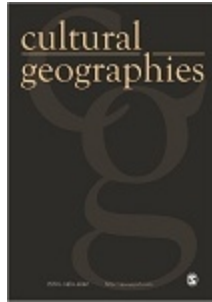**Disturbing geographies and in/stability in and around a supermarket with a middle-aged man with learning impairments**

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Disturbing geographies and in/stability in and around a supermarket with a middle-aged man with learning impairments

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Introduction
This article explores ostensibly mundane events in and around a supermarket with a middle-aged man with learning impairments. These events are also deployed as prisms through which to reflect more generally upon how place is implicated in disabling practice and how the disabling geographies such practice both shapes and is shaped by may be un/re/made. Efforts to apprehend enabling—rather than disabling—geographies are realised through such tactics as rehabilitating the processual qualities of place and attending to the 'thingness' of place; actual and imaginative subversions, or reversals and deconstructions. These seek to disturb and trouble disabling geographies and the practice made possible therein.

The relationships between space and disability and especially the ways social and spatial processes may disable has become central to 'geographies of disability'.[1] Scholars not only register how space is instrumental in reproducing and sustaining disablist practices[2] but also, and increasingly, emphasise that social environments are not merely 'pre-determinedly exclusionary and oppressive' but 'contexts in which people engage and perform their embodiment and in so doing re/produce and transform both themselves and their surroundings'.[3] Such recognition of the 'recursive relationship between identity and space'[4] is, as Edward Hall and Robert Wilton note, reflected in a broader disciplinary 'relational turn'[5] which conceptualises space as constantly being 'made, unmade, and remade by the incessant shuffling of heterogeneous relations'.[6] In order to make sense of human-environment interactions, scholars may deploy a biopsychosocial model which recognises how biological, personal (or psychological) and social factors[7] intersect with structures (of domination) in ways that shape the lived experiences of disabled people.[8]

This article seeks to contribute to conversations about socio-spatial experiences of disability, especially by illustrating how efforts to realise a relational, processual and perhaps even 'progressive'—as opposed to 'reactionary'—sense of place[9] are thwarted and frustrated by an entangled enmeshment of factors which manifest not only inside and outside but also between persons who become entwined in and with place and conditions of possibility. I document how place and disabling geographies are not *merely* products located outside persons even though, admittedly, they may exert 'overagainstness'[10] and extend—and descend—to the level of practice and to persons' dispositions in ways that obfuscate taken-for-granted boundaries separating the worlds inside and outside persons in ways that make them appear—and be experienced—as solid determining objects 'locked into their final forms'.[11] Nevertheless, neither place nor disabling geographies are unassailable social facts but accomplishments produced through practice between people even though this practice produces—as it is produced by—certain structured, systemic and discursive conditions of possibility. By virtue of attending to the in/stability of place, this article might contribute to efforts to 'rethink the ways in which disabled people – in fact, all people, disabled or non-disabled – occupy worldly spaces'[12] and to take seriously what Nancy Hansen and Chris Philo call 'the impaired body in its immediate materiality,' in ways that may facilitate 'imagining other, more "hopeful ontologies" … of disability *in* society'.[13] These may even, as Hester Parr explains with regard to what she calls a 'hopeful ontology', permit possibilities for rethinking spaces of intimate encounter so they may potentially be infused by difference.[14]

More specifically, this article begins by elaborating upon methodological and ethical matters before describing the particular set of events in, around and with regard to a supermarket which this article explores. Then these events are made subject to two readings. In the first, although the supermarket *seems* merely a backdrop against which events take place, I illustrate how it combines with forms of governmentality[15] to form a product, or text, through which the normative order communicates. The traces of this normative and normalising order not only descend to the micro level of practice but also operate through, between and within persons. In the second reading, place is regarded as a dynamic process constituted by innumerable elements in constant motion. However, because both these readings register the product and process of disabling geographies, the final part of this article struggles to realise more inclusionary geographies.

Ethical and methodological matters
This article deploys a foot-led methodology constituted by what might loosely resemble what Mark Castrodale calls go-along interviews and 'mobile methods' which respectively 'allow researchers to observe … participants' spatial practices in situ' and 'capture complex interrelations between social actors in space and … interdependency in movement together as researchers-participants'.[16] Specifically, in this article I dwell alongside Paul—a pseudonym—a middle-aged man with learning impairments although he is currently discursively and diagnostically positioned on the 'low-functioning' end of the 'autistic spectrum', with 'severe learning difficulties' and 'challenging behaviour'—labels, or names, which exist within a larger medical model discourse which individualises disability and posits it ipso facto as a lack.

By walking alongside Paul I intermittently witness how Paul's disability is constructed and mediated through and between persons implicated in social

encounters—including myself—and to apprehend how disability spreads, obfuscating the taken-for-grantedness of ontologically separate persons. In such moments, I temporarily inhabit a position on the other side of normalcy albeit while, unlike Paul, retaining a metaphorical return ticket to the 'normal' and normative order of things by virtue of how factors like my gender, whiteness, socioeconomic status and occupation combine to produce a privileged subject position.

However, this article does not—and cannot—exploit the power of interview to supplement walking in ways that may enable participants to articulate and narrate their experiences and perspectives directly. Instead, Paul is subject to my representational and discursive power as indeed he is more generally in life. It is crucial to reflect upon not only such asymmetries of power but also broader and deeper methodological and ethical matters emerging as a consequence of the 'project' to which this article refers. In fact, although Paul has a language which persons familiar to him are conversant in, it is not possible to attain informed consent for participation in this research—a crucial signifier of sound research ethics according to most disciplinary codes. Nevertheless, in my subsequently accepted application for ethical approval from the Human Subjects Ethics Sub-Committee of my university department for a larger project involving persons like Paul I stated that in instances when the 'project invites persons who have learning impairments, I will obtain consent from a parent or guardian'.

In fact, consent from Paul's guardian was only implicit, largely because Paul is my elder brother and our lives overlap beyond the limits of this article and the events to which it refers. Like other disability-related researchers,[17] my relationship with Paul has motivated—and perhaps even compelled—me to write even while being aware of the ethical issues which accompany decisions to write and therefore represent other people's worlds. I am especially troubled by the notion that *my* voice (as a sibling, university teacher, etc.) may conjoin with those of persons like non-autistic parents and professionals—whose voices tend to be the 'loudest in debates over autism'[18]—in ways that eclipse the voices of autistic persons *themselves*. To be sure, Paul *is* 'written on from the outside', as Sam Keen puts it with regard to persons with experiences of serious illnesses[19] and these words combine to produce discourse which constructs autism as 'a *thing-like form.*'[20] While I cannot detach myself from conditions in which autism is produced, I strive to produce 'empathetic scholarship' which can 'speak *not for but with* those unable … to communicate through orthodox modes'.[21] I am also painfully aware that if I do not write, or speak, for—or with—Paul, he would be both silent and invisible—albeit while being formed by words imposed from the outside—to the extent that the ethical costs—whether 'real' or imagined—of writing may, in fact, be less than those that may accrue by *not* writing. However a more potent justification is that this article strives to highlight how, as Margrit Shildrick puts it elsewhere, 'every one of us, regardless of our own personal form of embodiment, is implicated in the nature of the sociocultural imaginary that shapes our everyday lives, and that … the challenge to, and of, the discourse of disability is a shared responsibility'.[22] In this regard, my intention is not only to speak—or write—on behalf of—or with—Paul but also, and especially, to interrogate my own 'cultural and psycho-social location as non-disabled'[23] in ways that may further provoke awareness of ability and disability are '*co-constituted at the mundane level of the everyday as well as being structurally and hegemonically located*',[24] in ways that implicate *everyone* in practices which contribute to disabling processes and 'ableist geographies'.[25]

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To the supermarket and beyond

Considerable time and exertion is spent 'helping' Paul move between locations that might resemble 'backstage' and 'frontstage'[26] although it is unclear where each begins and ends for Paul. They might even either overlap and collide or be as illusory to Paul as boundaries separating nations in realms demarcated and defined by flows of global capital. Manoeuvring, or choreographing, Paul involves such activities as combing his hair, choosing clothes, emptying his pockets of tissues typically saturated in saliva and other outflow, checking his backside (and often cleaning it) and making sure his shoes are on the right way round. It is often necessary to persuade Paul into and out of certain items of clothing because he either takes against or becomes fixated by certain items. These seem to vacillate for reasons I and persons close to Paul cannot fathom. Paul's choices (e.g., an 'apple green T-shirt', as Paul puts it or an England football shirt, especially liked when social constructions of the football supporter were largely unfavourable, etc.) sometimes make a 'text' that does not necessarily signify 'positive' meanings. Consequently, he is enticed into adorning 'props' that seem likely to produce a more favourable script, according to *our* definitions. Consequently, dressing up, and down, putting on, and taking off, clothing regularly acquire qualities of slapstick, or pantomime, albeit of a kind that transpires as the raw materials, or figurative canvas, of Paul's body is sculpted into an 'appropriate' text. That Paul might undress at any moment, apparently trying to take a bath and often empty a bottle of bath liquid or shampoo while doing so makes these actions accumulate additional absurd qualities.

On such a day, Paul and I exit the house, albeit only after much coaxing and cajoling. This conspires to produce an odyssey of sorts although that we have barely stepped outside might make the scenario better comparable to an up-down, backward-forward, figurative game of snakes and ladders. 'Bye-bye walk', Paul had said in reply to my questions (e.g., 'do you want to go for a walk?') that increasingly became statements (i.e., 'let's go now', 'come on', etc.). Paul's words (e.g., 'home please', 'go please' (to me)) seem unambiguously to communicate aversion to being outside and walking, although perhaps he does like walking, I am unsure, as experiences, or persons' (including myself) interpretations thereof, suggest Paul's words possess a complicated and not always literal relationship to the actualities they apparently refer. Thus, 'bye-bye walk' might actually mean Paul wants to go for a walk. In any event, such words lack power, in the sense that they do not have the capacity to shape what transpires because Paul is largely subject to the whims, and mandates, of other actors: in this case, myself.

As we step into the street, I can feel how we might sound, or appear, to other people. Although this is partly imagined, I also draw upon my memories of previous events[27] and the discourse of others, like a neighbour (e.g., 'can't you keep his noise down', 'he disturbs people living here', 'it is not fair doing this to us', etc.). Paul is talking about this and that while seemingly grinding his teeth, thereby creating noises that markedly contrast with the apparently ambient quietness. I can also smell Paul although his olfactory microclimate resists efforts to fix by words. Perhaps Paul smells like apple, likely because of the residue of bath foam or shampoo that clings to his body. However, my anticipation, fear and perhaps even dread about how Paul will smell insinuates into his 'clean' aroma now; an expectancy shaped by experiences with Paul. This is because of the leakiness Paul—like everyone else—constantly produces: saliva, excrement and so on. 'Wee-wee, toilet. Please. Pants down', Paul remarks often only milliseconds before he is

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leaning up against such objects as a tree, or children's climbing frame, having made a makeshift latrine.

We walk down the hill, turn right, taking the 'back' way, thereby avoiding the promenade where persons are typically either eating all day breakfasts and ice cream or drinking beer with such practices modulating, to some extent, according to the time of the day. Such a diversionary route is taken because Paul often attempts to 'grab' such items in ways that often precipitate struggles and skirmishes[28] as well as embarrassment; features of the event I soon describe. Even though we follow a less populated route relatively bereft of shops, here on the backstreets things are still intense. I am like a bodyguard, or puppeteer, trying yet failing to compose, or govern, Paul's movements while acting as a block, or shield, not only between him and passers-by but also shops it seems likely he will want to enter.

Our reason for being out is to picnic. This is what eventually transpires as we sit on a bench at the very end of the line, high on headland overlooking the harbour. However, I am getting ahead of myself. I had intended Paul remain outside the cavernous supermarket with my wife and daughter while I ventured inside to purchase items for lunch. This does not happen. I am still unsure why but it is likely Paul 'forced' himself into the megastore, desiring to be inside, rather than outside, perhaps bewitched by his imagination of the objects therein. Our planned itinerary, or mental shopping list—bread, cheese, crisps, drinks and so on—is discarded, or overwritten and another text unfolds. We move, instead, in a scattergun manner, flitting from aisle to aisle, according to Paul's fleeting, vacillating appetites and desires. 'Washing liquid', 'bath foam', 'can of beer', 'green one', 'red one', Paul says, as if trying to catch up with his body (or mindbody) that is already in pursuit of items that seem to resemble Lacanian objet a, or objet petit a, namely entities that have 'no substantial consistency' but which acquire form 'when looked at from a standpoint slanted by the subject's desires and fears'.[29] These things come and go, like a speeded up (and perhaps out of control) carousel, or kaleidoscope, in ways that seem to make Paul perplexed and perhaps even overwhelmed; as if he experiences what Soren Kierkegaard calls the 'dizziness of freedom'[30] amidst ostensibly mundane but apparently seductive objects.

Paul and I are in the stationary aisle struggling over objects like paint and crayons. Paul holds them to his face one-by-one as if examining them before putting them down, picking up another and beginning again, processes my flailing (intervening) arms further complicate. A person who seems like a store manager stands across the aisle. He looks on in silence having become surrounded by an ancillary cast of several other motionless, engrossed and seemingly spellbound customers (or employees, I cannot recall) who seem to have appeared there, as if by magic. They look like characters in a fairy-tale: Sleeping Beauty, for example or static chess pieces whose lack of movement, and stillness, contrasts with the febrile frisson of movement Paul and I combine to produce. Despite our movement, the aisle resembles, or echoes, Edward Hopper's iconic *Nighthawks*, a painting that, like many of his others, depicts loneliness and isolation although whether we would be inside (or outside) the frame I am unsure.

I am gripping Paul's neck and trying to move him away even though I know it is more effective to coax and talk to him. Somehow it feels we have neither sufficient time nor space to engage in prolonged negotiations although I feel certain Paul's primary carers would have sought to dialogue with him in ways that might likely have produced more satisfactory and less violent outcomes. It feels as if we

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are in a kind of bubble, somehow together with, yet separate from, observers; although I can feel (or, perhaps, I imagine) their gazes. As soon as I move Paul closer to the exit, he pushes us back to where we started and we begin again, giving our performance qualities of a Marx brothers' skit, a Tom and Jerry cartoon or that aforementioned game of snakes and ladders. I do not recall, as is typical in such circumstances, how the scenario ends, in ways that psychoanalytic concepts like 'denial', 'repression' and 'motivated forgetting' might explain. Nevertheless, I know, because of a photograph I took, that we arrive at that bench to which I previously referred. Paul sits eating sandwiches with one eye on those being consumed by others, seemingly having forgotten the instant just before although perhaps a psychoanalyst might observe otherwise. What I also forgot, only to recall while writing, was a fleeting encounter with a woman as Paul and I sat momentarily outside the supermarket getting our breath back after this draining experience. I think she asked if Paul was okay, and where 'the woman', as she put it, who was 'usually' with him was. I think she asked if we were okay although I am unsure. I am more certain not only that there was warmth in the woman's voice who was, so it now seems, eager to talk but also that I answered curtly, perhaps even rudely, in ways that vanished, and vanquished, the dialogue before it had begun.

The in/stability of place: A twice-told tale

The paragraphs below subject these events to two readings. The first accentuates how forms of governmentality reflect and produce place, constituting means through which the normal, normative and normalising order is both maintained and constructed, in ways that determine Paul and events. The second foregrounds the dynamic and 'perpetually on the boil'[31] qualities of the supermarket, inhabited by manifold beings who exist in relation to others.

Governmentality and place as an actor

Before entering purportedly public places, Paul is subjected to multitudinous mandates. These may be regarded as forms of governmentality, namely 'modes of action … destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people'[32] or, more generally, '*all* endeavors to *shape*, *guide*, [and] *direct* the conduct of others . . . *and to govern oneself*'.[33] These operate, first, upon the geography of Paul's body through such actions as choosing 'appropriate' clothes and wiping saliva from his mouth. Such practice conspires to produce signifiers that conjoin with others (e.g., combing his hair, tucking his shirt in, smelling his backside for excrement, etc.) to sculpt Paul into a sign which may fit into an extant chain, or tissue, of discourse constituted by other signs. Governmentality also shapes the ways Paul is made to move through and occupy relatively depopulated directions and routes which remove Paul from, or limit his exposure to the normalising power of persons like passers-by.[34]

The normative order does not touch Paul directly but is, instead, reflected and refracted through the practice and discourse of others, in ways that disclose how disabling geographies are not merely either outside or inside persons but operate through and between them. This practice is taken-for-granted, habitual and 'natural' in the sense to which Alfred Schutz refers,[35] only seeping into discursive consciousness through processes like writing this article, although this does not make them less violent. Governmentality produces geographies which indelibly index the normal, normative and normalising order, especially as they function to construct binaries of normalcy/abnormalcy and ability/disability. Paul's body is

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made to cite an abled exemplar while his disabled difference—or difference for itself—is suppressed. The geography of his body is colonised by such ideologies as ableism. However, because Paul cannot realise the flawed but nevertheless hegemonic 'standard for humanity' that such ideologies construct, he symbolises imperfection and failure,[36] becoming an '"unreasonable"' facsimile of an abled 'prototype'.[37]

Despite failing, the trajectories Paul is made to follow, as well as his ways of being in, moving through and being removed—often forcibly—to peripheral positions in place (e.g., to the bench, far from the madding crowd) displays fluency in the ableist norms animating places and an unwillingness to either disturb or cause affront to them. Paul knows his place[38] or, more accurately, is *made* to know his place. Habitual practices like wiping saliva from Paul's mouth and hands contribute to 'weeding out ... the natural functions from public life' in ways that make him subject to a contemporary iteration of the 'civilising project' to which Norbert Elias refers.[39] By virtue of such practice, Paul is made into a figurative mannequin that contributes to the production of a simulated society in which 'ontological precariousness' and 'visceral realities' are swept away,[40] thereby creating 'a zone of comfort that blankets disability with the appearance of normalcy' in ways that might help 'nondisabled people feel more comfortable with the presence of disability'.[41]

Although the supermarket may appear an inconspicuous or unobtrusive background,[42] it registers *and* produces a particular order of things. Constituting this are symbolic signs (e.g., words hanging between aisles—'save an extra 25%', 'great offers', etc.); indexical signs like arrows pointing here and there toward the positions of particular products and signs that e.g., construct family as indelibly joined not only to particular products but also each other by virtue of their orientations to these objects. There is, meanwhile, a 'community noticeboard', charity boxes (into which children are invited to deposit 'coins' (sometimes even to groups that *include* persons like Paul), pictures of local interest and a café. Such signifiers and the meanings they register and generate (e.g., about consumption, charity, civicmindedness, beauty and 'community', etc.) make the supermarket a text, or narrative, that renders this order of things meaningful and intelligible. As a church teaches reverence, a library to be silent,[43] the symbolic landscape of this supermarket normalises, naturalises and pays tribute to consumer-oriented practice while imbuing it with noble, compassionate, charitable and civic connotations.

Also circulating in the supermarket are forms of ableism and disablism that produce barriers (e.g., a bargain bin in the middle of an aisle big enough for wheelchair access).[44] Even though, admittedly, these may not seem to manifest in *my* narrative of events, they insinuate actual places (e.g., schools, parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, etc.) and cultural forms in ways that teach persons they are out of place both explicitly and implicitly.[45] Such barriers also occupy—or invade—persons in such forms as psychoemotional disablism and internalised ableism.

By virtue of such factors, persons appear like figurative formed and molded chess pieces located on positions on a structured terrain or field and engaged in manoeuvres, or forms of practice, that have already been demarcated in advance. In such circumstances, it seems all that can be done is to disappear, to vanish—to a place like the bench that featured in the narrative. There Paul may be made to lurk in the shadows, or margins, of a disabling geography, thereby producing eliminating and segregating practice that keeps disabled and non-disabled persons

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compartmentalised,[46] in ways that contribute to the reproduction of a disturbing abled and ableist spatiality.

Process, becoming and place as event and relational enmeshment

By virtue of backgrounding the products of the normal, normative and normalising order and the concretising power of place to shape conduct, the supermarket may, instead, be regarded as inhabited by many beings, or 'things'. There are, for example, contemporaries, persons with whom a '"mutual interplay of actions and reactions can be established"'.[47] Such a category may unfold to disclose 'manifold forms of intimacy and anonymity ... familiarity and strangeness ... intensity and extensity'.[48] In and around the supermarket, there are persons like the store manager, customers, Paul, the woman outside and myself. Also present are factors like the time, weather (e.g., the clement weather that may have initially triggered our intention to picnic), the news last night (e.g. reports of abuse in a care home for autistic persons, a downturn in the economy, etc.), participants' states of mind, their implicit and explicit ends and Paul's smell (or how it is imagined and interpreted by virtue of social and cultural constructions of odour), his appearance (e.g. a stain on Paul's shorts), impairments, their effects and the ways these are constructed within various discourses. There are also objects (e.g. paint, crayons, cans of beer, trolleys, signs hanging over aisles etc.).

Such elements may be regarded as contributing to dynamic processes that exemplify how place is 'always in the process of "becoming," no longer reified or concretized'.[49] Put differently, place is the product of a 'synthesis' of interacting forces, or the 'confluence of parts or elements' which, as Cliff Stagoll explains with regard to Gilles Deleuze's conceptualization of the event in *The Logic of Sense*, are in constant motion.[50] For example, persons may give, give off, read and interpret communications (e.g., glances, gestures and silences) through processes of 'self-indication', a '*moving* communicative process in which the individual notes things, assesses them, gives them a meaning, and decides to act on the basis of the meaning'.[51]

The presence of multiple actors, each with their own persuasions, may index how collective behaviour is neither 'mechanical' nor an object-in-itself[52] but a 'triumph' emerging through 'the coming together, for particular purposes, of a greater or lesser number of people, for shorter or longer periods of time, in more or less formalized and institutionalized fashions'.[53] The supermarket is, as Massey observes of space, 'the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions' that are, crucially, 'always under construction'.[54]

Such qualities make the supermarket comparable to the 'huge kitchen' and 'laboratory of the alchemist' to which Tim Ingold refers in which 'stuff is mixed in various combinations, generating new materials ... that will in turn become mixed with other ingredients in an endless process of transformation'.[55] This is a world that reverses the primacy attached to being over becoming, 'independence over relatedness ... things over processes, to the idea that the human ... is ... isolated from the social and natural web in which we ... live and move and are becoming'.[56] Regarded in this way, the supermarket looks less like *Nighthawks* and more like Vincent Van Gogh's *The Starry Night*: a realm in which there is 'depth, colour, form, line, movement, contour, physiognomy' all of which are 'branches of Being, and … each one can sway all the rest'.[57]

As it is bewitching and perhaps even hypnotising to discern dynamic, and processual, qualities in the supermarket so it is arresting to return to the particularity

of the persons therein (e.g., the store manager, the customers, Paul, etc.) and the architecture of discourse they produce (e.g., silences, bodily gestures, 'stares' etc.) even while not conventionally speaking. In fact, attending to the interactional elements as they unfold does not provide possibilities for either a hopeful or more progressive sense of place. To understand why processes of becoming fail to congeal in a progressive sense of place, it is necessary to recognise that individual actions and inactions (or intended speech acts) enter into structured and discursively demarcated contexts populated by such discourses as ableism, disablism and dis/ableism. Each of these, as well as many others (e.g., civility, normalcy, appropriate and inappropriate conduct, etc.) may be regarded as the underlying rules, or 'grammar' and 'syntax', which determine, regulate and govern what may be said and how and what these 'words' may mean.[58] Individual action and speech are further fragile since, as Hannah Arendt explains, they 'need the surrounding presence of others' and are 'in constant contact with the web of the acts and words of other men [sic].'[59] Put differently, notions like disability, disablement and stigma are structural and discursive and embedded in unquestioned assumptions—as Iris Marion Young observes of oppression—while nevertheless accumulating meanings *between* people, all of which limit the capacity of individual actions, or tactics, to 'author' hopeful, progressive, places, even when places are populated by well-meaning people,[60] as the supermarket may indeed be.

Accordingly, actions and inactions combine so as to maintain disabling geographies and exclusionary environments and to register and generate meanings that are indelibly shaped by the contexts in which they are practiced. The processes of becoming which manifest in the supermarket are shaped by these conditions, to such an extent that progressive qualities seep away and events unfold in ways that pertain toward reproduction rather than re-invention and renewal. Thus, albeit by virtue of a different journey, this reading reaches a similar destination: stranded on the bench high on headland away from the disabling gazes that contribute to the disabling geography that unfolds in the supermarket.

Rehabilitating process and disturbing geographies

This article has hitherto forcibly—and perhaps even violently—separated product and process even though they are 'equally insistent aspects of experience' that must claim 'co-equal footing in any ... interpretation of the real', as Alfred North Whitehead observes of the ostensibly hermetically sealed states of being and becoming.[61] Nevertheless, although the processual qualities of place are increasingly realised in and central to academic discourse, the duality (or duplicity) of place as product/process is obscured in the actual timespace in which events are experienced, such as those to which this article refers. This is because as being may eclipse becoming by virtue of surviving the perishing of becoming,[62] so the products of place seem to extinguish the processes through which they arise, to such an extent they may appear and be experienced as 'objects' that 'stand over' and exert 'overagainstness'[63] upon the gathering of 'things' (e.g., relations, materials, etc.) which fabricate this 'product'. It is, nevertheless, possible to further attend to, or rehabilitate, the processual qualities of place. When regarded in this way, landscape, and place, opens up to more progressive potential although it is even more productive to disturb and trouble extant geographies through subversion, imagination, deconstruction and presence—matters to which the final part of this article turn.

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Rehabilitating process and the thingness of place

Apprehending place as process and thing instead of product and object unfastens the apparent fixedness and seamlessness of timespace. A thing, as Ingold explains, is a '"going on" ... a place where several goings on become entwined' and 'has the character ... of a knot whose constituent threads, far from being contained within it, trail beyond, only to become caught with other threads in other knots'. An object, by contrast, 'stands ... as a fait accompli, presenting its congealed, outer surfaces to our inspection'.[64] Attending to the thingness of place opens up possibilities for persons to 'insert … [themselves] into the human world'[65] as the ostensibly concretized qualities of the world subsides, giving way to a landscape that is 'at once manipulated and manipulable … always subject to change, and everywhere implicated in the ongoing formation of social life'.[66] In contrast to real timespace when the world appears as a 'single', 'smooth' and 'continuous flow', or 'steady stream', when things are slowed down reality may be apprehended as 'constituted by a series of distinct frames' and as coming into being through 'little droplets'.[67] Regarded in this manner, events in the supermarket are constituted by innumerable actions and inactions that may be comparable to notes in a score of music being written: the melody of which is not only undecided but also undecidable.

Crucially, the thing of this event is neither closed off nor a separate and finished product. Instead, persons are part of this 'thing' and may 'join with the processes of its ongoing formation.'[68] Apprehended in this way, it is possible, for example, to turn around and make eye-contact with persons. It might even be possible to speak (e.g., 'Paul is autistic', 'We'll only be a few minutes', 'It's better if I talk to him', 'Would you mind giving me a hand', 'Don't worry, there's nothing to be concerned about' etc.). It might also be possible to dialogue with the woman outside the supermarket and perhaps even sit a while.

Such ostensibly inconsequential insertions in the present may shape social reality in the future. This is because practice leaves traces, like those marks left in the landscape by Richard Long's celebrated 'A line made by walking',[69] in ways that make the supermarket comparable to that iconic and iconicized river to which Heraclitus referred to the extent that as persons 'cannot step twice into the same stream' so they cannot enter into the same supermarket. As 'the river is not an *object*, but a continuing flow'[70] so the supermarket is constituted by 'processes of formation as opposed to their final products, and to flows and transformations as against states of matter'.[71]

Subversions: actual and imaginative

Reading the supermarket as product and process culminated in similarly desultory outcomes because of the potent power of the disablement that operates on, through and between persons and place through governmentality and place-based ideologies which invade, and perhaps even colonise, bodily geographies and persons' psychic landscapes (e.g., through psychoemotional disablism and internalised ableism). This may be so powerful as to render the aforementioned rehabilitation of place as a thing or stream into which persons may insert themselves as fanciful and perhaps even quixotic. More realisable outcomes may, perhaps, be accomplished through subverting and transgressing disabling geographies through deployment of tactics. The intentions of such tactics might be comparable to those youthful interventions to which Teresa Caldeira refers that challenge—and disturb—place-related inequalities and discriminations and which conspire to destabilise systems of signs, social relations and the norms places reflect and construct.[72]

Paul might (be made to) practice what Tim Cresswell calls 'spatial Garfinkeling', namely practices that deliberately and provocatively seek to 'upset commonsense assumptions' in order to help re-discover the 'underlying taken-for-granted assumptions that help mold social action'.[73] It might, for example, be possible to loosen Paul's figurative (and actual) shackles so that he reveals his *true* self. Admittedly, the progressive potential of the disorder Paul would produce dissipates swiftly, like paint washing down a plughole. This is because Paul cannot subvert in a way that preserves agency and his own safety so that his subversion would either need to be assisted (in ways that would make him object rather than subject of action) or restricted lest he be hospitalised by the unfettered practice such emancipation would produce. Such subversions may, nevertheless, be constructed with recourse to the 'surpassing' power of imagination which enables persons to escape being 'swallowed up in the existent'; freeing them from reality and allowing things, persons, positions and places to be other than how they are.[74]

Seen imaginatively, Paul may become a character in a disabled *Herland*. He would walk into the supermarket, like a cowboy banging through saloon doors in an old western. He might do this run/jump thing he does when he seems excited and make an indescribable noise that appears to signify similarly experientially positive emotions, after which he might sit down, legs akimbo, pouring beer into his mouth, like a character in *The Simpsons*. In so doing, the supermarket would accumulate powerful, potent, carnivalesque and heterotopic qualities, thereby becoming a place of otherness which may undermine and challenge the power and order that ordinarily characterises this location.

Deconstructions and presence

With the possible exception of efforts to rehabilitate process (which might themselves seem fanciful), all sections and subsections in this article culminate in a figurative dead-end or cul-de-sac. Such outcomes are consequences of factors like impairment effects and the limited capacity of individual agency—whether actual or imagined—to ameliorate stigma and discrimination, especially in conditions of possibility that register and generate the potent power of the normalising order through hierarchically related terms like ability/disability. However, alternate outcomes may be realised by heeding Jacques Derrida's advice to 'traverse a phase of *overturning*'[75] and, instead, to displace and unsettle the ostensible unity of the supermarket in the manner of a deconstructionist.

Deconstruction might provoke such questions as what the supermarket *is*, what happens there, what it is that Paul disturbs and why is what he does, or *is*, so disturbing. Although complete answers to these questions lie beyond the limits of this article, supermarkets and the products therein not only reflect and construct a normative sense of what it means to be human within a consumerist society but also make possible certain positions. Supermarkets are sites for ritualistically purchasing products that maintain and reinforce the mythological—and mythologised—Enlightenment human, separate and distinct from and ostensibly more civilised than our more visceral, primordial and animal selves. Potent and insistent appetites for such items as toilet roll which constitute paper-thin devices that separate civilised and primordial human iterations only manifest during times of crisis. Supermarkets are locations in which persons search for culturally constructed definitions of purity albeit while being thwarted—and perhaps even haunted—by matter which, as Mary Douglas explains of experience, resists the human 'yearning for rigidity' and longing 'for hard lines and clear concepts'.[76] Put differently, despite civilising

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projects, primordial particles, or matter, persist albeit beneath the ordinary order of things.

Thus, while Paul *is* disturbing, this disturbance or trouble is already 'at work within the system', as Derrida observes elsewhere.[77] Put differently, instability is not something Paul adds to the supermarket: instead, instability constitutes the text in the first place.[78] Nevertheless, by failing—or refusing to—hide his 'oozy, sticky "leaky"' self, Paul thwarts myths of the '"clean and proper" body; the perfect body of ableist culture'.[79] Paul also pollutes the quotidian yet nevertheless ritualistic practices that may ordinarily accomplish normalcy, inadvertently spoiling or interrupting fictions of the pure and purifying, yet nevertheless unnatural, products (e.g., whiteness-enhancing detergents, sprays, polishes, etc.) that govern contemporary societies. Like crumbs and toys scattered on the floor,[80] Paul disturbs the illusory purity of the purified environment, in ways that make him an 'ontological splinter'[81] in the ostensibly perfect fabric of abled, and ableist, cultures and societies. That these metaphorical splinters and crumbs may be so disturbing might index the fragility of the structures, systems and discourses they trouble. This is because what Paul disrupts are those phantom ideals,[82] like ability/disability, that contrive the world as ordered and orderly, permitting, instead, a world of dis/ability outside reductive binaries. Paul's presence—as opposed to his absence or elimination—may consequently be progressive. His presence—as opposed to his absence—may even contribute to the making of imaginaries in which disability is understood as central not only to the human condition[83] but also everyday, ostensibly mundane, milieu. Put differently, Paul's presence might, like accounts of place-work[84] and place-based practice elsewhere, which challenges—rather than reinforces—dominant and normative orders.[85] Such weaving of non-normative bodyminds into the social fabric may alter its texture permanently because 'incremental changes accumulate and calcify and become codified in law and public policy'.[86]

Admittedly, Paul may return those disavowed aspects that practice in and around such spaces as supermarkets might be intent upon vanishing. However, if, as Carl Jung claims, the 'shadow' that everyone carries 'is repressed . . . it … is liable to burst forth suddenly in a moment of unawareness'[87]: like Paul himself—jumping up like a Jack-in-a-box amidst things like trolleys, stationary and washing detergent. That the shock of such interruptions is accentuated when they are hidden might even oblige persons like Paul to re-insert themselves into abled spatiality and, with regard to the particular context to which this article refers, to come down from the bench because places are more disabled without than with 'difference'.

Concluding thoughts

This article has explored ostensibly mundane events in and around a supermarket alongside Paul, a man with learning impairments, using them as prisms through which to reflect upon how persons and environments intersect in ways that may not only reinforce but also, potentially, subvert disabling geographies. In the timespace of the supermarket, place congeals to form a potent object which seems to determine persons, practice and events so they cannot be anything other than how they *are*, namely elements in a pre-determined disabling geography forged upon seemingly solid ontological binaries like ability/disability. Attending to place as process, or thing, appears to provide opportunities to insert oneself into the world through place-based practice because of the effervescent and on the boil qualities of becoming. However, as I have retrospectively reconstructed events in and around

the supermarket, flickers of an alternate, perhaps more progressive, geography quickly extinguish as Paul, his impairments, their effects enter into the timespace of the supermarket and intersect with other persons and things, all of which are embedded in structural and discursive conditions which govern action, or practice, and the meanings they may communicate.

This article has, however, sought to find ways of evading such disabling geographies, particularly by deploying imagination as an antidote to what might otherwise be only finalisability and closure. Imagination might, admittedly, seem incapable of intervening in—or interrupting—the everyday products and processes, or 'reality', of disablement. However, like other binaries which permeate this article (e.g., ability/disability, being/becoming, product/process), imagination and 'reality' overlap in ways that not only collapse the taken-for-grantedness of their separation but also the hierarchy between them. As Whitehead explains, imagination is not 'divorced from ... facts: it is a way of illuminating ... facts. It works by eliciting the general principles which apply to ... facts, as they exist, and then by an intellectual survey of alternative possibilities which are consistent with those principles. It enables men [sic] to construct an intellectual vision of a new world'. The 'atmosphere of excitement, arising from imaginative consideration', moreover, 'transforms knowledge', in ways that may allow things *to be other than they are*.[88] Ingold similarly observes that the mental and the material, or the terrains of the imagination and the physical environment, run into each other, in ways that make them comparable to 'countries whose borders are … wide open to two-way traffic which, in passing from one … to the other, has to cross no ontological barrier'.[89] A corollary of this is that walking on the ground—in what Ingold calls the 'landscapes of "real life"'—and walking in the imagination do not exist on distinct ontological terrains.[90]

Related to this is the notion that 'to write is to carve a new path through the terrain of the imagination' while to read is 'to travel through that terrain with the author as guide'.[91] With such thoughts in mind, it may be possible to reach a 'hopeful'—as opposed to hopeless—coda. This is because words—even in an article like this—have 'as much of a material presence as … footprints and tracks impressed on the ground'.[92] These words might invite/oblige/coerce attention be paid to how things are, how they have become and how they might be. Crucially, these words register Paul's presence, in ways that might index a world in which he—and persons like him—may be and become outside residential institutional contexts, even in those places to which this article refers: an aisle, amidst ostensibly mundane objects, in a supermarket in worlds we make and are made by.

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