CHAPTER 20

"I don't want to, but I will."

... TAY LOR NASH --passing in the hall The most popular school of detective fiction terminates its stories in a highly predictable way. The detective-hero gathers into his presence all of the suspected characters and verbally traces a history of the reasoning that led him to certain highly incriminating conclusions. As his review progresses, each of the suspected characters is singled out in turn, and our worst suspicions are confirmed. He was, after all, the killer. But no, the detective goes on, he was a mere red herring. And so we turn to examine the evidence against another suspect. One by one all eliminated until...The denoument is obvious. The darbies are produced, but, just in the nick of time, the culprit swallows a vial of cyanide and so ends a pernicious and useless existence.

The detective, both in reality and in fiction, has certain advantages over the practioner of social science, for rare indeed is the case wherein the scientist is presented with a veritable corpse and instructed to find the perpetrator of the crime. Rather is the scientist in the position of having to discover, not the criminal, but the body itself. It is an immensely more difficult task, for the body is unrecognizable as such, and the first job of the scientist is to establish the criteria for its recognition. Consequently, in the final review of the quintessence of this report, we find ourselves in the position, not of the detective, but rather of the coroner, and seek only to demonstrate that a crime has in fact been isolated. I am the coroner, and you are the coroner's jury. The verdict is up to you.

I call witnesses.

Ι

The Introduction: Time, space and matter were examined as concepts and found wanting. In their place was substituted the single concept of event, and its relations or intervals. These intervals could be broken down into dimensions of space and time, but the process of breaking the intervals down was shown to be a matter of convenience and nothing else. It was likewise shown that the aggregation of events into series of events was a matter of convenience, and nothing else. Drawing on these facts a definition of geography was proposed wherein the field of geography was seen to be a matter of convenience of labeling, and nothing more. In a nutshell, geography was seen to be defined as that area of interest to those who call themselves geographers. Psychogeography was then defined as the area of interest that encompassed the perception of geographic things, the cognition of these things, and the behavioral consequences of these cognitions. Psychogeography deals with these processes as parts of an organic and interrelated whole. Part I. The first part of the report proper consisted of four chapters, sketching the history of the conception and birth of the project, ostensibly psychogeographic in character.

Chapter 1. This chapter drew a picture of the conception of the project. The nature of the population under investigation, a group of kids on a summer tour to Europe, was suggested. Certain characteristics of the behavior of this group of kids were postulated in an attempt to acquire criteria for the design of investigative schedules. There emerged three dimensions that could be investigated. The first of these was developmental and dictated that the time of the investigation be broken into three parts: pre-departure, trip, and post-trip. In each of these "temporal slices" it was determined to investigate the social character of the group, and three "social characters" were postulated: Rangers, Mixers and Fixers. Each of these types would be examined in regard to the perception, cognition, and consequential behavior vis-a-vis: the social environment, the cultural environment and the spatial environment. The final slice would form the burden of this report. That is, this report would deal predominantly with the perception, cognition and consequent behavior of the kids, sorted as to social type, in regard to the spatial environment.

Thus at this point we hypothesized that Rangers, Mixers, and Fixers would exhibit variations in the perception, cognition and consequent behavior vis-a-vis the spatial environment through the three "time slices" noted. Our primary tool for this investigation would consist of the collection of sketch maps generated by the kids through time.

Chapter 2. Here was presented a review of the role of maps in similar past investigations. All maps were seen as being mental images of the world that varied solely along the dimension of consensuality. This led to the discussion of three classes of maps: 1) the most consensual, or standard map; 2) a smaller group consensual image useful to an isolated community or alicited by experimental techniques such as those employed by Peter Gould and others; 3) an image consensual only to the individual, generally stored in the mind, or elicited by techniques such as those employed by Kevin Lynch. Analysis of these images and the uses to which they had been put enabled us to conclude: that instructionless free-hand sketch mapping produced a product practically useless for the investigation of anything; that we would have to come up with a new approach; and that this approach would have to include enormous educational inputs. The consequences of this were examined and it was concluded that such input would not significantly interfere with the goals of the study in a deleterious manner, and that such inputs would have a salutary effect on the investigator-respondent relationship, resulting in exchange, rather than theft.

Chapter 3. The newly designed approach, Environmental A, was presented in its entirety.

Chapter 4. If Chapter 1 described the conception of the project, and Chapters 2 and 3 described a period of gestation, this chapter described the birth proper. We saw here that the instruction schedules had succeeded in their task, and garnered a windfall of other information. It was further shown that Environmental A did in fact constitute a graphic language of no little flexibility and sophistication, sufficient to allow the mappers to communicate a variety of information to the map reader, and with feeling. In essence, the bulk of what was to come to be Group L was talking with maps prior to the commencement of the trip to Europe.

III

Part II. The second part of the report was the description of the trip itself and consisted of eight chapters. These were included for a variety of reasons set out in passim in Part II, as well as to make clear the nature of the geographic environment, in Auchin's terms, in which the sketch maps were collected.

Chapter 5. This consisted of a selection of extracts relevant to the subject of travel, and were included to provide a base of resonance against which the trip could vibrate.

Chapter 6. Of particular import in this chapter was the description of the naivete under which we labored in designing the project. This naivete was immediately dispelled in the first contact with part of Group L and was seen to die a fluctuating death, being alternately revived and then skewered mercilessly by fate and eventuality. Chapter 6 saw us settled in London.

Chapter 7. Here we examined in illuminating detail the experiences of a single day, our first full day in London. The consequences of this day were felt throughout the remainder of the tour, and continue to be felt, both in respect to the ultimate nature of the project and Group L, and in respect to the ability of Group L to grasp the space of London.

Chapter 8. We continued the story of the trip, watching the

vacilations in the investigator's mind as to the course of action to be followed, and their resolution with the collection of the first set of sketch maps in London. The particular form of this resolution was to have continuing reverberations throughout the balance of the trip.

Chapter 9. In this chapter the kids are increasingly exposed to light as Group L begins to resolve itself from a mass into individuals. At the same time we make it to the end of our stay in Innsbruck, closing with a lengthy description of an episode that induced solidarity in Group L.

Chapter 10. The thread of the narration is picked up on the morning of our departure from Florence. Omitted, for reasons of length, is any description of our stay in Venice and Florence. At this point, however, we describe in great detail the progress of another single day, typical of the days on the bus, and vital in setting the stage for the Roman events that follow. Shortvignettes shed further light on individual kids. This is followed by a description of the events leading to the disappearance from Group L of yours truly, and a split in the ranks of the kids in Group L generally.

Chapter ll. This chapter is narrated by three people. The first portion, which describes the events that transpired in Rome following my departure is narrated by me. The following portion which sees the group move from Rome to Paris via Lucerne, and ultimately back to the States is narrated by two of the kids: Janine Eber and Nybia Pagan. At this time they became associate investigators, running the project without substantial assistance.

Chapter 12. The trip itself is over but continues on in the mind of the tourists. Described are the webs of correspondence that grew up among the kids and ourselves which led to a Group L reunion in New York in December of that year.

IV

Part III of the report likewise consisted of eight chapters, of which this is the last. This part was concerned with analyzing the data collected in Part II, and with establishing connections between that data and the flesh-and-blood realities that it stands for.

Chapter 13. The difficulties of making any connections between data and transpired event are examined. The argument draws heavily on the basis of understanding built in the Introduction and concludes that there is no connection between the events of the trip and the data in hand that can be bridged by anything but faith. The argument concludes with a plea for the end to the quasi-traditional separation of poetry and science, and uses this plea as yet further justification for the inclusion of Parts II and III in a single report. Other aspects of the data in hand are considered, particularly the maps which are shown to contain an inherent temporal dimension. This argument is based on the fact that the maps are a trace event, and as such are ipso facto capable of disaggregation into a temporal and spatial dimension on a basis of convenience. This assumption of the temporal nature of maps pervades the following chapters of analysis without specific reference.

Chapter 14. A content analysis of the sketch maps is essayed and completed with the following conclusions:

- a) That instructionless sketch mapping has a great likelihood of producing highly incomparable, highly domocentric images of a given environment;
- b) That on this basis it is necessary to disregard conclusions reached by prior students in the same area of investigation that have employed the instructionless mapping techniques.
- c) That an instructional mapping technique such as Environmental A has great payoff for the instructed, making social science investigators more humane than heretofor, by virtue of the fact that in giving, the correspondent gains in return.
- d) That there is a genetic sequence to the creation of sketch maps and that this sequence is probably at the root of spatial cognition itself, specifically that:
  - Point phenomena are perceived and cognized most readily,
  - Linear phenomena are next perceived and cognized, and finally,
  - 3) Areas are perceived and cognized.
- e) That the implementation of this genetic sequence in a quantifiable model is possible.

f) That Environmental A was likely successful because it anticipated (on spurious grounds) this genetic sequence.

Chapter 15. Chapter 15 introduced a new tool into the academic kit, called the pseudograph analysis. The function of this technique was to investigate within a developmental scheme the varieties of strategies employed by those drawing sequential sketch maps, and by extension the cognition of space itself. Among the conclusions reached were:

- a) That the attempt to describe types, styles or strategies of either sketch mapping or spatial cognition on the basis of single sketch maps, with or without additional information, ignores the developmental character of spatial cognition and hence is incapable of coming to acceptable conclusions.
- b) That the attempt to describe types, styles or strategies of either sketch mapping or spatial cognition on the basis of single sketch maps or experiments, ignores the effects of momentary stress and strain on the respondent and hence is incapable of coming to acceptable conclusions.
- c) That strategies of sketch mapping can be described with an adequate selection of data: extensive, collected through time, collected in a variety of environments and supported by massive amounts of additional information.
- d) That these strategies may be considered as a function of the degree of integration of the map surface, and may include the following five types:
  - 1) A steady decrease through time in the degree of integration,
  - 2) A steady increase through time in the degree of integration,
  - 3) Increases followed by decreases through time in the amount of integration,

- 4) Decreases followed by increases through time in the amount of integration,
- 5) No change through time in the amount of integration.
- e) That a stable mapping strategy is characterized by great integration, generally, and that unstable strategies are characterized by significantly less integration.
- f) That mapping strategies are integrated within the entire individual personality structure of a person, and relate consistently to that structure.

Chapter 16. This chapter also introduced the use of a graphic analysis technique new to the investigation of sketch maps. This involved the display of graphic compilations of isolated portions of the sketch maps. Among the conclusions reached were the following:

- a) That there is an increase in the degree of consensuality among individual maps through time for a given environment along the dimensions of size, shape, scale, bearing and relative location.
- b) More tentatively, that there is the greatest increase in consensuality and the greatest incipient consensuality for thos aspects of the environment most frequently experienced in common.
- c) That consensuality of experience is closely related to cognitive consensuality.
- d) That consensuality of size, shape, scale, bearing and location parallel the growth in consensuality of the sketch map and cognitive content.

Chapter 17. This chapter marks the first publication of another technique for the analysis of sketch maps, the grid transformation. It was argued that the application of this technique required the acceptance of two assumptions, those of surficial continuity and of navigational sufficiency. The analysis proceeded using the language of professional cartography in regard to projections (to a very limited extent), and the language of geomorphology in regard to the characteristics of surfaces generally. It was concluded:

- a) That analysis of the grid transformations, using techniques common to professional cartographers, would be fruitful.
- b) That such work could lead to the creation of"mental base maps" desirable for the display of such results as accrue from the content analysis.
- c) That the geomorphic language could be employed with great profit.
- d) That the legibility of environments can be readily assessed using this technique; and that Paris was more legible than either Rome or London.
- e) That there was no reason to suspect that a cognitive projective system resembled a cartographic projective system.

Chapter 18. Here we briefly examined the nature of the areal and symbolic overlays of the maps. Among the conclusions were these:

- a) That the size of areas discriminated grew through time for a given environment.
- b) That the total size of the areas discriminated grew through time.
- c) That the number of areas discriminated grew through time.
- d) That the attributive symbols of Environmental A were more popular than other symbols, and that the use of this class of symbol increased steadily through time across all environments, and that these symbols could be characterized as positive, negative and neutral in descriptive character.
- e) That using attributive symbols values could be assigned to individual maps and individual areas.

- f) That the value assigned to the largest area on a given map was the same as the value of the map as a whole.
- g) That environments could be evaluated by aggregating the individual map valences and that Paris was the environment most admired.
- h) That space is not considered abstractly but as part of a more general attitudinal set; that spatial cognition must be studied within the context of preferences; and that work not so conducted must be regarded with grave suspicion.

Chapter 19. Here linkages were established between sociometric information gleaned from the bus seating charts and map behavior. Some further remarks were essayed concerning the nature of the post-trip maps and their relations to the maps collected prior to departure and during the trip. It was concluded:

- a) That social activity could be assessed by examining the number of kids sat next to on the bus.
- b) That social activity implied particularized pairing behavior.
- c) That social activity and pairing behavior could be used to define bus regions and types of kids.
- d) That these preceding measures were related to mapping behavior, both in regard to performance and degree of cooperation with the project.
- e) That socially active kids sitting in the back of the bus drew stable connected maps that reproduced the reference grid and were rangers; that socially inactive kids sat in the front of the bus and drew few poorly connected maps that did not reproduce the reference grid and were fixers; that mixers sat in the middle of the bus and otherwise fell between the rangers and fixers.
- f) That the aggregate nature of the analysis obscured individual behavior patterns.

- g) That the trip continues in the minds of the kids.
- h) That temporal distance from the remembered environments produced:
  - A decline in detail and cognitive organization among kids tentatively identified as fixers and mixers.
  - 2) An increase in detail and cognitive organization among kids tentatively identified as rangers.
- i) That no valid comparison could be made between the predeparture maps and subsequent maps due to the nature of the circumstances under which the predeparture maps had been produced; that their essential role had been fulfilled in teaching Environmental A.

Chapter 20. This chapter included a summary of the results and conclusions of the previous chapters on the basis of which the following additional conclusions were reached.

- a) That the bulk of previous work accomplished using the sketch map as all or part of the bases for any conclusions regarding the nature of the environment mapped, the nature of the cognition of space, or the nature of sketch mapping, while sometimes inspired and occasionally interesting, must be largely discounted, but that:
  - This does not necessarily invalidate such conclusions, which may be true despite the fact that they could not be drawn from the data as stated, and that,
  - 2) Nonetheless, most of such conclusions are contradicted by the results of this study where comparable.
- b) That discussions of cognition of space are futile without consideration of the complex nature of the cognized environment; and that discussions of the nature of a cognized environment are futile without consideration of the complex nature of the cognition

of space; and that neither are meaningful without concomitant consideration of beliefs, values, attitudes, preferences and other subjective assessments.

- c) That a highly directed instructional mapping language such as Environmental A is a necessary and powerful tool in such investigations; that a still more valuable mapping language such as Environmental B can be developed; that the use of similar mapping languages has enormous educational potential in the field.
- d) That the map is a viable communication channel, specifically that differences between environments and individuals can be assessed using the map as a communication channel.
- e) That there is a regular sequence to the acquisition of geographic knowledge, that the orientation toward and cognition of complex urban environments proceeds along identifiable genetic lines that vary according to personal cognitive styles.
- f) That social science investigations can prove mutually beneficial to the investigator and subject, immediately via the investigative schedules, and subsequently through feedback from the investigators to subjects; that such relationships can help vindicate the scientist's social role in a short-term view; that the subjects can themselves participate with the investigator; and that the subjects can supplant the investigator to the ultimate humanization of the social sciences.
- g) That the subject can have the first, last and most comprehensive word on the subject of the investigation itself, specifically that:

I DIDN'T WANT TO, BUT I DID.

