

SocioAesthetics: A symposium on aesthetics, culture and social life

Institute for Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen, Denmark, August 23-25, 2009.
Convened by: School of English, Communications and Performance Studies, Monash University;
The Performance and Social Aesthetics (PASA) Research Unit, Monash University; and
Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen.

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LEISURE SHOPPING: THE POLITICS OF PLEASURE AND DRIFT

1 INTRODUCTION

Shopping, wandering idly, strolling, selecting and consuming are identified both as the primary leisure occupation of our affluent Western society as well as being recognised as the determining activity at the root of modern urban life in all its facets. Purchasing is much more than the mere satisfying of everyday needs: it is the important ritual of public and communal life, through which identity is created and changed....Wandering idly through the pedestrian zones and purchasing according to the principle of desire is the embodiment of our freedom, open luxury and superabundance the sharpest weapons against any criticism of the capitalistic system.ⁱ

For much of the 20th century the practice of leisure shopping was either condemned by theoretical discourse as a cynically contrived 'rat-wheel' of manufactured desire or dismissed as a trifling compensation for alienated wage labour. This continuum of opinion was dominated by those with a Marxist orientation who generally argued that consumer culture had seduced the body-politic away from taking effective action towards an improved society and atomized it into a hedonistic milling. Here the consumer is characterized as either manipulated or indulgent, and in neither account are they credited with much rational or creative discretion. Such neo-Marxist views have more recently been criticized for a theoretical elitism that doesn't acknowledge the multiple and complex circumstances surrounding actual commodity relations. With this challenge, a spectrum of alternate views has emerged that, while not speaking with one voice, do collectively lean towards a more moderate account of consumption. This multivalent account allows for and in some cases celebrates the potential of shopping while tending toward a more populist view of mass pleasures in general. With a focus on the emotional, aesthetic and bodily pleasures of consumption, such commentators examine how these pleasures are stimulated by 'the dreams and desires celebrated in consumer culture imagery and in particular sites of consumption'.ⁱⁱ In this socio-aesthetic context, leisure shopping has been invested with a wide range of meanings and practices and described variously as a realm of social action, interaction, ritual and experience, a performative leisure activity, a 'proactive pursuit with a dynamic part to play' in the formation of identity,ⁱⁱⁱ and a practice of experiential spatial mapping and 'writing the city'.^{iv} Gathering these various voices together and focusing specifically on urban shopping, my paper describes how, when viewed through this socio-aesthetic frame, leisure shopping emerges as a complex crucible of politics and pleasure, ethics and aesthetics and culture and everyday life.

With this background established I then focus on how shopper and city meet and make each other in movement through myriad reciprocal acts of aesthetic self-display and self-creation. In this sense, I focus expressly on shoppers as ambulant beings whose walking bodies are involved and evolved in geographic and psychological space as they are drawn through the city by the aestheticized commercial spectacle. Although the practices of shopping and walking are not in themselves interchangeable, urban leisure shopping does pleach them in a very particular relationship, and it is through walking while shopping that the geographical Self and the city meet and make each other through the commodified mobilized gaze:

The street... is a complex of dynamic spatiality (or spatial dynamics) constituted as an *experience* through the movement of the body and the eyes – of the passers-by: *flâneurs*, (potential) shoppers, and so on. As an experiential space the street is created in the very act of walking and seeing bodies filling the street with a web of routes, including all the freely chosen turns and halts.^v

In this sense, my paper is also an enquiry into walking while shopping as a way of being in, experiencing, knowing and making the city. And as a quintessential example of such walking, the 19th century practice of *flânerie* provides me with a point of departure. Through these means, I outline how shopping may be understood as a co-constitutive process of 'becoming' between the ambulant Self and the city, and suggest furthermore that the widespread appeal of leisure shopping may be attributed, at least in part, to the ambulant experience of time associated with this 'becoming'. Through these means, I reflect on leisure shopping as an urban practice of consequence with ontological and epistemological import.

2 THE *FLÂNEUR*: a socio-aesthetic historical frame

Flânerie denotes the practice of walking in the city while looking. It was the poet Charles Baudelaire who provided history with the 19th century ur-figure of the *flâneur*. Baudelaire's *flâneur* was a male painter or poet who moved through the public sphere observing 'the texture and chaos of urban life'.^{vi} With a mutable subjectivity, a fluid social position and a 'passion for roaming', his art was that of 'enjoying the crowd'.^{vii}

To the perfect spectator, the impassioned observer, it is an immense joy to make his domicile amongst numbers, amidst fluctuations and movement, amidst the fugitive and infinite. To be away from home, and yet to feel at home; to behold the world, to be in the midst of the world and yet to remain hidden from the world – these are some of the minor pleasures of such independent, impassioned and impartial spirits, whom words can only clumsily describe...the observer is a prince who always rejoices in his incognito.^{viii}

Walking through the city in this manner, Baudelaire's *flâneur* insinuated himself into the city and the city into himself. He performed what Michel de Certeau called 'pedestrian speech acts',^{ix} and 'suggest[ed] that different sites may be connected through a mobile narrative; one that relie[d] on the interrelation of place for its storyline rather than on a character-driven plot'.^x This was a new and literary mode of being in and knowing the city through walking and looking. It is also in the *flâneur* that we find the origins of the commodified 'mobilized gaze', a perceptual mode now regarded as central to the contemporary urban experience.^{xi}

3 LOOKING + WALKING = SHOPPING: the commodified mobilized gaze

Flânerie was a strictly male practice and the Paris arcades were amongst his favourite haunts. Towards the end of the 19th century, however, the department store replaced the arcade as a shopping destination and offered women a protected place in which they could shop unchaperoned and without casting doubt upon their reputations. This decline of the arcade marked the end of the *flâneur*. But, as Benjamin noted, for the *flâneuse* it marked the beginning and, in her, the peripatetic practice of the *flâneur* was reconfigured as shopping. As such, the *flâneur's* distracted mode of looking became the prototype for that of the shopping *flâneuse*, and her mode of being in the city was similarly itinerant and dependant upon vision. Thus, as the practice of leisure shopping evolved, walking and looking came together in a very particular way. And as the *flâneur* had wandered the city with an attitude of focused distraction and dreamlike reverie, the female shopper, or *flâneuse*, was similarly absorbed in a mode of 'distracted speculation [that] measured desire against purchase'.^{xii}

4 PLEASURE AND THE AESTHETE

Baudelaire's *flâneur* was, like Beau Brummel in early 19th century England before him, a dandy and his project was to turn life into a work of art. The dandy sought to form life into an aesthetically pleasing whole through 'original and superior'^{xiii} achievements in dress, bearing,

manners, personal habits, accessories and furnishings. With a focus on styling his body, behaviour, feelings, and passions, his life was his work of art.^{xiv} In this cultivation of a distinctive aesthetic the dandy was preoccupied with what we would today call lifestyle. And insofar as he aimed to achieve this through aesthetic consumption, he was the forerunner of the contemporary consumer and a central figure in the socio-aesthetic consumption discourse.

As a priority the dandy was preoccupied with the consumption of sensations and impressions, and the consumption of goods was important insofar as they facilitated such experiences. In this sense, the world was recast as a reservoir of subjective indulgences to be used up as the aesthetic consumer harvested his momentary sensations, gratifications and pleasures. A “curiously testing” experiential-experimental openness^{xv} is a prerequisite to living in this manner and life is necessarily constructed around the fleeting and ephemeral moment. Time is the critical dimension here, and the dandy lifestyle endeavoured to open up each moment and voraciously invest it with as much experience as possible and so, somewhat paradoxically, raid it for yield and profit. In this way, the past and the future receded into insignificance and the present moment was infinitely expanded.

5 THE ‘CAPACIOUS PRESENT’, PLEASURE AND ETHICS

Writing 100 years later at the turn of the 21st century, the aesthete’s temporal mode of being is central to Zygmunt Bauman’s vision of ‘liquid modernity’. For Bauman, liquid modernity is a progression of the earlier ‘solid modernity’, and it describes the extremely mutable, fluid socio-economic condition that developed in capitalist societies at the end of the 20th century. In these societies, he argues, the temporal dimension of eternal duration has been superseded by the capacious instant and all of life has been possessed by an ethos of *carpe diem*. In this environment, says Bauman, neither past nor future holds any value. The present, on the other hand, is opened up for consumption. In these ‘liquid modern’ times, says Bauman, speed is the essential asset; ‘With the right speed, one can consume the whole of eternity inside the continuous present of earthly life’.^{xvi} For Bauman, contemporary ‘liquid life’ is consuming life and he argues that every aspect of life, material or otherwise, has been commodified and made available for consumption. In the course of this consumption all things, he argues, are used up, replaced, upgraded or otherwise stripped of their value. Bauman contends that, in denigrating the past, collective memory has been lost and, in devaluing the future, collective responsibility and aspirations have been forfeited.

In Bauman’s view, under late capitalism Freud’s ‘pleasure principle’, which had traditionally been kept in check by the ‘reality principle’, had now been enlisted in its service. This transformation of the traditional order, he argues, was due largely to of the ‘reclassification of human desires’ which were now set free and valorised as ends in themselves. Bauman’s account of consumer society presupposes a long standing philosophical dichotomy between ethics and aesthetics and, for him, the two are mutually exclusive. In its focus on desire, consumption and the capacious present, he argues, contemporary life promotes the same individualist pursuit of pleasure we noted above personified in the dandy aesthete. For Bauman, this aesthetic way of being in the world has been advocated at the expense of meaningful ethical considerations. Consequently, individuals have withdrawn from any ethical engagement as citizens and members of society, and social consciousness has atrophied into a preoccupation with mutable lifestyles and consumption. In this sense, and in spite of differences in theoretical detail, Bauman’s ideological position is in clear alignment with neo-Marxist discourse.

6 LEISURE SHOPPING THROUGH A SOCIO-AESTHETIC FRAME

AN EMBODIED MORAL DIALOGUE

Lars Bang Larsen coined the term ‘social aesthetics’ in 1999 to discuss the work of artists who intervened in the social realm as activists. In this sense, social aesthetics describes a realm of art

practice that engages ethics and aesthetics, politics and pleasure, and culture and everyday life. While it certainly may afford the participant aesthetic, emotional or embodied pleasures, social aesthetic art practices also embrace provocative, disconcerting and dissonant dimensions. These discomforts and antagonisms are intended to expand the personal, social and political selves of all the participants. Leisure shopping also provokes pleasure and discomfort and I suggest here, to the extent that it does, it may do so towards similar ethical outcomes.

Leisure shopping is, in fact, a complex crucible of binaries of all sorts, a few of which this paper has already grazed over - pleasure and politics, ethics and aesthetics, art and everyday life, high and low culture, commerce and culture, involvement and detachment, subject and object, instrumental and expressive, public and private spheres, male and female, rational and pleasurable, collective agency and individual disempowerment, social rules of taste and displays of individual expression, sustainability and disposability, cheap sweatshop or expensive eco purchases, shopper as manipulated dupe or personally liberated, access and scarcity, transgression and compliance, pleasure and reality principles, discursive and figural modes of being, Bauman's solid and liquid modernity, and shopping's critical potential versus its social limitations. Leisure shopping is also fraught with binaries of a more emotional and physical nature - between indulgence and restraint, control and de-control, delight and regret, fulfillment and guilt, passive and active, rational and emotional, order and disorder, active focus and relaxed distraction, plan and impulse, spend and save, resistance and surrender, the tension of too much choice and too few resources (time, money, space), and the longing of aroused but unfulfilled desire.

Postmodernism has taught us that the relationship between such binaries is probably more ambivalent than the traditional 'either/or' perspective allows. Mike Featherstone, for example, likes to describe such relationships in terms of balance. As such, he conceives of the instrumental/expressive shopping binary as a 'calculating hedonism' on one hand, and an 'aestheticization of the instrumental' on the other.^{xvii} Similarly he reconfigures the rational/emotional dichotomy as a 'controlled de-control of the emotions'^{xviii}:

It needs discipline and control to stroll through goods on display, to look and not snatch, to move casually without interrupting the flow, to gaze with controlled enthusiasm and a blasé outlook, to observe others without being seen, to tolerate the close proximity of bodies without feeling threatened. It also requires the capacity to manage swings between intense involvement and more distanced aesthetic detachment.^{xix}

Relationships between various shopping binaries may also be described in other terms. They may collapse into one another, oscillate between one another, exist dialectically with each other, simultaneously co-constitute one another, or hold while remaining distinct from one other. Regardless of their relationship, however, each of these binary pairs has one crucial thing in common. Each of them converges in the body where they kindle tensions consequent of their ambivalent relationships. As such, these tensions are experienced physically and emotionally. And it is through these tensions, I suggest, that the ethical spectrum of leisure shopping emerges *embodied* in the shopper. In other words, I propose that leisure shopping ignites a sort of embodied moral dialogue – one in which the ethical co-exists with and inflects, or gives shape to, the aesthetic.

AN EMBODIED MORAL PRACTICE

In addition to embodying a moral dialogue, I argue that the walking shopping body may also be understood as a socio-aesthetic instrument or antenna that embodies the social, cultural, and political character of its commercial environment. In doing so, this body gives visible form to the invisible matrix of 'forces, dynamics and interrelations'^{xx} that articulate the city of shopping.

Furthermore, this walking shopping body not only gives expression to its commercial milieu, it also enacts its own subjective sense of place. And drifting both purposefully and passively, it alternately critiques and contests as well as collaborates and colludes with its commercial

environment. In this sense, the walking shopping body articulates, negotiates and intervenes in the city, enacting variously a pleasurable aesthetics of experience, identity and memory, and a political ethics of tactical appropriation and resistance.

In both these senses the shopper enacts an embodied epistemological practice. This is a practice in which 'the relationship between the social and the spatial...is an interactive one.'^{xxi} Here shopper and city meet, make, express and challenge each other through myriad reciprocal acts of self-display and self-creation. This is an urban performance mediated by commodity relations. It is also one that is constituted by movement.

7 THE SUBJECTIVE PRODUCTION AND PERFORMANCE OF IDENTITY

THE FLUID POSTMODERN SUBJECT

With a mood described as ephemeral, fleeting and contingent, and a structure characterized by simultaneity and montage, modernity was culturally defined by notions of movement. For post-modern theorists this imperative towards movement had become more than symptomatic. It was an ontological and epistemological condition – one in which everything was relative. Consequently, they argued, all meanings, relations and identities were in flux, and any idea of an integrated personality had been rejected in favour of a mutable fluid subjectivity 'content to experience expressive intensities'.^{xxii} In this context, a pluralistic approach to aesthetics, lifestyle and identity, were increasingly adopted, and in each of these realms consumers played an eclectic game of mix and match. Thus, not only did the spectrum of possible identities and styles become vast, movement between them became fluid.

Fascinated by identity formation, self-presentation, and surface appearances, such postmodern subjects are preoccupied with practicing a mode of self-conscious aesthetics and exploring their shifting and open-ended reality. In this sense, they regard an aesthetic life as an ethical life. The appropriation of symbolic commodities is integral to this practice of self and is often undertaken with a transgressive attitude of 'ironic self-implication in capitalist structures'.^{xxiii} Thus, these modern day *flâneurs* - raid all cultural forms and traditions, and drifting through the city spectacle they play, display and experiment with identity, fashion and the stylization of life.^{xxiv} Movement is integral here, and may be understood as weaving a fluid ecology of being on many levels. Hence, mobilized by the ceaseless circulation of capital the moving shopping body engages in multiple practices of fluid identity and social mobility.

SELF PRESENTATION AND DISPLAY

The logic of the capitalist market valorises a 'do as I please' attitude, cultivates the 'play of difference', and encourages certain gestures towards fashionable transgression.^{xxv} Taken together these dynamics have been instrumental in eroding the traditional social classifications that were the object of Pierre Bourdieu's study. Nevertheless, social groups still exist and with this the need to use cultural commodities to demarcate themselves. In this sense, fashion and other lifestyle pursuits are still used, in Georg Simmel's words, as 'bridges and doors'^{xxvi} in constituting social relations. This is an embodied theatre of the everyday in which everyone is simultaneously performer and spectator. Looks are exchanged and judgments formed with regard to 'the cultural signs which others practice, display and consume'^{xxvii} and 'the process of decoding and delight in reading other peoples appearances goes on apace'.^{xxviii} In this sense, rules of social distinction still apply but, rather than operate on the level of class distinction, in the contemporary environment they operate at the much finer grain of market fragmentation. As a result, the rules are much more nuanced and, like everything else in the post-modern environment, in a state of constant flux and transformation.^{xxix}

CITIES OF CONSUMPTION

Contemporary cities also present and display themselves for consumption and, to this end, they have become highly aestheticized experiential ‘brandscape’^{xxx} featuring images, styling, design, packaging, branding and fashionable people. Millings of fashionable crowds in various modes of self-conscious display animate these highly designed architectures and streetscapes. Proliferations of images, commodities, architectures and streetscapes blend, in Calefato’s terms, in a surreal and ‘fantastic melange of fiction and strange values’^{xxxi} City, architecture, and people all appropriate and display eclectic images, styles, gestures, manners and other fragments borrowed from consumer culture, and the city is a kaleidoscopic hologram – or a crystalline flux - of the invisible flows and forces of global commerce. This is a creative socio-aesthetics of practice in which everything in the commercial environment displays itself with a self-conscious aesthetic to everything else– the goods, the shops, the people, the architecture, the street and the city. And, as Shields notes, in these cities of circulating consumption, amongst the goods and crowds on display, ‘we find the implicated shadows of self, desire and consumption’.^{xxxi}

8 SHOPPER AND CITY MEET AND MAKE EACH OTHER IN MOVEMENT

TACTICAL WALKING

For Barthes the ‘different sections of a city...are akin to the parts of a sentence, and the city “user” is a reader who engenders the city’s meanings by private itineraries: “a kind of reader who, depending on his obligations and movements, selects fragments of the overall message and actualizes them in secret”.^{xxxiii} In this way, Barthes theorized the creation of an alternate space dynamically situated within the space of the functional other and patterned by everyday walking, and unlike the mute, static space of rational planning, he argued, this alternate space is audible and mobilized. Furthermore, it is a space through which both Self and city emerge:

The city is a discourse that is truly a language: the city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak our city, the city [is] where we find ourselves, simply by inhabiting it, moving around it, looking at it.^{xxxiv}

Certeau took up this poetic affiliation between speech and walking and developed it into his ‘rhetorics of walking’. Here walkers are practitioners of the city and, far from being simply passive activators of existing urban systems, city inhabitants are, in fact, constantly and actively transforming them. Consequently, for Certeau ‘the operations of walking are in themselves “multiform, resistant, tricky and stubborn”.^{xxxv} Continuing in this vein, Certeau described how everyday footsteps, ‘walking, wandering or “window shopping”,^{xxxvi} gave shape to space through their intertwined paths:

A *space* exists [consequent of] vectors of direction, velocities and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements, actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it... [and] situated as the act of a present (or of a time)...*space is practiced place*.^{xxxvii}

In this context, Certeau portrays everyday consumers as producers drifting over an imposed terrain, writing temporal patterns, coming, going, overflowing, circulating invisibly and ‘discernable only through the objects that they move about and erode’.^{xxxviii} And, insofar as their walking ‘affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses and respects...the trajectories it “speaks”,^{xxxix} for Certeau, consumers were engaged in a form of ‘tactical play’.

THE PLEASURE AND THE PROOF OF DRIFT

Drift occurs everywhere in descriptions of leisure shopping.

In his beautiful book *Empty Moments: cinema, modernity and drift*, Leo Charney evokes an exquisite poetic of drift that describes it in interrelated terms as a temporal ontology, a logic of representation, a mobile epistemology, an experience of variable subjectivity, an erratic wander, and most importantly as pleasure. I introduce him here so that I may wander a little of his thinking into the realm of leisure shopping and so speculate on a few of its existential pleasures.

1 Charney's foundational claim is that no-one can ever actually know or consciously be in the present moment as it is occurring. It is only ever an 'after the fact' supposition or re-presentation. This, he argues, was the critical existential dilemma that surfaced during modernity – one in which the stable present came to be replaced by the empty moment. This interval between sensation and cognition, he says, is navigated by drift and letting yourself drift allows you to slip inside the empty moment - the absent present. In this sense, says Charney, drift is 'the general condition of subjective experience in the loss of presence',^{xli} and hence a somewhat paradoxical experience of time. To veil this emptiness of the absent present, Charney contends, modernity assembled its busy spectacle. Extending on this, we may consider leisure shopping as a drift in which commodified goods and experiences are accumulated as proof of moments that were never directly experienced. In other words, it may be that these goods and experiences may represent empty moments and, therefore, stand as proof of one's own existence.

2 Presence occurs in the body, says Charney, which functions, therefore, 'partly in the sun of cognition and partly in a shadow realm of sensation' through a logic of re-presentation. As such, drift is an ontology of re-presentation. It is also a mobilized epistemology that endeavours to grasp experience while simultaneously accepting this as impossible. This 'floating inexactness'^{xlii} manifests a variable subjectivity as drift mediates between presence and non-presence, body and mind, or rigid polarities of any sort.^{xliii} Extending on this, we may describe geographies of shopping as psychogeographies of drift - 'between external and internal, city and self, past and present, and so to future and back again.'^{xliii} And insofar as the leisure shopping drift enables this experience of floating space-time and mutable subjectivity, it may also account for its seductive appeal. Let the drift control you, Charney urges, let yourself drift, that's how you slip inside the empty moment.^{xliv} 'Drift is how the empty present makes itself felt. To you.'^{xliv} Charney's urgings are seductive and, referencing Barthes on drift and pleasure, he hints at the reservoirs of pleasure that would be available to us if we just 'let go'.

3 For Charney drift in the sense of directionless passivity is not separate from 'modernity's shocking moments, surprising distractions and overwhelming stimuli.'^{xlvi} These flashes of consciousness and perception, he says, are the drift. In this sense, rather than simply a forward stream, Charney's drift is an 'errant vagrancy'.^{xlvii} And while it wanders, it does not wander from anything other to itself – from any ground - 'the wandering is the thing itself.'^{xlviii}

Drift constitutes not an even, forward flow but a mercurial and variable experience, diffuse and distracted, unquantifiable... Individual moments occur like buoys bobbing on the surface of drift.^{xlix}

Extending on these terms, maybe leisure shopping is simply a pleasurable urban meandering - a floating or wandering constituted by flashes of consciousness in which the shopper errantly drifts from attractor to attractor and from purchase to purchase in a field of overlapping pleasures and desires.¹ Walking in this manner shifts between rational and irrational and unconscious and conscious modes and involves aimlessness, lostness, exploration, discovery and wonder. In all these ways it is a form of drifting. Walking in this manner also elicits the temporal experience of flow. Time dilates and becomes fluid and the shopper enters into dreamlike communion with the city. In this sense, shopping is a performative creation of time in which 'becoming' is a temporal event. And it is this ambulant experience of mutual 'becoming' between the being and time of shopper and city that I suggest maybe central to the widespread appeal of leisure shopping.

SHOPPER & CITY MEET AND MAKE EACH OTHER IN WALKING

The commercial environment is multivalent and, rather than being simply and passively subject to the Pavlovian stimulus of commerce, each shopper is continually forming momentary clusters of personal meaning. In this context, leisure shopping may be understood as an ordering of consciousness constituted by a meandering process of identity formation. Here the identity of both shopper and city are fluid and shifting and, as the shopper selects and stitches fragments from the spectacle into a dynamic and mutating geographical Self, the shops are similarly linked

or stitched by the movement of shoppers weaving through the urban matrix. Hence, while the attractions of the terrain draws shoppers onward, the city comes into being through their ephemeral constellations of spectacular fragments and synchronous with their manifold practices of self-creation. In this way the leisure shopping experience is structured by the 'continuous unfolding' of the city to moving shoppers in space-time and their walking stitches an urban fabric in flux, or 'as Certeau described it, a combination of wave and landscape...produces a mobile texture of folding relations of seer and seen – where seeing is already travelling.'ⁱⁱ

THE INTENTIONALITY OF SHOPPING

For Merleau-Ponty vision and movement are united in the body. Since we move in accord with what we see and we see in accord with how we move, our bodies move consequent of their capacity to see rather than in response to a thought. In this sense, 'I see' and 'I can' coincide and whether walking or leisure shopping the eye is movement and it throws our gaze out into the world and with it our bodies follow, drawn by the spectacular attractors in the spaces of the city. Engaged thus, leisure shopping and walking involve the ambulant Self in the practice of image interpretation and creation as well as creative relations between one's body, space and other bodies. When shopping, however, these practices are nuanced by the possibility of purchase and possession and this elicits distinctive forms of attention, interpretation, creation and movement that are quite different from those involved when simply walking. In this sense, shoppers are immersed in a field of overlapping, multi-relational intentionality - shopper and city, shopper and merchandise, shopper and other shoppers - in which shoppers, goods, purchases and street are all emergences in varying degrees of concentrations and intensities. Walking through this rich thick intentional soup they are drawn by attractors (commodities, signs and spaces) that are reinforcements, accruals and accretions of Self. Hence, shoppers are emergent Selves 'through confusion, narcissism, [and] through inherence of the one who sees in that which he sees'.ⁱⁱⁱ Moving through this terrain the shopper's embodied vision enables the commercial spectacle to 'pile up in perception...[creating an] impression of an emerging order, [a field] in the act of appearing, organizing itself before [their] eyes' and in themselves.ⁱⁱⁱⁱ For Merleau-Ponty, vision is a synaesthetic 'delirium'^{liv} in which we are simultaneously subject and object and, in this context, the world of commerce is a 'hall of mirrors'^{lv} in which the shopping Self and the 'city of shopping' give themselves over to each other in a co-constitutive becoming.

ⁱ Hollein, Max. 'Shopping' in Grunenberg, Christopher and Hollein, Max (eds), *Shopping: a century of art and consumer culture*, (Germany: Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2002). 13

ⁱⁱ Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* (London: Sage Publications, 2007), 13.

ⁱⁱⁱ Rendell, Jane. 'Between Architecture, Fashion and Identity', *Architectural Design*, vol. 70, no. 8 December 2000, 8.

^{iv} de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life I*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (London: University of California Press, 1984).

^v Falk, Paisi. 'The Scopic Regimes of Shopping', in Falk, Paisi and Campbell, Colin (eds.). *The Shopping Experience* (London: Sage Publications, 1997) 177.

^{vi} Friedberg, Anne. *Window Shopping: cinema and the postmodern*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 29.

^{vii} Baudelaire, Charles. 'Crowds' in *Paris Spleen*, trans. Varese, Louise, (New York: New Directions, 1947), 20-21.

^{viii} Baudelaire, Charles. 'The Painter of Modern Life', in *My Heart Laid Bare and Other Prose Writings*, (London: Soho Book Company, 1986), 34.

^{ix} de Certeau, 1984.

^x Rendell, December 2000, 10

^{xi} For a full and eloquent account see Friedberg, 1993.

^{xii} Friedberg, 1993, 81

^{xiii} Featherstone, 2007, 66

^{xiv} Thus the 19th century dandy/flâneur was, like the 20th century avant-garde artist who followed him, instrumental in the aestheticizing of the everyday.

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- xv Bowlby, Rachel. *Shopping with Freud* (London: Routledge, 1993), 15.
- xvi Bauman, Zygmunt. 'On Living in a Liquid Modern World', in Elliot, Anthony (ed.), *The Contemporary Bauman*, (London: Routledge, 2007), 111
- xvii Featherstone, 2007, 84.
- xviii *Ibid.*, 24
- xix *Ibid.*, 24.
- xx Borden, Iain *et al.* 'Things, Flows, Filters, Tactics' in Borden, Iain and Rendell, Jane and Kerr, Joe (eds), *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*, (London: MIT Press, 2002), 20.
- xxi *Ibid.*, 5
- xxii Featherstone, 2007, 30-1
- xxiii Shields, Rob. 'Spaces for the Subject of Consumption', in Shields, Rob. *Lifestyle Shopping: the subject of consumption*, (London: Routledge, 1992), 13.
- xxiv Featherstone, 2007, 64
- xxv As Simmel observed, fashion embodies the contradictory tendencies of imitation and differentiation – Featherstone, 2007, 85
- xxvi Featherstone, 2007, 109
- xxvii *Ibid.*, 62
- xxviii *Ibid.*, 74
- xxix In other words, Bourdieu's rules of distinction have become far less distinct.
- xxx Klingman, Anna. *Brandscapes*
- xxxi Calefato, P. in Featherstone, 2007, 98.
- xxxii Shields, 1992, 1
- xxxiii Barthes, Roland. In Sheringham, Michael. *Everyday Life: Theories and Practices from Surrealism to the Present* (New York:Oxford University Press, 2006),196.
- xxxiv Barthes, Roland. In Sheringham, 2006, 195.
- xxxv Sheringham, 2006, 224.
- xxxvi de Certeau, 1984, 97.
- xxxvii *Ibid.*, 117.
- xxxviii *Ibid.*, 34-5.
- xxxix *Ibid.*, 99.
- xl Charney, Leo. *Empty Moments: Cinema, Modernity and Drift*, (London: Duke University Press,1998), 7.
- xli *Ibid.*, 19
- xlii *Ibid.*, 24
- xliiii Borden, Iain *et al.* 'Things, Flows, Filters, Tactics' in Borden, Iain and Rendell, Jane and Kerr, Joe (eds), *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*, (London: MIT Press, 2002), 3
- xliv Charney, 1998, 21.
- xlvi *Ibid.*, 24
- xlvi *Ibid.*, 8
- xlvi *Ibid.*, 20
- xlvi *Ibid.*, 20
- xlvi *Ibid.*, 12

¹ Bowlby, Rachel. *Carried Away: The Invention of Modern Shopping*, (London: Faber & Faber, 2000). In *Carried Away* Bowlby elaborates at length on the figure of mobility known as the passer-by, and the associated relationship between passing and passivity. In contrast to the glamorous *flâneur*, she says, there is 'a kind of ghostliness that always hovers close to the figure of the passer-by, who is by nature a visitor, a transient, an indistinct figure, never fully present, never at rest'(54). Rather, she says, they are negatively defined by reference to whatever it is they are passing by. The passer-by, however, she says, is central to the design and location of the shop window. And insofar as he is 'imagined as drifting, free-floating in his attention'(58), it is to this mental drift that the shop window addresses itself, as it seeks to attract his interest and hold his attention. In other words, the aim of the shop window is to divert the passer-by's drift towards itself - 'to move him mentally and stop him physically'(63). In this state of absent presence and without a 'firm identity'(66) the passer-by is considered eminently available to seduction and pleasure. They are quite literally 'open to suggestion', and it is the 'conjunction of the passer-by and the shop window', says Bowlby, that produce or create a shopper (78).

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- ^{li} Crang, Michael. 'Rhythms of the City: Temporalised Space and Motion', in May, Jon and Thrift, Nigel (eds.). *Timespace: Geographies of Temporality* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 198.
- ^{lii} Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. 'Eye and mind', in Edie, James M. (ed.). *The Primacy of Perception, and other essays on Phenomenological Psychology, the Philosophy of Art, History, and Politics*, trans. Dallery, Carleton (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 163.
- ^{liii} Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. 'Cezanne's Doubt', in Johnson, Galen A (ed.). *The Merleau-Ponty Aesthetics Reader: Philosophy and Painting*, trans. Smith, Michael B. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1993), 66.
- ^{liiv} Merleau-Ponty, 1964, 166.
- ^{lv} In conversation with Dr Stuart Grant, Department of Performance Studies, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia.