

PART ONE

PREDEPARTURE

## CHAPTER 1

In most of the cases with which French had been connected in the course of his long career, the great difficulty had been to find lines of investigation likely to yield profitable clues. Often for weeks at a stretch he had marked time, feeling himself up against a seemingly blank wall, unable to think of any method of approach to his problem which might give him a hint of the truth. In this case, so far at least, it was very different. There were so many avenues to be explored that his greatest difficulty was to decide which was the most promising. During lunch he turned the question over in his mind.

. . . FREEMAN WILLS CROFTS  
The Mystery in the Channel

## I

I trust by now that you have gathered that the prolegomena were an attempt to define the field of psychogeography. The word 'field' should be read for what it really is, not a word identical to 'discipline', but rather some sort of poetic metaphor. One imagines fields of waving grasses glossed with flowers of varied hue stretching nearly to the horizon. In these fields of our imaginings we are wont to wander hither and yon, stooping on occasion in elegant grace to pluck a clump of clover, all the while musing self-consciously on the enormity of life. Psychogeography is just such a field as this, and what you have been reading is a description of this field as it might be on one of the finer days of late summer after the bees have wreaked their havoc and the grasses are a riot with life beneath the heady summer sun. But psychogeography is now still winter-dormant. What follows might be seen as the first mummurings of spring.

## I I

The project I am about to describe to you was conceived in its broadest outlines by Robert J. Beck, a psychogeographer, currently in the School of Geography at Clark University. I was in a seminar he was giving jointly with Kenneth Craik and apparently I was performing impressively for one day I ran into Beck in the halls.

"How would you like to go to Europe this summer?" he asked me.

Slightly stunned I replied, "I don't know. What's it about?" It was rather a bolt from the blue for me as I had scarcely spoken to him prior to this.

"Well, I'll be traveling around with about thirty kids watching them experience Europe for the first time. It ought to be fun." He paused and smiled, "Want to come along?"

"Well, I'd like to know more about it anyhow. Why don't we get together and talk about it sometime." I pulled my watch out of my pocket and made anxious movements.

"O.K.," he said and that was all I heard about it for a month.

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I won't bother you with all of the drawn-out agonizing decisions between that first causal encounter and my decision to work with Beck on

the project. It would profit many to read that story, no doubt, but it would also be slightly out of place. At any event the decision was made, and one night I found myself closeted with Beck going over his notes for the project. What he had in hand were two things: a sample, to consist of thirty or so kids who were going to spend thirty-five days rushing madly about Europe, and forty pages of completely whacked-out notes. He had a project all right, but he had it by the tail. It was early March and by July we had to leave and leave ready. I am telling you the history of all this for a reason. If you have ever read a typical report of a scientific venture it reads all cut and dried, as though some guys sat around and came up with some hypotheses, turned them via professional expertise into an experiment, went out and got a sample of people, did the experiment, analyzed the results and brought home the bacon. Well, there actually are some projects that run like this, but I don't know of any. Most seem more like our's. I'd like you to at least get some idea of what can be involved, before you get involved.

Beck's first notes contained the germ of what we were going to do. The experience of the kids was to be seen from three vantage points: before the trip, on, and after the trip. In each of these three slices, four factors were to be investigated: the characteristics of the kids, the characteristics of the group of kids, the characteristics of the tour, and the characteristics of the environments the tour would take the group of kids through. To give you some idea of what Beck thought we might accomplish, let me run through some of his notes on this last factor, the environmental one. In general we were to try to get at a person's comprehension of the total layout and pattern of geographic features, comprehension referring to "cognitive orientation and feelings and values which accompany orientation." (Beck, 1971). We were to try and get at the kids' sense of Europe as a whole, their sense of individual locations (e.g. Rome) including comprehension of geographic properties such as landmarks, natural features, gross patterns of architectural features, city districts, topography, historical locations and points of interest. We were to try and get at their sense of resource locations, such as shopping streets and districts, post-offices, churches, restaurants, theaters and so on, or all those points or events in the environment capable of being exploited as opposed to merely visited. We were to try and get at their experience of all the above in sequence, their comprehension of the connections between places at the scale of Europe as well as within particular locations. Furthermore, we were to try and deal with their comprehension of architectural features. 'Place' for Beck included people and their culture as something distinct from the foregoing. We were to investigate comprehension of three groups of people (children, teenagers, and adults) as to physiognomy, gestures and movements, language, social associations and groupings. We wanted to investigate comprehension of manners, habits, spacings, conversational distances,

bodily contact, as well as the kids' perception of psychological qualities of foreigners such as friendliness, aggressiveness, sincerity, honesty, privacy and ten others. Finally we wanted to investigate comprehension of the things and products of material culture such as money, food, clothing, tools, furniture and so on with respect to design, quality, value and information. Please realize that this is a condensation of several pages of notes about merely one factor to be looked into. All four factors were to be seen in dynamic developmental perspective. From Beck's notes:

The developmental perspective encourages focus on understanding the trip experience in the light of information collected at various spaces and times along the way and is always interested in perceived spatio-temporal organization relative to actual itinerary space and time. (Beck, 1971)

He goes on:

The developmental perspective suggests that early experience is especially crucial in predicting what will follow; that the trip will have stages or phases in terms of a student's psychological relation to his experience; that these stages or phases involve the student's progressive differentiation of the worlds through which he passes. Moreover this way of looking at the problem suggests that the student's experience will be grounded in comparisons, rankings and hierarchies that emerge in his sequential intellectual, emotional, and evaluative appreciation of the many places he will see. (Beck, 1971)

Lest you miss my point with all of this let me point out what all these words, forty pages worth, meant in real life. It meant that Beck had a lot of cool ideas that he wanted to fool around with, with a bunch of kids in Europe. Period.

He really had thoughts of getting physical and psychiatric profiles of the students including knowing about the kids' levels of fatigue, appetite, bowel movements, travel sickness, stomach upsets, headaches, independence, security, frustration, relation to authority, frustration tolerance, moodiness, introversion, detachment, worry, interpersonal relations, exploratory behavior, rebelliousness, exuberance, responsibil-

ity, and adds to all this, in one of his most touching notes, "In relation to the foregoing I would like daily information on the spending of money and writing letters. Changing clothes?"

Maybe you don't get the joke. There were to be only two of us. Two rather ordinary human beings to do all this work.

In the end the joke was on me. We did it.

### III

How did we do it? Well, early in March we started locking ourselves in a room with a large blackboard. We'd started out in Beck's office, but the blackboard there wasn't much bigger than this piece of paper and we really needed a lot of space. Big space for big ideas. For the first couple of weeks we just spun out ideas: ideas about the kids, ideas about the four factors, the three time slices, the various sets of endless inter-relationships between these things. We thought about how it had been when we were kids; about how it had been when we traveled; about our experiences of groups. Out of all these thoughts we came up with a model of what was going to happen on the trip. The heart of this model had to do with the ways in which the kids would relate to the European environment: they would experience this environment along a continuum ranging from a complete embrace of the experience to total rejection of it. Where they were on this continuum would relate significantly to the reason they had for coming, which would relate significantly to their "tour personality" which would relate significantly to their general personality. Their "tour personality" would be the personality they manifested on the tour, with regard to themselves and the group. Perhaps a diagram would help:

FIGURE 1.0 TOUR PERSONALITY

PERSONALITY	TOUR PERSONALITY	REASON FOR GOING	SPACE	MODE OF BEING
Hyperature	Rangers	"Sightseeing"	All	All
Mature	Mixers	Sightseeing	Part	Traveling
Immature	Fixers	Prestige	Little	Residential

As you can see from the diagram, we broke the continuum up into three convenient sections. As we know from the introduction, the fact that these sections are convenient doesn't mean that they're real. They are handy. Since our point of departure for this diagram was tour personality, it will simplify things if I start there.

A Fixer is that tour person who never wanted to go in the first place. If you've traveled at all, you've met him. Upon arising in the morning the Fixer complains of bad sleep and uneasy bowels. He develops diarrhea on the third day which often develops into chronic intestinal complaints. The Fixer complains incessantly about the food, and usually the water. He travels solely so that he can say he's been there. His experience of foreign space is nil because he spends all his time around the hotel, often justified by his needed proximity to a bathroom. His travel mode is residential as a result. His name derives from the fact that he fixes on the hotel upon arrival in the new space and rarely leaves. Often he is acutely homesick and spends a great deal of time writing home: "Wish I were there," only he never writes that since it would destroy his reason for traveling in the first place. Generally speaking, he is an immature person.

At the other end of the continuum is the Ranger. The Ranger has developed an attitude wherein experience is valued because it is educational, or broadening, as they say. As opposed to the Fixer, the Ranger never gets sick despite the fact that he goes out of his way to eat exotic food in exotic locales, often extolling the divine paella to be found in the meanest workingman's dive. He drinks water from the sewers and survives. The Ranger travels to grow through experience, and thus never spends any time anywhere near the hotel. His strategy is to maximize the nature and variety of foreign experiences. He covers the waterfront, as they say. Usually he travels alone or with an absolute minimum of companions. This maximizes the ability to follow through with the unique experience, to end up spending the night in the peasant's hovel, as well as to revel in the delights of the unusual. Companions can interfere with these things. One crab from someone and a rapturous reverie is lost forever; the crowds never get invited for the night. He wants to "sightsee" in the real meaning of the word. He wants to cover all the foreign space and do all the foreign things. He will exploit any mode of behavior. When he writes at all, it's in his journal or quick notes saying: "You've never been here." His name derives from his characteristic operational mode, ranging far and wide in pursuit of the unique and the new. He is, in general, hypermature.

The Mixer is your most common type of traveler. In the Mixer there are opposing tendencies. On the one hand, the Mixer admires the resolution and independence of the Ranger, the incredible

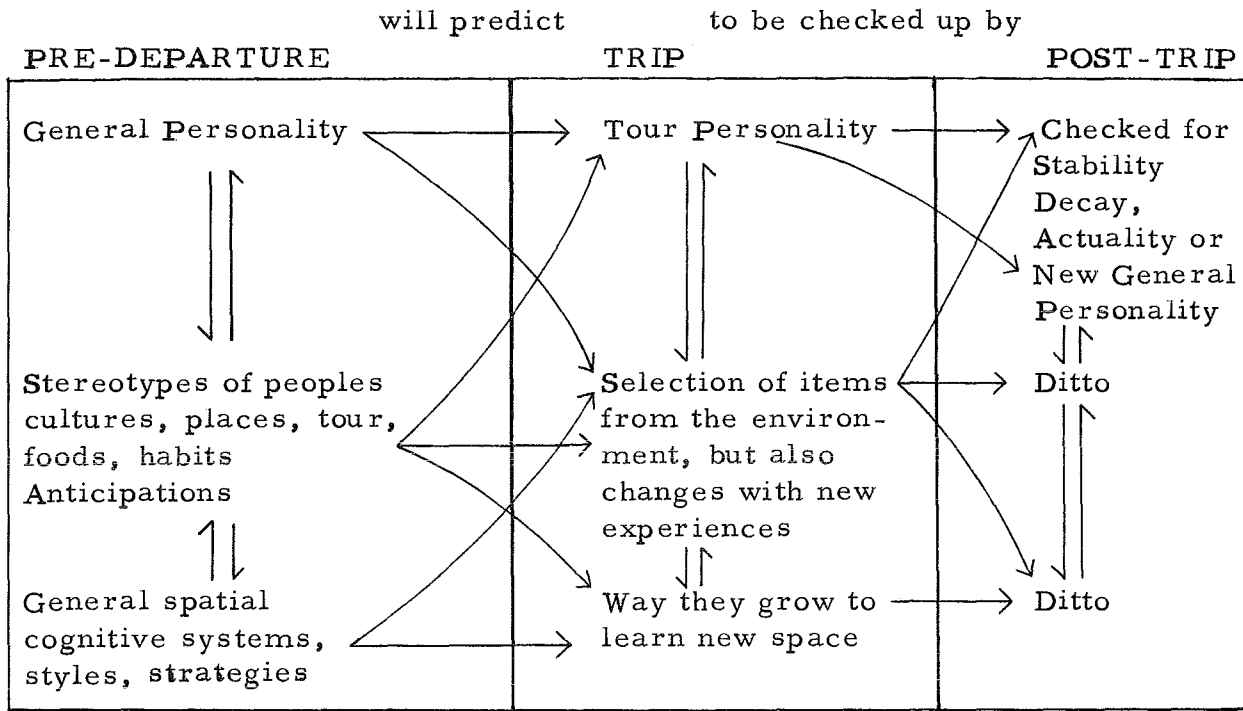
intestinal fortitude of him; on the other hand, he looks wistfully at the safe stability of the Fixer. It seems so reasonable to sit cozily in the lobby and drink Kokes and eat hamburgers and chips...and yet, what a waste of money. That can be done at home. The question for the Mixer is how to combine the safety of the Fixer with the derring-do of the Ranger. The solution, once found, is endlessly satisfying: you move around in small crowds, six or seven in size. This way the experience is apprehended, yet safely buffered. Take a nice Ranger girl in Rome. There she is out in the streets being whistled at. She can ignore it, or capitalize on it. But she must deal with it on her own. The Mixers, in a similar situation, can giggle it out together. Much less demanding. The Fixer, of course, never gets whistled at at all; it's too hard to see her figure buried in that deep lobby chair. The Mixer comes to Europe to sightsee in the ordinary sense of the word, to log famous sights. Asked what happened in Europe, a Mixer says: "We saw St. Paul's, the Coliseum and the Eiffel Tower." The Ranger has seen too much and tries desperately to articulate the impossible ("Such a sensitive girl!"). The Fixer says disparaging things in general. Being a sightseer, the Mixer experiences only selected portions of the foreign space, since only famous portions are truly relevant. The Mixer is the quintessential traveler, neither a lobby-sitter nor a coal-barge rider. The Mixer writes home post-cards saying: "Wish you were here," and means it. The Mixer gets her name by being a good social mixer. Mixing is what a Mixer is best at. Your middle Mixer is your ordinary mature person.

Now, take the whole Fixer-Mixer-Ranger system and watch it through time. For convenience, once again, we divided the time into three portions: pre-departure, trip, and post-trip. Of course, no one knows when these things begin. With the first thought of maybe going? With the deposit on the trip? Packing? Getting in the car to go to the airport? Saying good-bye? Boarding the plane? When does the trip begin? Likewise, when does it end? The night of the "Au Revoir Party"? The final packing? Boarding the plane? Saying good-bye to your new friends? Meeting your parents? Your first night in bed at home? Show-and-tell in school? The reunion ten years later? The fading of the last memory? With death? When does the trip end? No one knows these things. The lines between pre-departure, trip and post-trip are like the lines between Mixers, Fixers and Rangers. There are no such lines. Nonetheless, refer to Figure 1.1.

Let me remind you, at this point, that these are only our initial gropings toward organizing the experience of the trip. What we see in Figure 1.1 is the first real step toward operationalizing Figure 1.0. In the top line our temporal strategy can be read. The way the kids are before going on the trip will predict in some way what will happen on the



Figure 1.1 First Attempt at Study Organization



trip. After the trip we try to check on what we have learned before and during the trip. These investigations will be in three major areas: first we shall try to assess general personality, whatever that is; we shall try to get a handle on the pre-departure stereotypes of what is coming up; and we shall attempt to understand their modes of cognizing space. Secondly, during the trip we shall monitor the tour personalities; we shall monitor the ways in which expectations and personality select relevant items from the environment and/or change in response to the environment and new experience generally; and finally we shall watch the ways in which they cognize space. Thirdly, in the post-trip phase, we shall check on what we learned earlier and watch for the decay of the impact of the trip, the reassertion of the pre-departure general personality (if it ever went away) and so on. It looked good, but at this stage, three months prior to departure, we really didn't have the foggiest notion of what we'd be doing in the post-trip phase.

At this point we designated these three general areas of investigation (not the three time slices) as follows. We subsumed all the personality and intra-group social issues under the heading "Social." All the perceptual-cognitive problems relating to customs, habits, personalities, et cetera, of the perceived Europeans we labeled "Cultural." All the perceptual-cognitive problems relating to space, the physical environment, we labeled "Spatial." Our project now looked like Figure 1.2.

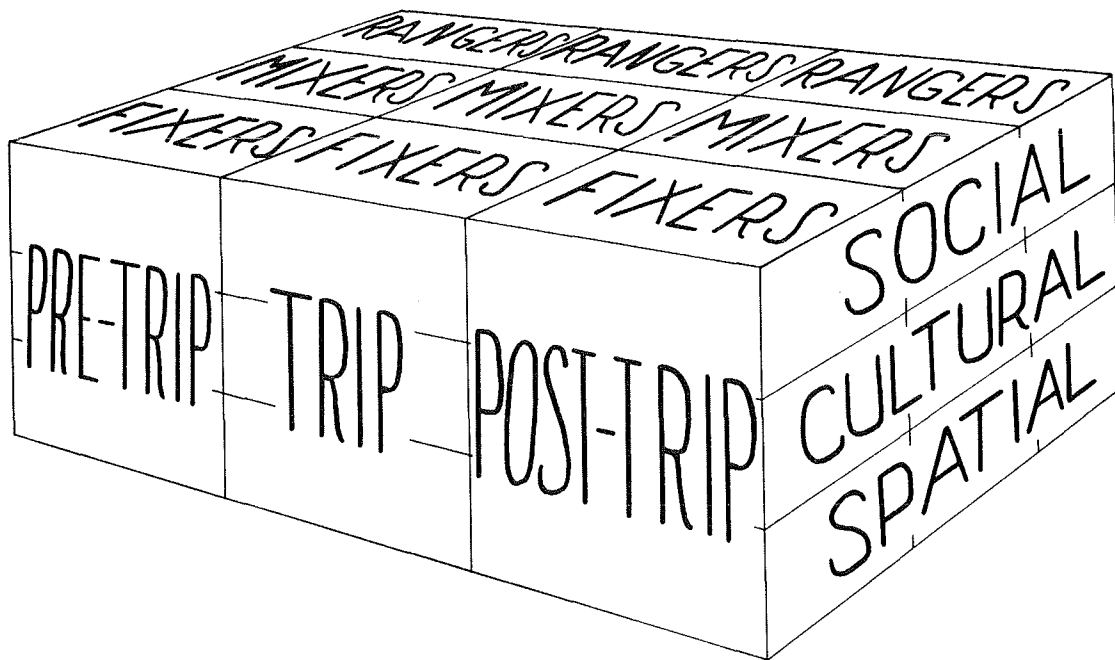


Figure 1.2 Second Attempt at Study Organization

What have we got in this diagram? We have a point of departure for the creation of methodologies. We now have the things we are investigating running across the block face: the social characteristics of the tour group and its perceptions and cognitions of novel cultures and spaces. The Ranger-Mixer-Fixer trichotomy running along the top of the block allows us to make hypotheses regarding the "whatness" of our investigation. And in all of this the role of time is easily seen. It might be once again profitably noted that the experience of going to Europe in a group cannot be broken down into these little cubes. Experience has a nice way of refusing such glib compartments. Yet they are convenient ways of ordering things, convenient now since they will allow us to proceed to the business of designing appropriate methodologies to investigate—not you will note, the cubes—but rather the unreduced experience itself.

#### IV

The selection of methodologies at this point was circumscribed by a set of considerations or constraints not to be found in our blocks. This set of constraints had to do with the nature of our sample population. The group of kids we were to be studying had signed up with a national tour organization for a thirty-five day study tour of Europe. A study tour differs from an ordinary tour by virtue of the fact that student participants in a study tour are able to receive credit for the tour from many high schools and colleges. The distinction is a legal one, and a tour organiza-

tion running study tours does so under license from the Civil Aeronautics Board. This license specifies, with limits, the nature and minimum time of the "study" to take place during the tour. A variety of approaches are taken toward "study". It may consist of formal lectures, held in large auditoriums, of talks given by the guide or courier on the tour bus itself, of tapes played over the tour bus PA system and so on. But it was more or less apodictive that the kids themselves, for the greater part, would regard these learning situations as a burden at best. Any increase in this burden could readily make it intolerable, particularly when this burden would fall on one group, and not on other simultaneous groups. Inter-group comparisons would probably lead quickly to the discovery that our group was doing more than other groups and generate revolt and the collapse of the project. So a very serious constraint was time: we had next to none in which to do our study. This realization led to three major decisions:

1. The bulk of the observation of what was going on in Europe would have to be of an anthropological nature. That is, we could be watching, and taking notes, but the kids themselves would be participating in the study only to the extent that they were our subjects.
2. Any tests we came up with would have to be short and snappy, take the minimum amount of time and be capable of being done under any and all circumstances, especially on a moving bus.
3. For every second of time we took from the kids for our study, we would give them something in return. Hopefully, this return would be feedback to the students, to the group, from the study itself. This decision became our over-riding goal in the design of methodologies. It seemed to us that if we could fulfill this goal, the increased "study" burden would not become intolerable.

The consequences of this final decision was major. Up until this point we had been working within a very traditional methodological framework. We would be observers of a process of change and development. We would note change and come to conclusions as to the nature of the process itself. Now, however, we found ourselves considering an approach wherein our own presence and the study itself would be part of what was causing the change. Thus we would be studying an unusual group, a group contaminated by the presence of social scientists. Actually, of course, this is the fate of all social science projects, no

matter how unobtrusive the measure employed. It by nature affects the system under study. This is true of scientifically equipped surveillance aircraft, U-2's for instance. How much more true must it necessarily be in the situation we were contemplating. Imagine one or both of us going on this trip incognito. How long would our cover last? What disastrous consequences would losing our cover have? How could we covertly take the necessary notes? Administer the necessary forms? Not to mention the implicit, but not the less nasty for being implicit, lie involved, the very basic fascist tendency inherent in taking from subjects information without their knowledge and consent. Imagine getting to know someone on the trip really well, but under false pretenses, a confidant, a friend (if such is possible under such a situation) before your very eyes transforming himself into an "S" a mere guinea pig. No, it would not do. So we embraced the decision to feed as much back into our group as possible and to do everything we were to do as openly as we could.

A subtle change overtook us at this point in our project design. Where there had been a tendency to refer to the kids as "sample population," "S's," the "sample" and so on (and it was never a confirmed habit), we now found ourselves revolted by the mere thought of such terms. What to call them? Students? To me it sounded too formal, and very likely wide of the mark anyhow. Children? But were they, at age six- or seventeen, in fact children? People? They certainly were that, but the term smacked of a certain equally revolting pretension to goody-goodness that really wasn't in us. I finally opted for plain old "kids" which it turned out, is what they called themselves. Another way of watching this process take place would be to watch the project designation change. At first it was nameless. As we got into our model-building pomposity, it became The Study Trip Assessment Project. At the start of the trip it was called, officially at any rate, the Program in Experiential Learning. But by the end of the trip we called it simply and with no little pride, plain old "Group L," which in the end is what we were.

As a point of clarification, it is now appropriate to explain just what a group is and what it is a part of. During the summer, tour groups send to Europe plane after plane of kids. Each plane holds 250 kids and is termed a "unit." Each week another "unit" leaves New York and starts moving across the Continent. On a given morning, Unit 1 vacates a given set of dormitories. That afternoon Unit 2 moves in. Each unit is broken down into five or six groups, each group constituting a bus-load. The group is the basic tour unit. It is together most of the time and does things for most of the time as a group. Only for certain mass movements, like the plane trip to and from Europe, the crossing from Dover to Ostend, the formal lectures, and so on, is the unit together. Each unit has a unit director, and each group has a courier.

A courier is the person who tells the group what to do, gives directions to the bus driver, provides commentary on the passing scenery and so on.

Each group is, in turn, broken down into home town groups (HT). These HT's consist of a number of kids from the same school or area. Initially an HT is a recruitment unit. Each has a Travel-Counselor, ordinarily a teacher in the home town school who has gotten this group together. If a Travel-Counselor can bring eight kids from his home town with him, he gets to go to Europe for free. Each additional kid the T-C gets, earns him one hundred dollars. For each kid less than eight the T-C has to pay \$100. Finally there are the independent registrants, or I-R's. An I-R is a single student who heard of the trip and signed up without going through a Travel-Counselor. Independent-Registrants are assigned to Travel-Counselors, first to beef their home town group up to size, and secondly to provide each I-R with a responsible adult to function as guardian and disciplinarian. It is a paramilitary organization.

Let me summarize once again this structure:

1. At the top are units consisting of 250 or so tourists. Each unit is broken up into
2. Groups. Groups are led by couriers and consist of 40-50 kids, or one bus-load. Each group is broken up into
3. Home-town groups, or H-T's. Each H-T is led by a T-C (Travel -Counselor). Any H-T may contain Independent Registrants, or I-R's.

This was the second of our constraints. The first constraint had to do with the peripatetic nature and small amount of time the students would be willing to put into our project. This led to serious decisions about the nature of potential methodologies as described above. The second constraint, the paramilitary structure, had consequences as serious as the time constraint. This time the consequences related, not to the creation of investigative schedules, but rather to the phenomenon under investigation to begin with. Typically an investigator of group behavior wants his group to be free to develop according to the group's own inner dynamics. Obviously that was not to be the case on this tour. The behavior of the group and of individuals within the group had minutely described regulations set forth in a series of Travel -Counselor and Courier manuals, including a set of consequences for unsanctioned behavior that ran the gamut from a first warning, to being sent home from Europe at the parent's additional expense. These could be invoked and apparently had been invoked in the past whenever behavior wandered

too far from the established norms.

Another consideration had to do with the demographic composition of the group. The pre-dominant sex to travel to Europe on such tours is the female. In Group L, there were twenty-three girls and eight boys. This is not your traditional experimentally designed group. Given the option to balance the group sexually, we made a second major decision.

We realized that there was no hope for the ordinary carefully controlled experiment. So we abandoned it entirely. Experience is seldom, if ever, a matter of balances in sex, age, background, or location. In a given group there are more boys than girls, more urban backgrounds than rural, more Easterners than Westerners, more whites than blacks and so on. Since this is the real and ordinary situation, why not study that? Why not accept the reality of a group of kids going to Europe on a summer study program and forget about elegant (but unrealistic) experimental designs. Likewise a group ordinarily develops within a set of very real constraints and sanctions. How many classrooms, factories, families, neighborhoods are run without sanctions, threats, go-to-bed-right-aways, and so on? Only in experimentally designed sessions are these sorts of things minimized. So we accepted all of that as well. While we were accepting things, we accepted the standard itinerary and the standard set of pre-planned experiences and lectures until we were in the position of accepting the whole program for what it was — anticipating and accepting everything that happened on the trip, whatever it was, including our part in it. That is, we accepted the fact that this was to be an ordinary tour group with a couple of social scientists along for the ride, or in other words, a very unusual group after all. And the bigger our commitment to feeding back to the students equivalent value for value received, the more unusual our situation became. And we accepted that for what it was too. In sum, we accepted the whole situation as it came to us with no tinkering and we accepted our own roles within this. We were no longer monitors of behavior at all.

Nor were we about to delude ourselves that we were to be participant observers, whatever that is supposed to mean. Our roles were not any longer those of participants and observers alone, but rather participants and sensitizers, for we came to see that what we could give back to the kids that would be of greatest value, would be an awareness of what they were doing as we saw it. Thus if we saw certain sub-groups developing within Group L it would be our role to bring this fact to the group attention. And hang the possibility that this would change the dynamics of it all. We could give best what we were best. We could give our insights as to who they were and where they were going. We would

become, in effect, a group consciousness.

Somewhere I hear a murmur from my readers, or maybe it's my old mind whispering, whispering, "But is it still science?" Well, I asked myself that question when we took the plunge and Beck asked it and we talked about it. After the fact, it's easy to say, but way back then it seemed sort of daring. Yes, it's still science. It's science purged of sham and pretense, and, purged of those, it may be better science than ever. Why? For two simple reasons:

1. Because in the first place objectivity in an endeavour like ours, distance, unobtrusive measures, mere observation and the whole bag, are merely ideas some people have had about the way science ought to be, and not the way they have ever been. Think about the anatomist studying the human body. How can he ever learn about what's going on in there without hacking his bloody way in? He can't. But with the very first cut, the organism is changed and finds itself in a new state. It may be well and good to use cadavers, but they present a drawback: they are not living organisms. A cadaver is a good place to study decomposition and some of the grosser features of the human body, but not to get into what is going on. That involves cutting. Or take an anthropologist wandering up some tropical river to visit a stone-age tribe. The mere sight of a new man (dressed yet!) causes changes untold in a social organization, not to mention the subsequent coming of cameras, recorders, and usually money. How can you study these things — how can you study anything — without changing them? We go to the moon to study it and worry endlessly about exchanging new viruses and really changing things. I will not document this failure of the sciences to achieve their much desired and never found objectivity, unobtrusiveness, distance. It is sufficiently well documented elsewhere, in the physical sciences as well as the social, though most exemplary breast-beating is done by the anthropologists. (See, if you must, Evans-Pritchard, 1962, 109-129; Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest, 1966, v-viii, et passim; Lewis, 1970, 3-34; Redfield, 1956, 5-22; Cancian, 1965, 186-204; Harvey, 1969, 321-325.) Physics, the most "objective" of all the sciences, has formulated this inability to observe without affecting the observed in what is generally

known as Heisenberg's uncertainty principle. George Gamow illustrates the affect of this by showing the impossibility of measuring the temperature of a cup coffee with a thermometer, because the thermometer takes up so much heat from the coffee that the temperature of the coffee read is much lower than it would have been had the thermometer not been introduced into the coffee at all (Gamow, 1958, 312). Suffice it to say that in all science, observation effects the observed no matter what. All one can do in these circumstances is accept this fact, and try to account for it. It does no good to pretend it isn't there.

2. The second reason for believing that it might be much better science takes the first reason a bit farther. If observational distance cannot be avoided, if it must be accounted for, can it not be capitalized upon? In other words, instead of hanging back and pretending we were not there and thus never really be certain of our input, why not make our input as loud and as obvious as possible and know, more or less, what we've done? And observe, then, the effects of our inputs in addition to, or maybe rather than, the system as it supposedly was prior to our coming? This is what we decided to do, and this decision allowed us to proceed with the task of designing a methodology.

Let me summarize the methodological parameters we had built for ourselves:

1. Our tests would have to be snappy and painless.
2. Much of our data collecting would have to be purely observational.
3. There would be constant feedback to the kids about what we learned.
4. Everything would be out in the open.
5. The experience would benefit us all (kids and us) mutually equally.



6. We would accept everything that happened — intended or otherwise — as relevant information.

## V

With this set of precepts to guide us we could now go back to Figure 1.2 and try to design approaches that would get us into the kids' perceptions, cognitions and actions vis-a-vis the physical layout of Europe. Back to the blackboard. By mid-May we had come up with six specific approaches.

1. We designed a questionnaire to be mailed to the kids prior to their departure for Europe. This questionnaire was designed to get a handle on their general personality but as it related specifically to the anticipated experience of traveling in Europe. It was mailed out in two parts and was called "Europe on Your Mind."
2. We decided, under pressure, not to ask the kids questions about their relations with one another. It was felt that this could be divisive and could not be chanced. Consequently we decided to note systematically such intra-group patterns as we could. Two of these were rigorously pursued. Every time the bus filled with kids, we noted exactly what seat they took on a bus seating chart. Sometimes the kids filled this form out themselves. The results are impressive. They were also a gas during the trip itself as sub-bus-cultures developed and changed. We also noted who roomed with whom. To some extent this was a function of room size and courier harassment. Most of the time the kids slept with whomever they pleased, subject to division by sex, of course. We noted sporadically who ate with whom and who wandered around with whom. After two weeks we knew that the bus seating charts told us all this eventually, but it was nice to be sure.
3. Beck and I kept a series of running notes on each of the kids individually and later by groups as they developed and came apart. These notes provided a check on what we were seeing as well as what the kids were up to. When requested these notes were read to the kids, who then agreed with our assessments, disagreed and/or provided new information. We had decided to keep these notes as sort of a catchall coverage of everything

afoot. You can find running lists of sicknesses in here and stories told and anecdotes and so on. They were, and were meant to be, anything but systematic, but as comprehensive as time, eyes, ears and energy would allow.

4. To cover the cultural realm we invented our least reliable device. It went out to the students prior to the trip under the name "Stereotypes Go Both Ways." It resulted from a strange set of ultimately conflicting impulses. Beck and I both accepted the facts that the kids had images of each of the European countries they were to visit, and that these images were composed of, or could be disaggregated into, a variety of parts. In any event it was felt that the various countries could be ranked and compared along a given set of variables. I objected strenuously to any sort of simple ranking problem of the sort where one country must inevitably be ranked above or below another, the sort of approach where you are asked to rank seven countries as to friendliness. What if you felt that all were equal? So our simplest ranking exercise took the form of a matrix as wide as it was tall. One of the problems with this (maybe it was a virtue) was that the matrix was often perceived as a field and countries were scattered about in this field without apparent regard for the axes. This may not, on analysis, turn out to be a problem at all, but it looks like one to me now. We called this exercise the Rank Matrix.

But we also wanted the countries to be compared as well as ranked, and invented a schedule called the Stereo Matrix. Unfortunately, it's too complicated. It takes too long to do. It violates one of our parameters, that the tasks be snappy. The Stereo Matrix not only wasn't snappy; it tended to induce nausea in girls on buses in Europe, which turned out to mean that we got very few hits on the Stereo Matrix. On our pretests it took forever to fill out the exercise, but we could do it rapidly. So stupidly, we went with it anyhow. That was dumb. It was maybe the dumbest thing we did on the entire project. In the complete exercise there were seven Rank Matrices and seven Stereo Matrices. At top speed it took forty-five minutes to fill out. To do a conscientious job took a lot longer.

What they were supposed to do was to give us some idea of how the kids' stereotypes were changing as they actually experienced the

typed country. We ended up with four complete sets (i.e., including all seven rank and all seven stereo matrices): a pre-departure look, and three in trip. Not bad I suppose, and we'll be getting another post-trip set to round it all out, so...

5. We used two devices to get some idea of how the kids were handling the physical space of Europe. One of these was Kenneth Craik's Landscape Adjective Checklist. This test worked out very well, probably because it was short and sweet and hence fulfilled an important methodological criterion.
6. Our second spatial measure will be the basis for the rest of this report and thus discussion of this is deferred until the next chapter. At this point I will say only that it involved teaching a map language to the kids and having them draw maps regularly in Europe.

These were the methods we came up with. The results from most of these approaches will not be discussed in this report except in general terms, and hence, no theoretical background has been laid for using any of them nor have histories of the problems being investigated been sketched. It is nonetheless vital to see the mapping question which we'll be discussing at endless length within the context of the whole project as we conceived of it.

When we first began sending all these instruments out in an endless stream of packages to thirty-one kids and six Travel-Counselors, I didn't know of anyone who didn't think we weren't shooting for the moon. I mean, we hadn't even met these kids! Why should they fill out our forms? And so many! And so long! What did we think we were doing! You know the refrain. Go ahead...sing it.

We just sat back with our fingers crossed and waited.

## VI

Before moving on into the problem of the maps, I want to make sure you understand where this project is and what its underlying assumptions are. The basic underlying assumption is that there is a field to be entered called psychogeography and that in this field there are rare and beautiful flowers never before seen except by a half-crooked poet. Some of these flowers are seeing flowers and others are thinking flowers and still others are acting flowers. Our joy is not to pick the flowers and hold them up to the light and let the sun illuminate some glorious petal. Our joy is to see the flowers where they grow in the field.

To see it all together. But we have yet to enter the field and now we look at it from afar. Insects and dust filter the sunlight into a hazy gold. This filter through which we see the field is a developmental one. There are other filters, but this one serves. Nothing is immutable, and all is changing and our particular filter focuses on this changing and growing and dying. It is also our joy to believe that we shall never understand this field, but see it only with greater and greater clarity, even once in it; and once there we shall become part of the field and that it will be changed by our presence. In coming to see the field more clearly we come to see ourselves more clearly and by our presence the field itself is increasingly clarified. There will be here no tearing off of petals nor uprooting of flowers, unless we would be so uprooted and torn. This is our particular journey.

Perhaps you fail to see the drawing of maps in a room in Rome as a flower? Choose your own metaphor. This is a psycho-geographic project using a developmental approach. In this, all that transpires is accepted as real, as valid, as information. It is an exercise in obtrusive measures, in which subjects and observers, we and the kids are equal participants, in which we all go home with the ball.