Introduction

> *Psychogeography: a beginner's guide. Unfold a street map of London, place a glass, rim down, anywhere on the map, and draw round its edge. Pick up the map, go out into the city, and walk the circle, keeping as close as you can to the curve. Record the experience as you go, in whatever medium you favour: film, photograph, manuscript, tape. Catch the textual run-off of the streets; the graffiti, the branded litter, the snatches of conversation. Cut for sign. Log the data-stream. Be alert to the happenstance of metaphors, watch for visual rhymes, coincidences, analogies, family resemblances, the changing moods of the street. Complete the circle, and the record ends. Walking makes for content; footage for footage.*
>
> Robert MacFarlane, *A Road of One's Own*.[1]

Psychogeography. A term that has become strangely familiar – strange because, despite the frequency of its usage, no one seems quite able to pin down exactly what it means or where it comes from. The names are familiar too: Guy Debord and the Situationists, Iain Sinclair and Peter Ackroyd, Stewart Home and Will Self. Are they all involved? And if so, in what? Are we talking about a predominantly literary movement or a political strategy, a series of new age

ideas or a set of avant-garde practices? The answer, of course, is that psychogeography is all of these things, resisting definition through a shifting series of interwoven themes and constantly being reshaped by its practitioners.

The origins of the term are less obscure and can be traced back to Paris in the 1950s and the Lettrist Group, a forerunner of the Situationist International. Under the stewardship of Guy Debord, psychogeography became a tool in an attempt to transform urban life, first for aesthetic purposes but later for increasingly political ends. Debord's oft-repeated 'definition' of psychogeography describes 'The study of the specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals.'[2] And in broad terms, psychogeography is, as the name suggests, the point at which psychology and geography collide, a means of exploring the behavioural impact of urban place. And yet this term is, according to Debord, one with a 'pleasing vagueness'[3]. This is just as well, because, since his day, the term has become so widely appropriated and has been used in support of such a bewildering array of ideas that it has lost much of its original significance.

Debord was fiercely protective of his brainchild and dismissive of attempts to establish psychogeography within the context of earlier explorations of the city. But psychogeography has resisted its containment within a particular time and place. In escaping the stifling orthodoxy of Debord's situationist dogma, it has found both a revival of interest today and retrospective validation

in traditions that pre-date Debord's official conception by several centuries.

In a book of this size, one must inevitably offer an introduction and an overview rather than an exhaustive analysis and those seeking a meticulous examination of psychogeographical ideas within the strict confines of Debord's schema are likely to be disappointed. I will be discussing the origins and theoretical underpinning of the term but, to my mind, of far greater interest than this often rather sterile debate, is an examination of the literary tradition that psychogeographical ideas have since engendered and out of which they can clearly be shown to have originated. Through this, I have broadened the scope of the book to include separate but allied ideas. So urban wandering will be discussed here alongside the figure of the mental traveller, the flâneur and the stalker. The rigorous and scientific approach of the Situationists will be offset by the playful and subjective methods of the Surrealists. Key figures from the psychogeographical revival, such as Iain Sinclair and Stewart Home, will be preceded by their often unacknowledged forebears, from Blake and de Quincey to Baudelaire and Benjamin. For psychogeography may usefully be viewed less as the product of a particular time and place than as the meeting point of a number of ideas and traditions with interwoven histories. In large part, this history of ideas is also a tale of two cities, London and Paris. Today, psychogeographical groups and organisations (many of whom are listed in an appendix to this book) operate worldwide but the themes

with which this book is concerned rarely stray beyond these two locations.

The reason why psychogeography often seems so nebulous and resistant to definition is that today it appears to harbour within it such a welter of seemingly unrelated elements, and yet amongst this mélange of ideas, events and identities, a number of predominant characteristics can be recognised. The first and most prominent of these is the activity of walking. The wanderer, the stroller, the flâneur and the stalker – the names may change, but from the nocturnal expeditions of de Quincey to the surrealist wanderings of Breton and Aragon, from the situationist *dérive* to the heroic treks of Iain Sinclair, the act of walking is ever present in this account. This act of walking is an urban affair and in cities that are increasingly hostile to the pedestrian, it inevitably becomes an act of subversion. Walking is seen as contrary to the spirit of the modern city with its promotion of swift circulation and the street-level gaze that walking requires allows one to challenge the official representation of the city by cutting across established routes and exploring those marginal and forgotten areas often overlooked by the city's inhabitants. In this way the act of walking becomes bound up with psychogeography's characteristic political opposition to authority, a radicalism that is confined not only to the protests of 1960s Paris but also to the spirit of dissent that animated both Defoe and Blake, as well as the vocal criticism of London governance to be found in the work of contemporary London psychogeographers such as Stewart Home and Iain Sinclair.

Alongside the act of walking and this spirit of political radicalism, psychogeography also demonstrates a playful sense of provocation and trickery. With roots in the avant-garde activities of the Dadaists and Surrealists, psychogeography and its practitioners provide a history of ironic humour that is often a welcome counterbalance to the portentousness of some its more jargon-heavy proclamations. If psychogeography is to be understood in literal terms as the point where psychology and geography intersect, then one of its further characteristics may be identified in the search for new ways of apprehending our urban environment. Psychogeography seeks to overcome the processes of 'banalisation' by which the everyday experience of our surroundings becomes one of drab monotony. The writers and works that will be discussed here all share a perception of the city as a site of mystery and seek to reveal the true nature that lies beneath the flux of the everyday.

This sense of urban life as essentially mysterious and unknowable immediately lends itself to gothic representations of the city. Hence the literary tradition of London writing that acts as a precursor to psychogeography, and which includes writers such as Defoe, de Quincey, Robert Louis Stevenson and Arthur Machen, paints a uniformly dark picture of the city as the site of crime, poverty and death. Indeed, crime and lowlife in general remain a hallmark of psychogeographical investigation and the revival of psychogeography in recent years has been supported by a similar resurgence of gothic forms. Sinclair and Ackroyd are particularly representative of this tendency to dramatise the

city as a place of dark imaginings. This obsession with the occult is allied to an antiquarianism that views the present through the prism of the past and which lends itself to psychogeographical research that increasingly contrasts a horizontal movement across the topography of the city with a vertical descent through its past. As a result, much contemporary psychogeography approximates more to a form of local history than to any geographical investigation.

These then are the broad currents with which psychogeography concerns itself and which the traditions outlined in this book reveal: the act of urban wandering, the spirit of political radicalism, allied to a playful sense of subversion and governed by an inquiry into the methods by which we can transform our relationship to the urban environment. This entire project is then further coloured by an engagement with the occult and is one that is as preoccupied with excavating the past as it is with recording the present.

In outlining these themes and the traditions that support them this book will, in effect, provide a history of psychogeographical ideas and will be ordered chronologically. It will close in the present day with those writers and filmmakers who have successfully restored psychogeography to the dominant position it now enjoys, but finding a place to begin is more problematic. I have chosen to place psychogeography within a predominantly literary tradition and, within this broad context, the examination of the relationship between the city and the behaviour of its inhabitants can be seen to be as old as the novel itself. In

English writing, or more particularly in London writing, there is a visionary tradition that is best represented by the motif of the imaginary voyage, a journey that reworks and re-imagines the layout of the urban labyrinth and which records observations of the city streets as it passes through them. The earliest examples of this tradition are in fact pioneering psychogeographical surveys of the city and the first of these was conducted by a pioneer of the novel in English, Daniel Defoe.

Defoe's contribution to the history of psychogeography is twofold. On the one hand his novel *Robinson Crusoe* releases a character who not only haunts the subsequent history of the novel itself but who also provides a curious intersection with the evolution of psychogeography. As we shall see, the figure of Robinson links Defoe to Rimbaud and the flâneur as well as to more recent incarnations of the urban wanderer in the films of Patrick Keiller. But it is in his *Journal of the Plague Year* that Defoe provides the prototype psychogeographical report and, in the process, establishes London as the most resonant of all psychogeographical locations.

Defoe's fictional reconstruction of the plague year of 1665 was written in 1722, some sixty years after the event, and depicts London as an unknowable labyrinth, a blueprint of the city that was to form the basis for later gothic representations. The successful navigation of such a city is dependent upon the composition of a mental map, which can be transposed upon its physical layout, but this mental composition is dislocated by the progress of the plague

which renders a familiar topography strange and threatening. Here, Defoe foreshadows the subjective reworking of the city that the Situationists were to promote and his figure of an urban wanderer, who moves aimlessly across the city before reporting back with his observations, has since become a crucial part of psychogeographical practice.

Defoe inaugurates a tradition of London writing in which the topography of the city is refashioned through the imaginative force of the writer. Peter Ackroyd has described a visionary strand of English writing in which London is overlaid by the fictional and poetic reworking of successive figures, creating patterns of continuity and resonance that can be detected by those attuned to the city's eternal and unchanging rhythms. These 'Cockney Visionaries' are thus able to recognise sites of psychic and chronological resonance and can align these points in order to remap the city. Elsewhere this sense of an eternal landscape underpinning our own has been termed *genius loci* or 'sense of place', a kind of historical consciousness that exposes the psychic connectivity of landscapes both urban and rural. In recognition of such resonance, Defoe is followed by William Blake whose poetry celebrates the spiritual city behind our own, the New Jerusalem whose coordinates he identifies within the streets of the eighteenth-century city. Blake's vision is rooted in his wanderings through the streets, his appreciation of the eternal evident in the familiar and unchanging experiences of its inhabitants. Blake, like Defoe before him, allies this sense of the visionary with the voice of

dissent, his poetry questioning both the political and intellectual systems of his day and promoting the personal and subjective in opposition to the prevailing mechanised and systematic modes of thought. For if the New Jerusalem is to be established, then it must be preceded by the revolutionary overthrow and destruction of the power structures of the day. This call for renewal through revolution was to become the hallmark of situationist thought some two centuries later.

If Defoe and Blake provide the imaginative impetus for psychogeographical ideas, it is Thomas de Quincey who stands as their first actual practitioner. The drug-fuelled ramblings through the London of de Quincey's youth anticipate the aimless drifting and creative revelry of both surrealist and situationist experimentation. De Quincey is the prototype psychogeographer, his obsessive drifting affording him new insights into the life of the city and granting him access to the invisible community of the marginalised and dispossessed. For de Quincey the city becomes a riddle, a puzzle still perplexing writers and walkers to this day, and he establishes a vision of the city replayed by later devotees of the urban gothic such as Robert Louis Stevenson and Arthur Machen. These authors continue the tradition of writer as walker established, at least in urban form, by de Quincey and present the city as a dreamscape in which nothing is as it seems and which can only be navigated by those possessing secret knowledge. This image of the city as subject to arcane and occult knowledge and practices becomes something of a staple in

contemporary psychogeographical accounts. Stevenson's *Jekyll and Hyde* transposes the psychological doubling of the protagonist on to the topography of the city itself, his mental division reflected in an equally divided city in which wealth and respectability conceal the existence of poverty and depravity. And while Stevenson continues in the tradition of the city established by Defoe, Machen extends de Quincey's role as urban wanderer, his explorations of the city's outer limits positioning him as a direct influence upon contemporary psychogeographers such as Iain Sinclair. Machen once again seeks out the strange and otherworldly within our midst – a single street, event or object capable of transforming the most mundane surroundings into something strange or sinister, revealing that point of access, called the Northwest Passage by de Quincey, which provides an unexpected shortcut to the magical realm behind our own.

This strand of visionary London writing is concluded by a figure whose influence upon psychogeography today has been largely overlooked. Alfred Watkins' book *The Old Straight Track* was neglected upon its publication in 1925, but thanks to a revival of interest through the emergence of new age ideas in the 1970s, it has gained an occult significance barely warranted by the original text. It is a study of ley lines, those alignments linking sites and objects of prehistoric antiquity that provide a means of reading the landscape anew. Watkins applied his theory largely to rural landscapes but he did identify some urban leys and it was these that inspired Iain Sinclair in his

celebrated remapping of London through an alignment of those churches designed by the architect Nicholas Hawksmoor.

This is the visionary tradition that takes London as its centre and which has provided a wellspring for many of today's psychogeographic ideas. A home-grown tradition that has completely circumvented the work of Debord and the Situationists but which clearly demonstrates an involvement with many of the same ideas. But my analysis of Debord's ideas is postponed further by the examination of another tradition which, while taking Paris as its starting point, focuses not upon the 1950s but a century before.

Just as London can be shown to have its own tradition of visionary walkers and writers, so one can trace the development of a corresponding tradition on the other side of the Channel. In Paris, the figure of the solitary stroller who both records and comes to symbolize the emergence of the modern city has a name – the *flâneur*.

This figure has become the source of much cultural commentary in recent years and while his existence would appear to provide a clear forerunner for the situationist *dérive*, Debord, clearly anxious to promote the originality of his ideas, was wilfully to overlook the influence of a figure who was, in essence, conducting a psycho-geographical survey of Paris street life some one hundred years earlier.[4]

I will be examining the role of this figure in some detail in a later chapter through a discussion of Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin, in whose work the *flâneur* is first

identified. And yet both these writers acknowledge an earlier portrayal of the detached observer walking the streets, in Edgar Allan Poe's short story *The Man of the Crowd*. This story returns to the streets of London and it is here that the crowd first comes to symbolise the changing nature of the modern city. It was through Baudelaire's translations of Poe that this figure first became equated with a specifically European tradition, for the *flâneur* is not to be associated with the frantic bustle of the London street but with the elegant arcades of Paris. These arcades were soon to be demolished in favour of a more strictly regimented topography and even as the *flâneur* first emerges, he is recognised as a nostalgic figure symbolising not only the birth of the modern city but also the destruction of his former home. The fate of the *flâneur* is bound up with the fate of the city he inhabits and his very existence acts as an indication of the struggles later generations of urban walkers will have to face as the city is redeveloped in a manner increasingly hostile to their activities.

With the street no longer his home the would-be stroller is forced to retreat inwards and to internalise his wandering from the safety of his armchair. The figure of the stationary traveller was to be immortalised in Huysmans' notorious decadent novel *Against Nature (Á Rebours)* in which the domesticated *flâneur* Des Esseintes contrasts the advantages of mental travel with the discomfort of the real thing. Rimbaud was to coin the verb *robinsonner*, meaning to travel mentally, in recognition of this very activity, and as the nineteenth century closes, it becomes increasingly difficult

to distinguish between the figure of the *flâneur* and the mental or stationary traveller. With the rise of the avant-gardes in Paris after the First World War these two concepts were to merge, the Surrealists promoting a brand of automatism in which the urban wanderer is governed solely by the dictates of his unconscious mind. In true Freudian fashion, these unconscious drives were dominated by the sexual impulse and the walks conducted by André Breton, Louis Aragon and others seemed to revolve unerringly around the pursuit of beautiful women. The city had become a primarily erotic location and the prostitute came to represent the female *flâneur* or *flâneuse*. It is in Breton's *Nadja* and Aragon's *Paris Peasant* that we find the blueprint for what has been described as the psychogeographical novel. With their absence of plot and a digressive style that mirrors the aimless journeys they recount, these two novels are the clearest pre-situationist accounts of psycho-geography in action. With its account of Haussmann's redevelopment of the city and the destruction of the arcades, *Paris Peasant* also introduces an element of political protest that first recognises the future role of the urban wanderer, as the detached observer is forced to face up to the destruction of the city and to engage in the struggle against it. Here, in a manner later to be replicated in contemporary critiques of Thatcherite redevelopment in London, Aragon's work demonstrates the future trajectory of psychogeography as it moves away from primarily literary and artistic concerns in favour of a spirit of political intervention. The *flâneur* can no longer stand by the wayside

as an impartial observer, for the destruction of the city demands his opposition to it. The rise of the *flâneur* and the history of the urban wanderer in Paris may be characterised as a process of political awakening. From Baudelaire and Benjamin to Breton and Aragon, Paris is represented as a place of growing unrest and radicalism, and in this new environment the wanderer was soon engaged in an attempt to reclaim the streets.

By the end of the Second World War, the Surrealist movement was effectively finished but the avant-garde in Paris lived on through a number of truly obscure (indeed, barely visible) groups who were increasingly discarding earlier artistic preoccupations in favour of political projects inspired by the prevailing intellectual fashion for Marxist revisionism. It was through one such group, the Lettrist International, that psychogeography first found its way in to print. The first issue of the Lettrist journal *Potlatch* in 1954 contained a 'Psychogeographical Game of the Week' and this was quickly followed in *Potlatch* #2 by Debord's 'Exercise in Psychogeography.' I have included these articles in full in my discussion of Debord but those looking for a cogent expression of psychogeographical ideas will be disappointed by these uninspired offerings. Indeed the Lettrist movement as a whole, while providing a debut for many of the terms later made familiar by the Situationists, remains difficult to take seriously.

In 1957 the Lettrists merged with other even less significant groups and the Situationist International was born. Under Debord's leadership the playful but harmless

activities of the Lettrists soon gave way to a more serious-minded attempt to challenge the bourgeois orthodoxies of the day. As a more rigorous and scientific approach was adopted, at odds with the more subjective style of its predecessors, definitions of the key terms were provided, amongst them Debord's famous definition of psychogeography as well as a detailed account of the roles of the *dérive* and *détournement*. These definitions will be discussed at a later stage in this book, but despite this clear engagement with psychogeography as a tool in the refashioning of the urban environment, it would be quite misleading to equate psychogeography as a single technique with the larger strategies of situationism as a whole. In fact psychogeography only plays a minor role in the history of the Situationist International and after 1960 it was to receive barely any mention at all. Certainly it is noticeable by its absence in the two major theoretical statements of the movement, Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* and Raoul Vaneigem's *The Revolution of Everyday Life* which turn towards a more philosophical engagement with larger questions of society and history. The reasons for psychogeography's apparent demotion are not difficult to find, for behind the endless theoretical statements and manifestos there appears to be next to no actual psychogeographical activity taking place. The style may have changed but these increasingly ambitious pronouncements reveal little more in terms of actual results than the openly ludicrous antics of the Lettrists. The few examples produced are rather fragmentary and mundane descriptions

that read like an outdated travel guide and the Situationists themselves appear to have recognised as much. Soon, their former enthusiasm for psychogeography was to be redirected into Debord's increasingly grandiose plans for world domination. In short, a great deal of legwork was expended for little obvious reward and, as a scientific tool for measuring the emotional impact of urban space, situationist psychogeography must be regarded as an abject failure.

By 1962, further splits resulted in Debord distancing himself even further from the more artistic and subjective components of situationism, that had characterised its early years, in favour of the political radicalism that was to culminate in the Paris uprising of 1968. Ultimately, Debord was to acknowledge that his attempts to fashion psychogeography into a rigorous scientific discipline placed the methodology at odds with the subject of his investigation, as the subjective realm of human emotion remained stubbornly resistant to the objective mechanisms he chose to employ.

As a useful addendum to the lettrist and situationist approach to urban wandering, I have included a brief discussion of a later theoretical account of walking the city in Michel de Certeau's often impenetrable *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Taking New York as his subject, de Certeau provides a useful distinction between the street-level gaze of the walker and the panoptical perspective of the voyeur, but like Debord before him, de Certeau's comments cannot help but demonstrate the clear limitations

theoretical systems face in attempting to capture the often incommunicable relationship between a city and its inhabitants. In this sense, psychogeography is ironically less well served by those theories with which it is most closely associated. The programmatic approach of social theorists and geographers is in this instance unable to accurately reflect the imaginative reworking of the environment that has been conducted so successfully by those writers whose works celebrate contemporary London. And it is these works that I shall be discussing in my final chapter in a return to the city where this account begins.

An indication of the degree to which this subject has today entered the cultural mainstream is to be found in the plethora of internet sites devoted to psychogeography and related ideas. But the roots of this newfound popularity and the corresponding rise of a global psychogeographic community are dependent not upon activists and theorists but are once again grounded in a primarily literary response to our modern technological landscape. As the Situationist movement in Paris petered out, it was in Shepperton that JG Ballard was composing a series of novels depicting the extreme behavioural responses provoked by the new suburban hinterlands of motorways and retail parks. The fictional forays into this suburban non-place, recorded most notoriously in *Crash*, were extremely influential in propelling the focus of psychogeographical investigation outward from the increasingly repackaged heritage cores of the inner city towards the previously overlooked suburban spaces that now encircle all modern cities.

Ballard's cautionary tales of neon-lit nightmare, in which unexpectedly deviant strains of human activity find an outlet, remapped psychogeography's traditional sphere and pointed the way for other writers to re-examine these anonymous and neglected regions. The most implicated successor to Ballard's reworking of the psychogeographical agenda has been Iain Sinclair who, more than any other figure, has been responsible for the rebranding of psychogeography into an accessible and popular format. Sinclair's *Lud Heat*, a meditation upon the occult significance of Hawksmoor's London churches, was to find a wider audience through Peter Ackroyd's deployment of similar ideas in his novel *Hawksmoor* and Sinclair drew heavily upon both the theory of ley lines established by Alfred Watkins and the gothic themes of Stevenson and Machen. Sinclair has been explicit in his resurrection of these earlier traditions, and while his work bypasses the political and theoretical engagement of the Situationists, it is coloured by an impassioned critique of Thatcherite redevelopment of the city. Today, he is the example of writer as walker *par excellence*, his walks in and around the city providing both documentary evidence of political mismanagement and revealing those paranoid conspiracies which have since become the hallmark of modern psychogeography.

Another writer as walker, albeit one who less overtly documents his movements, is Peter Ackroyd, and it is around the Sinclair-Ackroyd axis that most London writing, psychogeographic or otherwise, appears to rotate. Ackroyd's historical re-enactments and panoramic sense of

London's past are coupled to a peculiar theory of chronological resonance in which past events are continuously replayed. These occult concerns display an acute sensitivity to the city's particular spatial and historical connectivity and would appear to establish Ackroyd's position at the heart of London psychogeography. But in reality, Ackroyd's relationship to psychogeographical thought is far more ambivalent. As a direct consequence of his insistence upon London's eternal nature, Ackroyd's position is one of inherent conservatism in which all change is subsumed within this unending historical overview. Such conservatism is, of course, at odds with psychogeography's characteristic political radicalism and, as a result, Ackroyd has distanced himself from the very tradition that his work appears to endorse.

If Ackroyd's espousal of psychogeography is one in which political commitment is sacrificed to historical tradition, then Stewart Home goes some way to reversing this process, positively revelling in his anti-literary position and parodying the current fashion for antiquarianism. Home has positioned himself as a theoretically alert successor to earlier avant-garde practitioners, his promotion of plagiarism, pranksterism and political radicalism recalling the activities of both the Situationists and the Dadaists before them. His output of sexually graphic, ultra-violent anti-novels is as impossible to take seriously as the deployment of Hegelian terminology in his numerous theoretical statements. And yet his involvement in or behind any number of psycho-geographic groups is a reminder of psychogeography's role

as an avant-garde activity as much as simply a literary endeavour and Home's injection of humour is a welcome antidote to the more straight-faced character of much current psychogeographical production.

I have chosen to close my outline of the history and evolution of psychogeographic ideas with a return to the figure with which this account was initiated. Patrick Keiller's films *London* and *Robinson in Space* recall Defoe's hero who, once escaped from the isolation of his desert island, has dogged the history of psychogeography ever since. Keiller's *London* is a meditation upon the city that has remained at the forefront of psychogeography and it describes the degree to which it remains resistant to the role of the wanderer more than a century after the arrival of the *flâneur* in the form of émigré poets such as Apollinaire and Rimbaud. *London* combines a consideration of the failure of this European sensibility to take hold here with an examination of the city's contemporary shortcomings. Typically these failings are perceived to be exclusively the result of Thatcherism but Keiller's films act as a useful corrective to the prevailing sense of psychogeography as somehow engaged in the protection of the city against the forces of government. Instead Keiller demonstrates the way in which psychogeography has fallen victim to its own success, its rebranding in a newly popular form depriving it of that very spirit of political activism which, as these films demonstrate, has never been so urgently required. Keiller has characterised psychogeography as increasingly preoccupied with its own

practices as an end in themselves, no longer the tool of any larger political or even cultural project but simply a self-contained and self-immersed movement with little significant impact on the environment whose redevelopment it has so vocally denounced.

Ultimately this introduction to the history, ideas and practice of psychogeography has favoured the literary over the theoretical, preferring to ignore the Situationists' claims for the originality of their own ideas by placing them within the wider historical context that gave rise to them. But this emphasis on the literary should not overshadow the spirit of political protest with which these ideas have traditionally been imbued. Indeed, as we now return to the origins of psychogeography and look in greater detail at the role of Defoe, Blake and the tradition they established, we should recall the degree to which their imaginative vision and their political beliefs were bound together.

Notes

[1] Robert MacFarlane, 'A Road of One's Own' *Times Literary Supplement*, October 07, 2005

[2] Guy Debord, 'Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography' in Ken Knabb (Ed) *Situationist International Anthology*, p5

[3] Ibid, p5

[4] Rebecca Solnit makes this point, commenting: 'That *flâneury* seemed to Debord a radical new idea all his own is somewhat comic.' *Wanderlust*, p212