also 'paintings, maps and landscapes' (Barnes and Duncan, 1992: 5). There is a clear need to develop visual methods of research (Hodgetts et al, 2007) and to draw on traditions of research from the social sciences in relation to ethnography, geography and sociology (Lykes, Blanche, and Hamber, 2003; Pink, 2004, 2007 and Pole, 2004). Mobility is central to how everyday life is conducted and practised (Binnie et al, 2007: De Certeau, 1984). Through the process of walking, individuals create 'lived-in' storied experiences of being environments, which form a performative, narrative process (Radley et al, 2010) or as Kusenbach (2003: 455) argues, 'lived experience' is '*in situ*'. Walking 'is suffused with a kaleidoscope of intermingling thoughts, experiences and sensations, so that the character of the walk is constantly shifting' (Edensor, 2008: 136-7). One of the key under-studied areas in psychology is how one's sense of place can be defined through bodily experience. Here it is necessary to refer to the work of Sotelo (2010: 61) in relation to this research:

Through the lens of 'participation cartography', I modify Michel de Certeau's (1984) idea that by walking, space is being practised. Instead I suggest, that by walking, subjectivity-in-action-in space is being practised ... Rather than seeing walking as a spatial practice, I see it as a subjective, environmental and unfolding practice or as a performance of self in spatio-temporal terms.

Walking should be construed as a type of 'dwelling' where individuals are located in context in their lived experiences (Anderson and Moles, 2008). So there is then a clear need to develop new methods to study environments (Hodgetts et al, 2011) and to find new ways to enable us to re-appropriate spaces (Bonnett, 1989).

This then brings us to the focus of this research of studying Manchester City Centre. In relation to current walking based research in qualitative psychology, there are a few studies that are important to discuss by Burnett et al. (2004), Grup de Lesbianes Feministes. (2005) and Precarias a la Deriva. (2005). These three studies are particularly relevant in that they make connections with the work of the situationists and psychogeography. This work makes connections with activist, artistic and radical work outside the epistemes of academia and directly considers all space as political and personal. In this paper I argue that qualitative research in psychology needs to be politicised to a greater extent than it is currently (Hayes, 2003).

The situationists and psychogeography

Whilst the work of the situationists is not 'academic' work it can be considered as artistic, radical and activist. Their work is useful to draw on in psychology, as I will now explain. The situationists conducted walks in towns and cities in order to challenge the capitalist ordering of space and to begin to imagine what environments could look like if these contexts were not underpinned by the

concerns of capitalism and consumerism. In the words of Khatib (1958), the aims were to create 'new situationist ambiences' which would lead to 'permanent change'. The situationists believed that Western society had been 'taken' over' by images and they were extremely critical of the consumerisation of everyday life and the capitalist gentrification of environments. They deployed various tactics to critique urbanism in modern cities by walking, subverting maps and radical writing.

The first situationist tactic that is important to this research is 'detournement'. This was a key political tactic for the situationists and referred to how dominant ruling class language (newspapers, political speeches, films and comics) should be re-arranged, subverted and altered in order to create new radical interpretations (International, 1959).

The second situationist tactic was the dérive, which makes most sense if it is described in relation to the situationist concept of psychogeography. Here, the dérive refers mainly to a particular mode of walking, with the aims being to explore the impact of the environment on one's experiences and behaviour. The aims of such tactics are to challenge the routine ways in which one travels through places for the usual purposes of leisure, work and home life. It is, essentially, a means to take oneself out of the usual process of going from A to B, in order to become 'disorientated' and to open oneself up to new experiences and situations. As cultural geographer Pinder (2005: 04) argued, 'chance encounters and uncanny resonances could disrupt dominant ways of seeing and potentially reveal the marvelous buried within the everyday'. So here we can see that the core aims are to challenge the dominant ways in which we experience environments and how we tend to make 'natural' links of consumption with cities. One writer argues that consumption is not just about the purchase of products but is now a 'thoroughly cultural phenomenon that serves to legitimate capitalism on an everyday basis' (Miles, 2010: 8). What needs to be done then is to interpret how consumerism is manifested in the 'physical-emotional environment' (Miles, 2010: 8).

If one considers the ways in which towns and cities are designed for use by its citizens, more often than not, these environments are designed to facilitate and increase the spending of its citizens on food, drinks, clothes, electronics and so on. Furthermore, towns and cities are generally designed so that people do not loiter. Nor do towns and cities generally accept those that do not have money to spend, i.e. young people, the working classes and poor immigrants. Therefore towns and cities are quite exclusionary in terms of accepting those that have the cultural capital to be able to buy expensive food, drink, clothes and so on. For those that fall outside these boundaries, these places are not generally areas to which they feel very accepted. Hence there is a need to reclaim these spaces, and to begin to imagine what towns and cities could look like if they were not underpinned by capitalism and consumerism.

Debord defines the practice of the dérive within the rubric of psychogeography, '*Psychogeography* could set for itself the study of the precise law and specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviours of individuals' (Debord, italics in original, 1955: n.p). Debord (1958: n.p) also argued that:

> Dérives involve playful constructive behaviour and awareness of psychogeographical effects, and are thus quite different from the classic notions of journey or stroll. In a dérive, one or more persons during a certain period drop their relations, their work and leisure activities and all other usual motives for movement and action, and let themselves be drawn by the attractions of the terrain and the encounters they find there. Chance is less an important factor in this activity than one might think: from a dérive point of view, cities have psychogeographical contours, with constant currents, fixed points and vortexes that strongly encourage and discourage entry into or exit from certain zones.

Therefore the aim of dérives is not simply to walk from A to B, but to explore what effects that environments invoke on individuals and to explore where one is draw towards and away from

(Debord, 1958). Ultimately, the aims of such walks would be to lead to 'direct, effective intervention' to create 'new situationist ambiences' which could lead to 'permanent change' (Khatib, 1958: n.p). In outlining the core ideas of the dérive, detournement and psychogeography, it is now necessary to discuss how this connects with my reflexive standpoint within this research and how such work can be written up.

Oene of the key weaknesses of situationist theory was that they did not reflect on their personal responses to environments nor did they reflectively consider how their standpoints shaped what they wrote about. I think that it is actually quite important to reflect on our standpoints in research. For this reason I draw on autoethnographical work (Ellis, 2000) to enable me to reflect on my position in the research and to shape how the research can be written. Autoethnographical research is written in a form that is quite similar to stories, poetry and photographs rather than conventional academic prose (Ellis, 2000; Ellis and Bochner, 2000). I do recognize that autoethnographical work is quite individualistic in nature (Atkinson, 1997), but what I do to deal with that problem is to consider a personal response as being located within wider social and political discourses. Therefore, what I argue for here is to write about one's reflexive response to environments using an autoethnographic methodology and to link this to situationist psychogeographical writing by Debord (1958). I draw on work by Burnett et al. (2004) as they provide an excellent example of how to reconcile some of the issues discussed here. They conducted a psychogeographical study in London, which was indebted to autoethnographical methods and they used diaries and cameras to document the dérive. They produced an account of the dérive, which was written as a story with accompanying photographs and reference to situationist, political and psychological theory.

In this paper, what I will do is provide a psychogeographical account of research conducted in Manchester city. As the work can be considered as 'fieldwork' where the data is collected 'on the move', it contributes to the new mobile methods paradigm. The next section of this paper addresses

the process of writing up psychogeographical research and I will discuss methodological issues as well as the data collection process.

Methodological issues

On being an artist, activist and academic

The research developed in this paper has largely evolved from earlier work where I engaged in writing situationist blogs, fanzines, creating autobiographical maps and doing talks and walks for the general public about situationism and psychogeography. I have also been involved in local psychogeography groups such as the Bored in the City Collective and the Loiterers Resistance Movement. I think that this experimentation with understanding the local geography of where I have lived, worked and spent time in has enabled me to think more creatively about how to do this sort of research. This would be a position which urban theorists such as Pinder (2005: 385) would support:

> Experimental arts and modes of exploration can play a vital role in the development of critical approaches to the geographies of cities, where they may challenge norms about how urban space is framed and represented, and where they may help to open up other possibilities.

I would argue that in order to do political research as a qualitative psychologist, that it is important to retain connection with the public and to participate in political social processes. The key theme across doing academic, artistic and activist work, is that this all hinges on the idea of theorising 'everyday life' and what needs to be changed in life. I draw on a post-structuralist position and argue that knowledge should not simply be used to retain the status quo values, practices and

institutions but that we should consider the transformative effects of knowledge and its relation to power in terms of what changes can be produced. Therefore, when we engage in doing research we should consider what sorts of changes can be enabled for people within society. We can consider what changes for us as researchers in terms of how we understand environments as well as considering what other peoples' responses could be to environments. Hence a multiple perspective is needed in order to study the theme of change. There is a need to use everyday forms of documentation gathering in order to study everyday life, i.e. cameras, diaries and stories. I do not see the worlds of academia, art and activism as being entirely separate and neither should they be. So then in considering my role within the research, it is important to take seriously what impact each of these social roles has on the production of one's work. Furthermore, in considering these worlds of art, activism and academia, this has led me to consider the theme of subjectivity. Here I would argue that I do not take a position as separate to that which I am researching. In the words of Plant (1992: 75):

> It is impossible for the subject to stand outside the spectacle and pronounce on it from a position of clean removal, and any attempt to develop a critical analysis of the totality of social relations and discursive relations must recognise that the meanings, tactics, and goals with which it works are always already implicated within the relations of power they resist.

Locating the research and researcher

Before I begin in presenting this analysis, I will lay out my standpoint in the research. This will make it more transparent in how I arrive at particular interpretations in the analysis that follows. First of all, my position in this work is as a young white male of mainly British and partly Greek origin. In terms of my political orientation, I position myself as a left wing, anti-capitalist, situationist-Marxist informed thinker. I would consider that I am middle class though my

upbringing but I do openly contest ruling class ideologies. I try to identify with the working class and with a vision of equal rights and justice for all. I have also recently become extremely interested in green issues in terms of living sustainably and in harmony with our environment. Therefore when I 'read' urban environments in this work, these are the lenses through which I understand such spaces and places. During my time as a PhD student in the Discourse Unit at Manchester Metropolitan University, I became interested in the political work of the situationists and I was curious to see what a dérive would be like if I were to do one myself. Moreover, I wanted to explore whether it could be a useful way to study environments and if it could be developed into a qualitative method. I chose Manchester city centre as the area of study because this was where I was living at the time and I wished to explore in more detail the place in which I had lived, studied and worked.

Preparing for the walk

Khatib's (1958) account of a dérive around the Les Halles district in Paris seemed to me to be particularly useful as it is one of the only complete 'situationist' accounts of a dérive. What I did next was to take the questions that he had raised in his work and relate it to the theoretical concerns of my research In this section, I include some reflective notes to some of the questions:

Table 1: Reflective questions that underpin the proposed dérive

This last question in the table, places central importance on how the observation of environments is necessary in order to work out what needs to be changed and what non-consumerist environments of the future could look like. The aim here is to consider the built environment, understand how environments are used and to envision new arrangements of these places.

Following these questions, I then decided to take some maps of Manchester city centre and the Arndale Centre (see the following web-link for a map of the Arndale Centre http://www.manchesterarndale.com/directions.aspx), and then worked out which areas that I would investigate. I began with the Arndale Centre in relation to the newly built Market Area in the ground floor on Corporation Street, the entrance/exit points on Market Street, the Food Court and the connecting tunnel linking the Arndale Centre with Marks and Spencer's and Selfridges, as well as stairs leading out into the area of the Manchester Eye and the Old Corn Exchange. Having worked out what areas of the Manchester Arndale Centre and surrounding areas that would be investigated, I then proceeded to consider how I would collect data.

Documenting the research

I used the Notes Application on my iPhone to write down my thoughts about the environments visited and by recording any meaningful encounters with others. This was done to keep a reflective log of my thoughts and experiences, which could be used to inform the write up of the research.

I took photographs to document the way in which I saw the environment that I was walking through. I wanted to use the photographs and a written narrative of what I did to tell a story about the dérive. To take a photograph is also a way to actively engage with 'moments' and involves capturing and framing particular scenes and people to highlight particular issues and themes. However I am not arguing for a tourist style of photography as the aims are not to depict landmarks and people. Instead the aims here are to engage in a research process that is similar to the photo-voice method (as outlined by Riley and Manias, 2007).

It is necessary to note that according to the Metropolitan Police Photography Advice (www.met.police.uk/about/photography.htm) the public do not need a permit to take photographs of

public places and the police have no power to stop the public photographing places or incidents unless they have reason to believe the person/s to be engaging in unlawful behaviour. However, lavatory facilities would not be considered as a 'public place'. Therefore people would not be expected to be photographed or filmed for security purposes in those environments. As this research would only involve taking photographs of people in public places there were no issues of consent as people would be expected to be filmed and photographed for the interests of public safety and to prevent theft. In fact, during the process of the research, no one asked why I was taking photographs nor did I observe that anyone looked at me in any strange sort of manner. The situation may have been rather different had I used a less unobtrusive camera such as a Single Lens Reflex Camera or a Medium Format Camera with a tripod.

The analysis

The next section of this research details an account of the dérive, which was conducted at the Arndale Centre in Manchester city. This account is written up as an autoethnographical narrative, with academic citations (from critical psychology, political theory and cultural geography arguments), photographs and poetry. It is largely written in the first person tense. The format of this account is also inspired by Burnett et al. (2004) whom conducted a dérive in London. This account takes two key themes which includes first of all, consumerism and privatisation and secondly, surveillance and social control. So having dropped my working obligations, I begin the dérive at the Market Street entrance as evidenced through photograph 1 of the Halle Square.

Figure 1 *Halle Square, Arndale Centre* by xxxx, 2001.

At first I did feel quite conscious and anxious at what I had planned as I would not be engaging in activities which I would usually do in this environment such as: shopping for clothes, eating out

with friends or getting to my part-time job in the city. The 'break' from my usual routine presented me with a challenge in how to do what the situationists referred to as detournement (diversion) from one's usual everyday behaviours. I referred to Khatib's (1958) paper about psychogeography and tried to think about the way in which the Arndale Centre was arranged in relation to what he had stated about the movement of people through entrance and exit points, walkways and various retail, cafes and restaurants. I referred to a map of the Arndale Centre and found that there were many cafes, restaurants and fast food outlets. The following photographs two and three show how functional city living is primarily about shopping, working and travelling.

Figure 2 *Shopping, travelling and eating in Manchester* by xxxx, 2011

Figure 3 *Shopping, working and travelling in Manchester* by xxxx, 2011

I decided to walk around the Arndale Centre. My intentions here were not to engage in what I would usually do in terms of shopping, eating out or getting to work. Instead I tried to adopt a flâneur mode of being in terms of wandering through the space and making notes of the movement of people through places. What I found was that by doing a dérive in the Arndale Centre, I actually spent a lot longer in that environment than I would usually do so. After about two hours I became quite tired and attributed this to the endless array of shops, which began to look none to dissimilar. I did begin to feel disorientation but wasn't sure whether this was the type of disorientation that the situationists had referred to in their dérive accounts.

People arrive into the city from the bus and train stations and move in a fairly forward motion into the city centre. I tend to avoid walking down into Market Street and the Arndale Centre as it tends to be extremely overcrowded and is awash with shops, cafes and fast food outlets that I would not choose to go to. Probably not too dissimilar to people of my age, the Northern Quarter of the city

provides an alternative hub of cafes, radical social centres and shops. However, as I am a keen psychogeographer, on many walks around the city both on my own and in groups of other Psychogeographers, I have investigated the Motorway ring roads, canal way paths, car parks and other less 'touristy' spaces of the city.

The design of the city is important to consider in relation to the theme of repetition, which I found to be a key theme during the research conducted here. As I walked around the Arndale Centre, the environment seemed quite homogenized. Whilst there were many different shops, cafes and restaurants, they all in fact looked the same as each other. In Lefebvre's (2004) work, he discusses the rhythm of city living and how this impacts on how people make sense of urban life. Amin and Thrift (2002) argue that rhythm can be seen as a metaphor for urbanism. Allen argues that this can include, 'anything from the regular comings and goings of people about the city to the vast range of repetitive activities, sounds and even smells that punctuate life in the city and which give many of those who live and work there a sense of time and location' (Allen, 1999: 56). I actually felt like I could have been in any shopping centre in England and there would not be much difference in what these places are like. The seemingly repetitive nature of the environment made me feel quite disorientated and it began to be quite difficult to take myself 'mentally' out of the environment to consider how it made me feel.

At this point during the dérive, I began to feel hungry and decided to go to the food court. This was something that I would not usually do as I do not like the food there. Nor does that sort of environment sit comfortably with my values of sustainability, recycling and green environmental issues. When I arrived at the food court, there was Taco Bell, McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken and a few more 'healthier' outlets including Spudulike and Subway. The seating area included chairs that did not look that comfortable and maybe were designed so that the public would not sit down for long periods of time. It could be argued that the chairs along with the fast food that is

usually meant to be eaten quickly would mean that people would not stay in this environment for a long time. So I chose to buy a jacket potato and then sat down with my food. Dotted around on the fringes of the food court were several security officers dressed in red tops. As the food court was open plan, there were no areas where people would not be noticed. Manzo (2005) argued that food courts in shopping centres have high surveillance systems in order to detect possible hooligans, terrorists and other criminals.

The theme of privacy in public spaces is certainly a key theme that is important to discuss here. In recent years, many towns and cities have become privatised. Take for example, the site of Piccadilly Gardens in Manchester, which was once a public garden for the people of Manchester, and where one large section of the space is now occupied by: business, retail, restaurants and cafes. Even though anyone can visit shopping centres, there are many people that actually feel excluded from these places such as the poor and homeless. Towns and cities can be sites of exclusions, particularly for those that do not have much money (Hodgetts et al. 2008).

It is useful here to consider Augé's (1992) theory of 'non-places'. He argues that shopping malls are 'non-places' where there is no meaning other than that provided by retail and corporate organisations. This is to do with the idea that through buying products that one can create a sense of social identity and a lifestyle. Furthermore, Augé (1992) argues that shopping malls are a-historical. This idea can be applied to the Abercrombie and Fitch store in the Arndale Centre in Manchester, where on approach to the store, there is no indication of what it is as there is no shop sign other than a little logo on the side step.

I observed that as people walked around the Arndale Centre that they did not really interact with anyone other than the odd eye contact. This observation would appear to connect with what Augé states, 'where people coexist or cohabit without living together' (1995: 110). Shopping centres do

reduce many opportunities for social interaction. However, it should be noted that in less corporatized areas of the Arndale Centre such as the Arndale Market, there were quite a few people that were engaging in conversations with one another as well as with workers in the cafes, stalls, meat and fish markets.

So then having walked endlessly around the Arndale Centre, the food court and the Arndale Market, I decided to walk through the glass tunnel to the building which houses Selfridges and Marks and Spencers. On route, I encountered many visual and textual motifs of consumerism such as 'The centre of your city', being encouraged to 'Shop. Eat. Relax. Treat' and to consider 'shopping, fashion, eating and drinking'. This could be represented as a new Western discourse of consumption that can be linked to individualism and consumer citizenship

Figure 4 *Santa, Selfridges and Capitalism* by xxxx, 2011

As a consequence of terrorist attacks in towns and cities such as Manchester, Warrington and London, security and surveillance has become an increasing concern for town planners, corporations and the public. One of the things that I noticed in the Arndale Centre, was the number of security cameras on the ceilings of the Arndale Centre, on buildings as well as there being many community wardens and police officers. Furthermore, in walking outside and around the Arndale Centre, I noticed several signs on shop windows such as Bhs and Marks and Spencers, which stated that closed-circuit television cameras were being used to prevent crime, to protect customers and employees and to detect and apprehend thieves and criminals.

Figure 5 *CCTV at the Triangle Shopping Centre* by xxxx, 2011

There were also several stickers at the bottom of the entrances and exits of the Arndale Centre that stated that exclusion orders were in operation and which depicted the shadow of a police officer on a purple background (Cityco Business Crime Reduction Partnership). This meant that the behaviour of all those within the Arndale Centre was being monitored by closed-circuit television cameras. Outside the Arndale Centre, there were even more rules and regulations pertaining to what individuals were allowed and not allowed to do. On each lamp post in between the Arndale Centre and the Triangle Shopping Centre, there were signs such as: 'Manchester City Council - Manchester City Council Byelaws - No skateboarding, skating, cycling or riding on wheels etc. Penalty £500', 'Pedestrian Zone - At Any Time', 'In the Interest of Safety - Please Refrain from Climbing On The Water Feature - Do Not Drink The Water' and 'Child Safe Zones - For Assistance Please Call 08700 62 27 97'. These signs seemed to be targeted at young people whom may be skateboarders, skaters, cyclists as well as those that may try to climb on the water features. Furthermore, to deter cars from driving into the retail environments of Harvey Nichols and other high profile stores, there were bollards, which looked like they had been aesthetically designed to prevent car access. Maybe this was done to prevent 'smash and grab' style thefts. It could be the case that such signage was put on shop windows because of what had happened during the British summer riots of 2011, where many shops and banks had been burnt and looted.

Figure 6 *Bollards prevent car access* by xxxx, 2011.

There were even more rules at drinking establishments such as the Crown and Anchor and Sinclair's Oyster Bar, including one sign which stated, 'POINT OF NO RETURN - It is an offence to carry glasses or open bottles beyond this point. Failure to comply could result in your arrest - THINK SAFE DRINK SAFE'. At the Crown and Anchor pub, there was a Manchester City Council sign which stated the maximum number of tables, chairs as well as maximum outside space which could be used, where tables and chairs were meant to be a certain length, width and height

and spacing in relation to each other. The area outside the Arndale Centre was more controlled than inside that place. Photograph seven visually shows the outside drinking area of Sinclair's Oyster Bar.

Figure 7 *Drinking zones outside Manchester pubs* by xxxx, 2011

At this point in the walk, I decided to walk towards Shudehill, where the Arndale Car Park is located. There on the wall by the car park, I noticed a red plaque 'Shudehill Fight: One of several food riots took place here. 4 people died and 15 were injured during the night of 14-15th November 1757'. Even though I had lived in Manchester for 8 years, I had never noticed this sign before.

At this point in the dérive, the night was drawing in and so I decided to conclude the study. In the next part of this analysis I present a map, which acts as a visual representation of the analysis. As mentioned previously in this paper, the research conducted here has been part of an ongoing psychogeographical project that I had begun in my PhD several years ago. I decided to create this map to demonstrate that there is more to the city of Manchester than simply shopping, eating, working and travelling. I used many different sources to inform the design of this map, which included drawing on old images and maps of Manchester and key historical events that have shaped the form of the city including the Peterloo Massacre. So instead of placing the main shopping district at the heart of the map (i.e Market Street and the Arndale Centre), I decided to put an image of the Peterloo Massacre at the centre. This is because I wanted people to think about the importance of this political event in shaping the history of the city as opposed to seeing Manchester simply as a city for tourism, shopping and work. I feel that this event is important to me in thinking about how Manchester has historically been a site of many class, race and feminist struggles. Many individuals and groups have been politically active in the city including the Suffragettes, people campaigning for their democratic rights in relation to the events of Peterloo, the workers of the

Industrial period that worked in terrible conditions and more recently new political groups including the Stop the War Campaign, Psychogeographers, the Psychology, Politics and Resistance Group and the Discourse Unit. Finally, the use of arrows in the map is indebted to Debord and Jorn's (1956) Naked City map, where they aimed to represent the movement of the working classes in the different districts of inner city Paris. What I have done with the map here is to use the arrows to indicate that people do not necessarily follow the 'prescribed' tourist and consumer routes set out for them by corporate developers and businesses.

Figure 8 *A new map of Manchester Arndale Centre* by xxxx, 2005.

In the next section of this work, I will reflect on the research produced as well as to consider the possibilities for envisioning cities like Manchester in ways other than for 'working, transport and living' (Bunting, 2011).

Conclusions

I do not offer this research paper as the only way to do psychogeographical research in psychology. I would hope that with the growth of mobile methods research that there will begin to be a greater consideration of the relations of individuals to environments, particularly to themes such as urbanism, regeneration, consumerism, social control and surveillance. This work develops a new method for considering the impact of urban environments on individuals and for mapping out psychogeographical qualitative research in psychology.

In relation to the analysis of the data, there were two themes, which emerged from the research process. The first theme I refer to here was consumerism and privatisation. What emerged through the tactics of the dérive and detournement was that I became more aware of how peoples'

movement through Manchester is governed through the form of the city and through the various corporate, consumer and tourist routes that can be taken.

The second theme discussed was surveillance and social control. This fits with Augé's notion of 'non-places'. Whilst Augé paints a quite negative picture of environments such as malls as being non-places, these are also sites where many people engage in meaningful social interactions with others. This can be evidenced in how many young people occupy spaces outside the Urbis, the Triangle Shopping Centre and the nearby water feature. It is important to note how many signs there are within such areas that communicate appropriate conduct and normative behaviour to young people. It is unfortunate that young people come under the most scrutiny from security officials, police officers and community wardens.

This then brings us to methodological research issues. This research raised many questions in terms of: what would a mobile methods investigation look like; whether the research should provide a strong theoretical, scientific and/or artistic focus and what would differentiate psychogeographical research from other qualitative studies of environments as well as other activist and artistic work. Indeed, it would seem that this research has raised a lot of useful questions to consider. I hope that this research has largely addressed these questions through the course of this paper.

Furthermore, within qualitative and critical psychology research, the role of the political is often not taken into account. This is something that should be centrally important to theorise within one's work and in everyday life. Vaneigem (1967: Thesis 4, chapter 11) discusses the importance of 'A language of lived experience, which, for me, merges with radical theory, the theory which penetrates the masses and becomes a material force'. Whilst I do not claim to be able to produce writing that can shape and change mass opinion, I would hope that one's writing could facilitate deeper reflections on issues of consumerism, gentrification and social change in everyday life.

Furthermore, the relationship between one's research and with everyday lived experience is often not considered in psychology research. It should be of central important to consider how the research produced in qualitative psychology can connect with the concerns of people outside of academia. Again, one of the strengths of drawing on theory and practice from outside of academia (i.e. the situationists) is that this provides one way to connect with the concerns of the public. It is important to make connections with other academics, artists and activists and the public. One way that I achieve this is by organising and doing walks, talks and other public events in towns and cities in the North of England.

It is important to consider the impact of how towns and cities make us feel and our views on urban gentrification and the consumerisation and corporatisation of public places. Psychogeography and other similar methods are useful ways in which to engage not only academics, but also artists, activists and the public in considering issues of structural and ideological change in the towns and cities in which we live, work and play. The wider aims of such work should be to begin to envision what towns and cities of the future could look like. Questions here include what would non-consumerist and non-corporate towns and cities look like? What needs to be changed in our towns and cities? How do we involve marginalised groups within towns and cities? How do the different environments within towns and cities make us feel? Are there any other better alternatives to the endless number of seemingly identical shops, cafe and restaurants within 'our' towns and cities?

Whilst this research provides what is hopefully a strong methodological grounding to conduct autoethnographical psychogeographical research, it is important to begin to develop group based research, as I will now explain. I suggest here that future psychogeographical research in psychology could involve doing dérives with various groups that use these particular environments such as workers, the elderly, parents and teenagers (i.e. the Manchester Modernists, The Loiterers Resistance Movement, the Shrieking Violets and the Bored in the City Collective). It would be

particularly interesting to conduct research with those that feel 'marginalised' within these environments to explore what their experiences are. These arguments could then be used to consider a wide array of various perspectives on understanding environments and to also consider the important theme of political social change. This would include what sorts of changes to environments that could be useful and to begin to envision new ways in which environments and society could be configured and developed.

Other questions that this research has raised, includes: what has this research changed? How can methods such as the dérive and detournement be used to facilitate new understandings of environments? There are no clear answers to these questions, but there are several ways in which to address these concerns. First of all, using mobile methods does not change anything physically within environments. However, the very act of moving through environments and considering questions such as how places make us feel and what alternative ways in which places could be used, should lead us to begin to think imaginatively about what alternative future towns and cities could look like. Hopefully, these future towns and cities could look very different to the current consumerist and corporate look of towns and cities in the United Kingdom and other Western countries.

However, one key issue here is that in attempting to do 'radical' research, there is always the potential of becoming 'co-opted'. As Plant argues, 'Radical academics provided the appearance of revolutionary critique while similarly reproducing the specialisations of knowledge and the lucrative elitism of their own roles' (Plant, 1992: 76). Maybe one way to address this critique is for academics to make connections with artists, activists and the public in order to challenge the dominant neoliberal 'order of things'. For example in the recent Occupy movements in Wall Street, NewYork and London, England, many public workers sector workers, students, and academics have been using situationist techniques such as the dérive and detournement to occupy 'public'

spaces in order to address current political issues such as: the exploitation of the masses by a 1% elite, raising questions as to who owns our towns and cities and where are the public non-corporate and consumerist spaces and to consider how towns and cities can be reclaimed by the people.

Indeed, McKenzie Wark (2011) argues that the work of the situationists can be used as a model for new forms of social engagement in order to re-occupy and reclaim environments. Maybe then the words 'occupy' and 'occupation' would be more appropriate ways to understand environments and what needs to changed structurally and ideologically. McKenzie Wark (2011) also argues that people should detourn the tactics of the situationists, which I argue should be a point that should be taken seriously when developing psychogeographical approaches.

This then brings us full circle in this paper, as one of the original aims of the research was to evaluate the extent to which situationist tactics such as the dérive and detournement could be used in qualitative research. The Occupy movements raise important issues in how public and private spatial divisions no longer reflect the reality of public space. This has certainly been the case with the Occupy movement outside St. Paul's Cathedral in London, where the 'protestors' raised important questions regarding the relationship of the Church to the State and the Banking World as well as raising questions such as 'what would Jesus do' about the banking crisis and whether or not to 'lawfully' evict the protesters from outside the Church.

Indeed, Madelaine Bunting (2011), a journalist working for *The Guardian*, has argued that public spaces should be places for 'conviviality, learning and participation', rather than simply being about 'working, transport and shopping'. The questions that the situationists raised in the late 1950s, are still the same sorts of questions that people are raising today. There are clearly many important social, cultural and political issues that we as qualitative psychologists need to engage with in order to think things anew and to envision a different order of things. The themes of space, place and

environments are then important means through which to theorise new ways of being and to consider alternatives to the present order of things.

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