




Evaluation of Psychogeography in Planning as a New Spatial Methodology Via 'Walking Body'¹

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Abstract

Psychogeography concentrates on how the environment penetrates the feelings and attitudes of individuals. Situationist International Movement raised the concept in 1950s within artistic motives, however it evolved with a political content and turned out to be 'a political tool to transform the urban everyday life' via the term, Dérive, implying 'deviation' and 'resistance'. But, how psychogeography can present an epistemological input in spatial analyses is the matter in question. Although adopting the ambiguous methods of psychogeography to planning is problematical, the knowledge gathered from daily walks and spontaneous dérive of citizens would enable the researcher to capture a unique and wholistic frame of the psychological-physical gap between 'what is designed' and 'what is experienced' in urban daily life and spatial patterning. The occupancy space pattern with nodes and routes, the mental representations and spatial repertoires result in a two-folded map: Real/concrete/physical map and personal/abstract/psychogeographic map. The main question of this study is: "What kind of a knowledge can psychogeography present to planning via 'representations of walking experience' based on the two-folded map assumption?". This question will be answered within ontological, epistemological, and methodological scales via theoretical and practical readings on psychogeography, spatial topology, and place attachment. In the introduction part, the definition of psychogeography will be discussed. Constructing the methodology section, the epistemology of 'walking body' and the ontology of urban space will be held in relation. As the findings, the review of the related studies will be evaluated in relation with planning, space and psychogeography.

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1. Introduction

1.1. What is Psychogeography?

Psychogeography is a field of study which examines the interaction between geography and psychology through the interrelation between space and human-beings; and concentrates on how the natural and built environment influence the feelings and attitudes of individuals. Situationist International Movement raised the concept in 1950s within artistic motives, however the concept evolved with a political content and turned out to be 'a political tool to transform the urban everyday life' (Coverly, 2011). The term, Dérive, implying 'deviation' and 'resistance', enabled such a transformation. Sari (2013: xv) in her thesis, *Psychogeography as a Tool of Urban Spatial Experience*, defines Dérive as: "saunters of individuals throwing everything in the wind within their everyday life," which refers to the main method of psychogeography in the city as well. However, how psychogeography can present an epistemological input in spatial analyses is the matter in question; how a methodology can be constructed in planning with reference to such a fruitful tool to grasp and analyse the urban space is another related problem. Within this paper, a literature review is aimed with reference to the main question: What kind of a knowledge psychogeography can present to planning via 'representations of walking experience' based on the two-folded map assumption.

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1.2. The Problematic: How can Psychogeography be used in Spatial Analyses?

The elastic and ambiguous nature of psychogeography is an issue as Covery (2011) discusses in his book, which restrains adopting this phenomenon to spatial analyses as a scientific methodology. However, the very basic and simple method in psychogeography –walking and documenting what you perceive within your deviations– would lead potentially to a fruitful jungle of daily knowledge grasping the hidden moments, vistas, and mechanisms of the contacts of the body with and at urban space. Examining the difference between what is designed and what is experienced is critical, which may present a reconstructive guidance to the fields of planning, design, and urban policy.

Main axis of this problematic is the interaction between body and urban space with representations of this interaction. Within this frame, the body, which contacts with and at urban space, is aimed to be placed at spatial context within its movements and stays. In his book *Des Corpus Urbains [Şehirsel Bedenler-Urbicolous Bodies]*, Paquot's (2011 [2005]) emphasis on 'the suffering and lost body' within urban space indicates a possible kick-off point for an interrelated phenomenological analysis in disciplines of planning, design and urban policy since urban space is directly or indirectly shaped through plans, projects, designs and policies. Parallel to this argument, Cihangir Camur et.al. (2021) discuss the critical role of 'walkable streets' in neighborhoods and emphasize the neglected conception of bonding urban functions and forms via streets within the planning and design approaches in relation to liveable environments, which had to be re-considered during the pandemic period, while we were obliged to reach and meet our needs in walking distance. The aim of this study is to examine the limits and potentials of the concept of psychogeography as a methodology in planning via evaluating the related and limited literature usually based on experiential research studies conducted in Turkey, which will enable a new path and give us a new toolbox of spatial analysis to question related themes on body and walking [such as walkability, spatial appropriation, (collective) memory, representations of space, (re)production of space, and design] via differentiated scales (such as living environment, neighbourhood, and city scales) especially through the ignored relationality of design and urban politics.

1.3. Methodology: Epistemology of 'Walking Body' and Ontology of Urban Spatial Pattern

The body contacts with and at urban space with other subjects and objects. This contact is shaped through on the one hand with spatial hierarchy (a physical input) and on the other hand with the sociological and psychological factors (mental and social inputs). The occupancy space pattern with nodes and routes and the mental representations with spatial repertoires result in two-folded map: Real/concrete/physical map and personal/abstract/psychogeographic map. The main question of this study is: "What kind of a knowledge psychogeography can present to planning via 'representations of walking experience' based on the two-folded map assumption". This question will be answered within ontological, epistemological, and methodological scales by theoretical and practical readings on environmental psychology, psychogeography, spatial topology, place attachment, and image of the city. The sub-questions are: (a) What is Psychogeography? How can it be adopted to planning and design? (b) What is the nature of gap between physical and psychological maps? (c) How can the concepts and methods such as 'Dérive', 'mental map', 'spatial topology' and 'rhythmanalysis' be used?

These sub-questions will lead us to grasp the meaning and use of the gap between physical and psychological maps via the experience of body and conception of the designer. Based on these inquiries, the first sub-section will concentrate on epistemology of the 'walking body' within its movements and stops via urban space, which would construct the theoretical framework of psychogeographic methodology crossing all three sub-questions horizontally. In the second sub-heading the pattern of public spaces will be discussed with reference to the gap between physical and psychological maps based on the ontology of both space-body interrelation and the representations of this interaction, which will lead us a methodological frame of reference. The last sub-heading will examine and discuss potential ways and trials to adopt psychogeography as a tool of scientific inquiry in planning, design and urban policy with reference to the literature review.

2. Methods extracted from The Epistemology and Ontology of 'Walking Body' at the Urban Space

2.1. Epistemology of 'Walking Body': (Re)positioning 'the Body' onto Urban Space

How can we place the body in or onto space? How does the body move through space? And what does or should this movement mean to the one who examines and designs urban space? The discussion of gathering the knowledge

of walking body is the focus of the first step to examine the psychogeographic methodology in planning discipline. What does it mean to 'place or (re)position the walking body onto urban space?' Let's envision that we take a body from outer space or literally from 'air' and let's assume that we put it onto a spot on earth. Starting from this spot, the body would move and stop on several points within an imaginary path acting similarly to the Zenon's famous arrows; the body would knit 'a lacework of routes' within its nodes and traces, through a dialectical, rhythmic, and spatial experience of urban daily life, acting similar to slugs which can be monitored by an attentive urban voyager from the bird's-eye-view. Such an imaginary urban voyager or urban analyst would recognize a pattern of this movement; the contact of body to and at space would leave readable traces, which are formed through movements and stops of the individuals. The patterns of urban occupancy and vacancy enable both motion and contact of the body with and within urban space.

The pattern of urban occupancy and vacancy penetrates the spatial experience of the body and frames the context of the walking performance of the individual on three levels. First level of this penetration occurs as 'the crash of body' to the space and spatial patterning both physically and mentally. The individual encounters urban space within different scales from 'home' to 'neighbourhood' and to the whole city. Body reacts to differentiated spatial patterning and hierarchies via its moves and stops.

These reactions lead us to the second level of the penetration, bilateral map of patterns of nodes and routes. After the first encounter and crash, the body sees, hears, touches, senses the space, and recognizes and then reads and rewrites the map of the place. This place is designed and constructed with respect to technical codes and policies, which is materialized in the physical space and represented in a field map. But is this the same map with the mental representation of the individual – which is re-drawn via the body's perception and experience. Probably not. Therefore, with nodes and routes and the mental representations shaped through spatial repertoires result in a two-folded map: real/concrete/physical map and personal/abstract/psychogeographic map. These two folded maps indicate the opposite sides of 'the representations of space', discussed in the spatial trilogy of Lefebvre (1991) shaped via spatial practice. Then what does the gap between physical and psychological maps state to planners and policy makers? Or how can we interpret such a distinction?

The third level corresponds to the nature and interpretation of this gap between what is designed and what is sensed. Based on two-folded map assumption, the psychogeographic representations gathered during the daily derives would make the hidden, unseen snapshots of the city visible, and therefore the researcher and designer would reach neglected sensory-cognitive parts of urban experience. Re-reading space via its neglected and invisible parts and experiences, would also enable to sense, re-read, and probably re-write the very soul of urban space through differentiated urban narratives. Such a re-reading would result in a spatial synthesis of psychogeographic inputs through the set of *dérive*, mental maps, urban narratives within spatial topology and rhythm analyses, all of which indicates a new methodological approach in urban spatial analyses based on psychogeography.

The position of the body is a critical point within this frame; when we observe the spatial touch onto the body, we would recognize the differentiated positions of the body with reference to both physical patterning of space (with the objects on it) and the mental-social repertoire of the individual. This self-positioning and repositioning of the body occur at mental, social, and physical levels; body positions itself with reference to spatial pattern (especially the pattern of public or common spaces within spatial hierarchy) and moves within its conceptualization on what is limited and what is accessible among subjects and objects at space.

Sennett (2008 [1996]) examines the interrelation between body and urban space in his book *Flesh and Stone: The Body and The City in Western Civilization*; he discusses the disciplinary character of urban space on human body in the example of Roman city. He writes: "As a Roman you could not ramble on the city. The massive buildings would command you to adopt yourself to the city. ... The geometry of Roman city disciplines the movements of the body and in this sense gives the order of 'look and obey,'" (Sennett, 2008: 99). Herein, urban space is on the one hand a spatial matrix of occupancies and vacancies through which we pass during our daily walks, on the other hand turns out to be a constructive, shaping and positioning actor in our everyday lives. With respect to such an implication, relational spatial approach steps forth; leaving behind the absolute space approach (which sees the urban space as the scene or container of social phenomena) and relational space approach (which reduces space to the relations among social objects on the space).

Relational space approach focuses on the constructive and reproducing role of space through relations with both objects and space; the main argument in this approach is that once the interaction between space and the social units occurs, then space cannot be reduced to social phenomena, rather once it penetrates the actors and processes then space gains the potential of influencing them indeed (Şengül, 2000). Woody Allen films contain so many examples of such a shift, turning urban space to an actor influencing lives and minds of movie characters, which is a possible psychogeographic research theme.

Physical pattern of space is the dominant factor shaping the positioning of body and the disciplinary role of space. In a meaningful pioneer study, Lynch (2010 [1960]) proposes five spatial elements composing the image of the city, which bridges the real/concrete map to the representation formed in human minds. These elements are paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. This framework partially can be adopted to our bipolar map assumption however it especially indicates the physical/concrete map, which is on the side of designer not the daily citizens, although it is based on gathering mental maps of citizens. Lynch's frame of reference should be supported with a set of more phenomenological and psychological inputs and techniques to grasp the nature of physical and mental parts of walking experience wholistically. Therefore, in a previous study of the writer (İlkay, 2020) – Spatial Topology of Walking in the city within the focus of Spatial Appropriation: The Case of Sub-Walking Districts in Van – Lynch's (2010 [1960]) framework of image of the city was adopted onto the place attachment conceptualization of Seamon (2013); the five elements of the image of the city [paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks] were overlapped on the six processes of place attachment proposed by Seamon (2013) which are: (1) place interaction – daily spontaneous encounters; (2) place identity – where that specific place stands within the lives of the individuals, (3) place release – chatting or interacting spontaneously with the people you know and encounter at the street, (4) place realization – physically constructing a place, giving the soul and shape of the space, (5) place creation – actors' taking part in the creation and (re)production of the space, (6) place intensification – resurrection of a place within an intentioned policy, design and application. As a result, four walking districts were distinguished in the case of Van as: the city centre, university campus, the dock and Edremit shore, and lastly neighbourhoods of the interviewees (İlkay, 2020). Sub-districts of the same city can be analysed in detail via psychogeographic approaches by gathering mental maps, and urban narratives in later research.

2.2. Ontology of Urban Space: Placing the Pattern of Public Spaces within Psychogeography

Paquot (2011) introduces the concept of suffering body who could not find his/her place in the city, which is the starting point of the idea of psychogeographic analyses. This concept also points a potential field of problem formulation and analysis in planning and especially in the education of the discipline in relation with design and urban policy planning. Body suffers through its experience and motion in urban space, which generally implies the physical and symbolic pattern of urban public spaces (or 'common spaces' as Stavrides (2028) re-conceptualizes). Street (or the paths discussed as in Lynch's analysis) is the constructive and main component of this pattern since it enables the body to move through the vacancies and occupancies of urban space. Streets shape the paths and forms of bindings among squares and parks as well, which makes the street the constructive element of this pattern of public-common spaces. Correspondingly, 'street' is the main analysis unit of psychogeography in addition to 'walking' and 'dérive'. Moreover, psychogeography also concentrates on the practice of 'getting lost' while walking in the city. By this way, the hidden resistance of the body emerges against the designed/conceived urban space. In addition, the researcher can become aware of the details of urban space which are dictated by the planner, designer or policy maker however refused by the bodies of the citizens, which results in an in-depth insight to policy and design processes.

Hereupon possible research themes and problems will be discussed with reference to ontological and epistemological assumptions pursued in this paper so far. Based on both this frame explained in the previous paragraph and the findings of the former paper of the writer on sub walking districts in Van (İlkay, 2020), the concept of 'alle' can be one of the possible fruitful topics to analyse. Alle is an extension of the street phenomenon within the university campuses which are interesting walking districts of the city. First, the integration or disintegration of the campus with the city is both a design and a place attachment issue, which concerns both principles of planning and scope of urban policy planning.

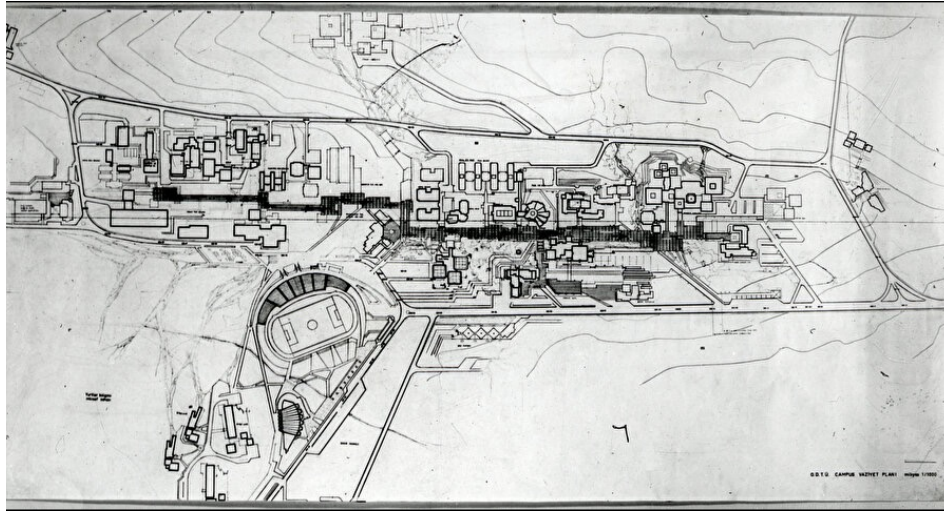


Figure 1. The layout plan of METU, by Altuğ and Çinici; the alle can be seen clearly and was designed as the main axis of pedestrian circulation (<https://www.gzt.com/arkitekt/bozkiri-yeserten-beton-yerleske-odtu-3592966>).

The alle in METU (Middle East Technical University) designed by Çinici's in 1960s (figure 1.) can be compared with the recently realized alle case in Van YYU (Yüzüncü Yıl University) (figure 2.). METU Campus is a well-designed and wholistically planned university campus having a deep spatial tradition shaped within a significant time lapse having differentiated layers of spatial and political practices. On the other hand, Van YYU alle has a relatively short-term history and placed in a partially designed university campus. This difference can be analysed psychogeographically via the problematic of spatial appropriation. The phenomenon of alle influences the texture, the spine, and the soul of university campuses, which may shape the place attachment and spatial appropriation of both lecturers and students, and other groups living or experiencing campuses. Therefore, owner-visitor dichotomy points a fruitful research focus based on the university campuses and especially the alle, which has psychogeographic elements.



Figure 2. The Alle in Van YYÜ (Source: <https://www.yyu.edu.tr/foto-galeri>).

Another fruitful theme is the psychogeographic analysis of the interrelation of streets, parks, and squares at especially city centres of metropolitan areas, such as Taksim Square-Gezi Park-İstiklal Street in İstanbul, Güvenpark-Atatürk Boulevard-Kızılay Square in Ankara, the linear route consisting of Konak Square, park and the Cordon in İzmir. A similar formation can be traced in other cities of Turkey, a primitive analysis was held in the case of Van with respect to the prior senses and observations of the writer on the city centre (İlkay, 2018). These four patterns can be compared with reference to psychogeographic principles, and such a comparison would give us a wholistic representation of city centres as walking districts decoding the gap between 'what is conceived' and 'what is perceived'. Jacobs (2011) argues the negative aspects of overemphasizing park areas in planning, such research would lead to an awareness on design errors of creating 'dead spaces' especially 'parks' which are neither used nor lived, as Jacobs criticises in her famous book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.

Şahin Yeşil (2016) frames the concept of psychogeography in her paper evaluating Orhan Pamuk's (2006) inspirational book *İstanbul: Memories and the City*; she compares Pamuk's approach with Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's (1960)

panoramic description about İstanbul. Pamuk's (2006) narrative and Şahin Yeşil's (2016) evaluation give a sense that a historical city like İstanbul would be an interesting and fruitful case to examine with both the history of the city itself and the personal history of the observer or a *dérive* like Orhan Pamuk. Such examinations would provide prosperous input to analyses of urbanisation, planning, and urban policy planning.

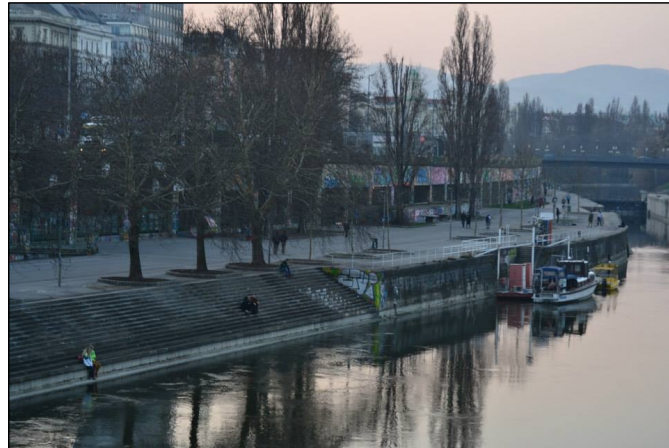


Figure 3. Donau-Canal in Wien, the relationship between human beings and water element; spatial diversity at promenade (Personal Archive, 09.03.2014).

A third field of possible research is related with the conceptualization and perception of water element in the city, promenade is one of the major cases in cities. Figure 3 and Figure 4 demonstrates two separate design approaches touching to senses and perceptions of the body. In the case of Dona-canal promenade, the space acts as if it unites the body with the water element in different forms and experiences. In other several cases in Europe, like the promenades in Budapest, Prag, Bratislava, the body can get in touch with the rivers in several ways, through platforms, sitting areas, step-formed common spaces, linear paths enabling cycling and walking, etc. We can see a meaningful and readable spatial patterning and hierarchy within these cases. However, in the case of Amasya, the feeling of 'being repressed' was the dominant perception within a limited spatial organization basically shaped through boundaries and routinized barriers. While walking along the riverside, a question occurs whether the designer protects the people from the water or the water from the people. This question crashes the walking body inevitably. Van is also another problematic case in this respect; although located at the coast of the largest lake of Turkey, Van is perceived and experienced as a city turning her back to such a great water element; citizens have limited opportunities and spaces to touch and interact with this water element in the city, which can be examined and analysed in a psychogeographic research. The design and policy of water element in the city is also a critical issue in both design and urban policy. Moreover, such research would give astonishing and fertile results on the implications of the reflections (of the design and policy approaches) on the bodies and minds of citizens.



Figure 4. Amasya, Promenade On The Edge of Yeşilirmak, The Relationship Between Body And Water Element; Spatial Barriers At Promenade And Inadequacy of Spatial Diversity At Promenade (Source: Personal Archive, 27.06.2018).

Several other psychogeographic examinations on neighbourhoods of citizens would also give an idea on differentiation of spatial appropriation and reflections on the different walking districts on various scales from reproducing the one's identity to neighbourhood and to urban everyday life within urban space.

All these possible research focuses indicate a two folded frame of reference. On the one hand, the body is examined in its situated activity within spatial narratives, mental maps and photographing practices. On the other hand, planning and policy making occur as a contextual analysis in relation with the setting, like patterns of public spaces, institutions, policies, etc. In this respect degradation of the value and legitimacy of planning can be reconsidered as an issue with respect to a psychogeographic filter, which can be observed in the fragmentation of urban space, especially in the case of urban green areas (İlkay, 2016) in relation with other public-common spaces. How does this issue reflect on the body? Does degradation of planning result in a fragmentation in the mental representations or not? Is this problem related to the suffering and lost body mentioned in Paquot's framework? This is a two double-edged problematic indicating research scales of 'individual' and 'context'. Several examinations, conducted on individual and contextual scales, would result in a wholistic comprehension of the gap between real/concrete/physical and personal/abstract/psychogeographic maps. So, what are the potentials and limitations of constructing a psychogeographic methodology within planning? This question will be examined in the next subheading.

3. Findings: Re-Reading the Literature with respect to Psychogeography in Spatial Analysis

Mental representations of the interaction between body and urban space constitute the backbone of our examination, which we started from positioning the body at and onto urban space. This backbone is located at the intersection of psychogeography and planning. The concept of 'contact' shapes the frame of such a backbone. We can re-state our main question as follows: "On the basis of the bipolar map assumption, what kind of inputs can be gathered from literature on psychogeographic research conducted through mental representations of space-body contact and how can we use these inputs in the processes and mechanisms of planning?"

Discussing the findings, let's remember what 'psychogeography' is. Psychogeography is a field of enquiry examining the reciprocal interaction of humans and space, which especially refers to the discipline of literature. At that point the main assumption is that "geography shapes space and space shapes the human beings" (Coşkun, 2017). Psychogeography concentrates on understanding and defining the effects of the environment on the feelings and attitudes of individuals, one of the abstractions implying such an interaction can be seen in Figure 5. Situationist International Movement raised the concept in 1950s within artistic motives, however the term 'psychogeography' evolved gaining a political content and turned out to be 'a political tool to transform the urban everyday life' (Covery, 2011; Sarı, 2013; Şahin Yeşil, 2016).

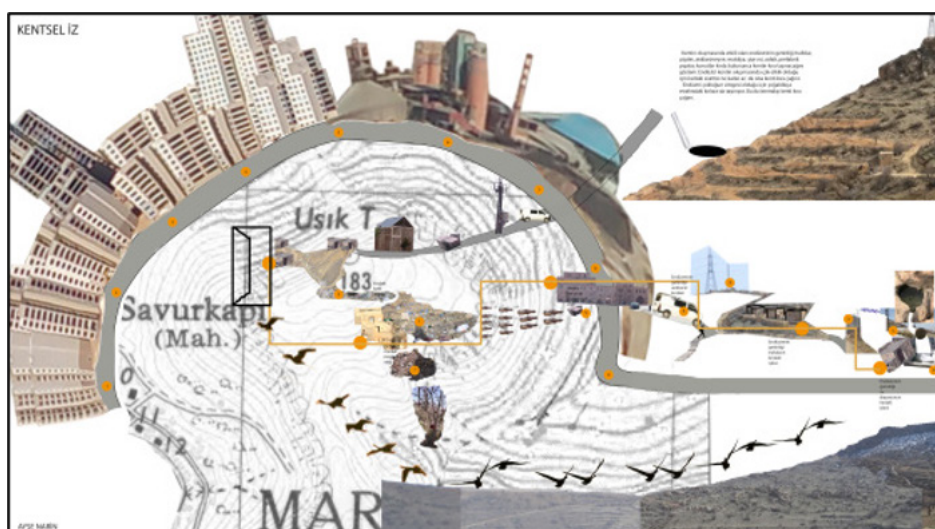


Figure 5. What is psychogeography? (Source: Coşkun, 2017).

The term, *Dérive*, implying 'deviation' and 'resistance', enabled such an evolution. Jale Sarı (2013) in her thesis describes psychogeography as a tool both to experience urban space and to grasp this spatial practice; and moreover, on the focus of this description, she defines the term '*dérive*' as: "saunters of individuals throwing everything in the wind within their everyday life," which refers to the main method of psychogeography in the city as well (Sarı, 2013: xv).

3.1. Examination of Psychogeography as a New Methodology in Planning

Covery (2011) starts his book with the definition of psychogeography as “the guide of beginner” and defines a psychogeographic tour with reference to a passage from MacFarle’s (2005) *A Road of One’s Own*. He guides the reader as:

If you want to make such a tour or create such a road, first open a map of London’s streets, and mark a circular area on the map to investigate. Then go there with the marked map and tour the circle. Record and save your experience while you are walking, either by film, or photograph, or may be with your handwriting on a notebook or record your voice to a cassette, whatever you choose. During this trial, he says, try to capture “the textual flow” of the streets through graffiti, trash buckets or other types and tools of communication within streets. Within this tour, open your mind to ‘the changing soul’ of the city. When you complete touring the circle, make a record of the results (MacFarle, 2005; cited in Covery, 2011: 7).

This is a shortened version of the original passage on the basic method of psychogeography. Covery (2011) argues that such a spontaneous urban tour (with motive of recording spatial experience) enables the voyager to challenge the dominant urban image which is imposed on the body. This has two basic opportunities; one is the recognition of citizen’s own spatial practice in relation with urban space and everyday life and the other is the recognition of the designer on hidden impacts and results of his/her spatial conception. In addition, this technique would give the researcher way to transcend traditional methods of gathering urban spatial knowledge (Covery, 2011), since this promises a precise method to track the purest mode of bodily contact with urban space during its perception and spatial practice. Based on such a methodology, the two main veins of psychogeography would take part: ‘space’ and ‘time’ in the form of ‘parkour’ and ‘nostalgia’ or ‘palimpsest’ (Şahin Yeşil, 2016).

‘Parkour’ refers to ‘nodes’ and ‘paths’ which can be related to our prior discussions on positioning body within the pattern of space, especially via the hierarchy of occupancies and vacancies of space; this indicates a similar structure of spatial topology analyses; ‘nostalgia’ can be related with the collective and personal memories; ‘palimpsest’ may refer to the process of reading and re-reading and re-writing of the space; all of which form a wholistic framework to grasp the urban space within the time perspective. Moreover, Lefebvre’s rhythm analysis can be adopted to this frame as well. So, what are the main concepts of psychogeography in relation with planning and design? Walking, Flâneur, Dérive, nostalgia (in relation with ‘memory’), parkour, palimpsest, and mental map are some of the basic concepts of psychogeography in relation with city and planning.

Before examining the texture of knowledge presented by psychogeography, perceptual and psychological techniques is better placed within the development of geography and social sciences. Social psychology entered the scene in 1950s and environmental psychology, examining the influence of environment on human beings, appeared as branch of social psychology. In 1960s and 70’s, mindsets shifted in both political stands and scientific approaches. In 1960s, behaviourism and (radical) humanism began to dominate the field of social sciences, as a result, human (centred) geography took its place within the history of geography and as a reaction to positivist approaches in social sciences. Therefore, perception and mental maps entered the field of interest within social sciences and especially geography in 1960s and 70’s. This period is also the same timelapse, where Lefebvre took to the stage with his conceptualization of social production of space within a radical humanist paradigm as a Neo-Marxist writer and famous spatial triads (conceived-perceived-lived space) (Lefebvre, 1991). Psychogeography has rooted from this vein, and rises on three focuses: Body, walking and urban space

3.2. Psychogeography in Planning within its Potentials and Limitations

When we examine a couple of studies which try to overlap planning and psychogeography, an ambiguous but fruitful bond can be recognized. Studies formulate experimental methods of adopting psychogeography to spatial analyses to generate suitable data to be used within planning processes. In one of the remarkable studies, Yorgancıoğlu and Çolak (2020) introduce the concept of ‘experiential mapping’. In a workshop named Re-mapping Visible and Invisible of Vefa-Zeyrek-Fener-Balat, Yorgancıoğlu and Çolak (2020) aimed to enable architecture students to touch and feel the urban space within its original, real atmosphere and to grasp the interrelation among body-city-place in depth. During the mentioned study, with the experiential map, the students concentrate on their senses and feelings, to document in the maps, which is a step to reveal the invisible levels of spatial knowledge at a historical

district of Istanbul. Then they tried to translate this knowledge to a design data (Yorgancıoğlu & Çolak, 2020) (Figure 6.).



Figure 6. Experiential Mapping (Source:Yorgancıoğlu & Çolak, 2020: 132).

In her research, Kelly (2020) conducts a psychogeographic examination at an abandoned university campus, using the concept of 'attentive walk'. Especially by taking photographs and notes, the site was tried to be grasped within both its historical story and the past, now, and future of the students, who joined the research. The researcher argues this approach as valuing the sensory and emotional experience of a place, which would result in focusing on the 'humanness' of the space (Kelly, 2020).

Öner (2020) puts forward the 'collaborative planning' in the study and examines how differently the users perceive and experience the public spaces in the case of Kadıköy; formulating "sound walks". Mental maps are used to capture different perceptions on the public space patterning with reference to 'sound' (Öner, 2020). Çelen Öztürk (2016) tries to re-read collective memory of the city, Eskişehir, through mental maps within psychogeographic techniques (Çelen Öztürk, 2016). Taşdizen and Kaygan (2016) evaluate critically the spatial policy on the transformation of Ulus historical city centre; they examine the moral values represented by Hacıbayram and within a psychogeographic manner they discuss the argument of surpassing these values by the urban transformation project (Taşdizen & Kaygan, 2016). Aksümer (2019) concentrates on the technique of guided tours within planning education and discusses the inadequacies and possibilities. Merely, Önen (2016) tries to frame the relation of walking and city in a more sociological point of view; and discusses the potential contribution of walking to the process of the democratization of the cities. And while writing the ways of sociology of discovering city via walking, she also presents an alternative and critical way of reproducing urban space by walking (Önen, 2016). Although these studies have differentiated focuses within variable disciplines, they all seem to resist a dominant planning approach which ignores the individualistic differentiations within their cognitive-emotional representations, which is the starting point of this paper in parallel to 'the suffering' and 'lost body' conceptualization of Paquot (2011 [2005]).

4. Conclusion:

The gap between 'what is conceived' and 'what is perceived' is the common ground of the studies on psychogeography and planning; Table 1 demonstrates a detailed comparative examination of the focus and techniques of the research discussed above. The gap between conceived and perceived spaces indicates the difference between physical reality and psychogeographic representations of individuals implying our two-folded map assumption.

Table 1. The focus and techniques of selected research on psychogeography and planning

	<i>Researcher</i>	<i>Title of the Research Paper</i>	<i>Technique</i>	<i>Emphasis in relation with Psychogeography</i>
1	Yorgancıoğlu and Çolak	A Methodological Inquiry for Re-structuring Spatial Knowledge Derived from Bodily Experience: Experiential Mapping	Experiential Mapping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Bodily Experience •Visible-invisible •A historical and multi-level district of Istanbul
2	Kelly	'Hurry Up please, it's time!' A Psychogeography of a Decommissioned University Campus	Taking photos and notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • psychogeographic examination •'attentive walk'
3	Öner	From Soundwalks and Spatial Perception Studies to Urban Planning: The Case of Kadıköy_AKUSTIK	Mental mapping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •'collaborative planning' •"sound walks" •'sound'
4	Çelen Öztürk	Reading Trials of Urban Memory in Eskişehir via Mental Maps	Cognitive Maps	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •collective memory of city •mental maps •cognitive maps
5	Taşdizen and Kaygan	Immoral Objects: A Psychogeography of Urban Transformation in Ulus	Psychogeographic manner not defined clearly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •immorality •urban transformation •psychogeographic manner
6	Aksümer	Learning the City from the Inhabitants: Application of the Commented Walk Method in Urban Studies, İzmir-Selçuk and Bursa-İznik Examples	Commented Walk Method	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •planning education •guided tours
7	Önen	The Sociology of Discovering the City through Walking	Reproducing urban space by walking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •the relation of walking and the city •sociological point of view •democratization of cities

Source. Produced on the basis of the discussion conducted under the third part of the paper on Findings.©

The main question of this study was framed as “what kind of a knowledge psychogeography can present to planning via ‘representations of walking experience’ based on the two-folded map assumption”. The methods section of the paper discussed the epistemology and ontology of ‘walking body’ to bridge the phenomena of psychogeography, spatial topology, and place attachment/spatial appropriation to a spatial methodology of mental representations of walking in the city. The review of psychogeographic studies in planning indicated four levels of research: the body (i.e., ‘bodily experience’), the situated activity (i.e., ‘attentive walk’), the setting (i.e., ‘a historical and multi-level district of Istanbul’) and the context (i.e., ‘collaborative planning’, ‘democratization of cities’) as Layder (1993) implies in his book. Examining the concepts listed in the emphasis and technique parts, the focus shifts gradually from psychological moments like ‘mental representations’ to behavioural and practical levels like ‘attentive walks’ and ‘photographing’ and reaches to reproducing and designing urban space, which indicates a reading, re-reading and re-writing process of the body onto urban space. Similarly, under the second subheading possible research themes and problems were discussed with reference to ontological and epistemological assumptions, a detailed comparison can be seen in table 2. Based on both this frame and the review on psychogeography, three possible main problems are demonstrated in table 2 with respect to the context of the theme and cases. This table can provide a framework for possible further psychogeographic research.

Table 2. Possible Psychogeographic Research Problematics within the thematic context, case and ontology, epistemology, and methodology of space.

	Research Problematic	Case	Context of the Theme	Ontology of space	Epistemology of space	Methodology
	Differentiation of walking experience and spatial appropriation in university campuses	Alle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Campus design •Place attachment •Walking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Extension of the 'street' •The backbone of the campus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Spatial Appropriation •Sub-behaviour settings •Walkability •Parkour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Mental maps •Narratives •Attentive walks •Spatial Topology Analysis •Rhythmanalysis •Dérive
	Urban morphology of public spaces at city centres via psychogeographic analysis	Street Urban Park Urban Square	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Urban design •Urban morphology •City centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Pattern of public spaces •Walking districts •Wholistic planning approach •Continuity and rhythm of space •Spatial-historical layers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Space Syntax •Sub-behaviour settings •Walkability •Lynch's five elements of Image of the City •Reading invisible layers of the city •Palimpsest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Spatial Topology Analysis •Rhythmanalysis •Mental maps •Experiential maps •Dérive •Attentive walks
	Conceptualization and perception of water element in the city	Promenade	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Urban design •Design approaches •Collaborative planning •Water element in the city •Natural vs. built environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Interaction of body and water element •Walking districts •Defensive design approach •Space hierarchy •Perceived space vs. Conceived space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Spatial diversity: i.e., sitting areas, step-formed common spaces, linear paths, etc. •Forms of 'touch' of the body to the water •Sub-behaviour settings •Barriers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Mental maps •Narratives •Attentive walks •Dérive •Analysis of differentiated spatial functions: walking, cycling, and sitting •Photographing techniques

Source. Produced on the basis of the discussion conducted under the second part of the paper on methods extracted from the Epistemology and Ontology of Space.

All these possible research focuses indicate a two folded frame of reference, as mentioned before. The body is focussed on within its situated activity on the one hand through its spatial narratives, mental maps and photographing practices. On the other hand, through a contextual analysis, planning and policy making are concentrated on in relation with the setting, like 'patterns of public spaces', 'reading layers of the urban space', 'collaborative planning', 'urban design', etc. At this point, while examining different urban spaces via differentiated mental representations and spatial practices via a psychogeographic filter, a problem of fragmentation vs. differentiation would occur. Then a question of degradation of the value and legitimacy of planning appears. How does this problem reflect on body? Does the fragmentation and degradation of planning result in fragmented mental representations or not? Does this fragmentation affect 'the suffering and lost' body mentioned in Paquot's (2011 [2005]) framework? This is a two double-edged problematic indicating research scales of individual and context. Therefore, further examinations (as discussed in this conclusion) would enable a wholistic comprehension on the gap between real/concrete/physical and personal/abstract/psychogeographic maps, which is crucial as discussed in the paper so far.

The research discussed above, and the epistemological-ontological arguments discussed previously show both the potential and ambiguous ways of psychogeography as a methodology in planning. Although the techniques are at a very micro level, the knowledge rooted from 'body scale' and mental representations of individuals, would enable designers, planners, and policy makers to reconsider the users' needs and reactions to the built environment. Therefore, the gap once grasped between what is conceived and what is perceived would give a chance to create more democratic urban spaces where people decide on their own living environments and to reproduce more humane cities, through which body can breathe and find its place easily. As a result, psychogeography can present an ambiguous but flourishing, creative -perhaps eventually a revolutionary- knowledge to planning via 'representations of walking experience' by recognizing and reproducing the two-folded nature of mapping urban space. This area is a new, vague so a bit frightening field of examination, but promises hopeful and prosperous scientific-spatial techniques for spatial enquiry.

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