



**Practical Possibilities of Being Flâneuse: Over the Act of Walking and Looking**

Flâneuse Olmanın Olasılıkları: Yürüme ve Bakış Üzerine

Mine ÇİMEN<sup>1</sup> 

Geliş Tarihi (Received): 02.04.2023

Kabul Tarihi (Accepted): 22.08.2023

Yayın Tarihi (Published): 23.10.2023

**Abstract:** Flâneuse is a relatively recently coined word as a female form of the nineteenth century flâneur, who was a representative figure of the modernity and urbanisation. In order to understand the flâneuse, we need to understand the flâneur. As he gained his meaning through the context of Modernity, the period -with its social, economic and political aspects- is introspected in detail in the first part of the study. In the second part, departing from this male figure, practical possibilities of its female counterpart will be scrutinised from a pro-urbanist and feminist perspective. The act of walking and the act of looking (or being looked) will be the main tropes. Within the context, overall feminist literature will be visited and the contradictory ideas of feminist scholars who have written about the topic will be put on the agenda. Overall, the notion is suggested to be adopted not literally, but in metaphoric senses, and that there is an urgent need for a perspective which does not deny the woman's space in urban studies.

**Keywords:** Flâneuse, Urban studies, Feminist Researches, Male Gaze, Female Gaze

&

**Öz:** Flâneuse, modernite ve şehirleşmenin temsili bir figürü haline gelmiş olan 19. Yüzyıl flâneur'ünden çıkışla, ancak yakın bir zaman önce onun kadın muadili olarak türetilmiş bir kavramdır. Bu sebeple, flâneuse'ü anlamak için önce flâneur kavramı üzerinde durulmalıdır. Flâneur, anlamını moderniteden aldığı için, çalışmanın ilk kısmında, bu dönem sosyal, politik ve ekonomik açıdan detaylıca incelenmiştir. İkinci kısımda ise söz konusu figürden yola çıkarak, onun kadın muadili olan flâneuse kavramının pratikteki olasılıkları, şehir çalışmaları kapsamında ve feminist perspektiften incelenmiştir. Yürüme ve bakma (bakılma) eylemleri çalışmanın ana izleğini oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, feminist literatür taranmış ve konu hakkında yazmış olan feminist akademisyenlerin farklı görüşlerine yer verilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, kavramın literal değil metaforik anlamlarla tartışılması ve şehir çalışmaları içerisinde kadının yerini yadsımayan bir bakış açısı önerilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Flâneuse, Şehir Çalışmaları, Feminist Araştırmalar, Eril Bakış, Dişil Bakış

**Atıf/Cite as** Çimen, M. (2023). Practical Possibilities of Being Flâneuse: Over the Act of Walking and Looking, Abant Journal of Cultural Studies, 8 (16): 49-63.

**İntihal-Plagiarism/Etik-Ethic:** Bu makale, en az iki hakem tarafından incelenmiş ve intihal içermediği, araştırma ve yayın etiğine uyulduğu teyit edilmiştir. / This article has been reviewed by at least two referees and it has been confirmed that it is plagiarism-free and complies with research and publication ethics. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/akader>

**Copyright** © Published by Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University, Since 2016 – Bolu

## Introduction

Walking alone freely and aimlessly only to observe and report the nascent reflections of modernity on the streets and later within the arcades of Paris, flâneur was originally a male figure, who was mainly introduced to literature by Baudelaire in *The Painter of Modern Life*. His flâneur was utterly a city-aesthete, a dilettante, a “child-like passionate spectator”, who “set up house in the heart of the multitude” (Baudelaire, 1863: 9). Walter Benjamin, later on, in his posthumously published book *Passagen-Werk* (the Arcades Project), reconsidered this figure by conceptualising, and thus bringing him into academic

<sup>1</sup> Doktora öğrencisi, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, e-posta: minecimen@gmail.com, ORCID: 0000-0002-1149-1867

discussions. Despite being such a temporally and spatially restricted character, the flâneur's ongoing significance lies in the fact that he has served the first samples of how Modernity was experienced in metropolises. Being regarded as the urban practitioner and observer of everyday life, this 'modern hero' has been exhumed myriad times, only to be rediscussed in the context of urban studies. In addition to his urban setting background, his being resolutely male has also caused him to be the outset of discussions in the field of gender studies. Within the schemes of these fields, his female counterpart -aka flâneuse- and her 'practical' existence (or inexistence) will be searched in the second part of the article. Yet, before projecting on this 'crystallised' concrete piece of modernity, depicting the social-historical context of his birthplace will be prioritised. That is, as the figures of the flâneur (and disputably the flâneuse) have emerged in the context of urban modernisation, in what follows, the city and urban life in terms of its social, economic and political aspects will be projected in detail.

### **The Aim of the Study**

The aim of the study is to search the possibilities of women's existence through Modernity within the urban schemes that were presented to men so readily. Some tropes like act of walking, or act of looking will be main trajectories as they are embodied in the character of the flâneur.

### **The Importance of the Study**

Revisiting the history of Modernity, which is mostly written by males, is the first and most important attribute of this study. Taking the flâneuse in conceptual and metaphorical senses, the study wants to broaden the extensions of the context as well as to give their dues to certain woman writers like Virginia Woolf. That is, a new perspective is called out whenever we talk about women and city.

### **Methodology**

Within the main scheme of gender and urban studies, this study employs qualitative methods. The theoretical framework of the study incorporates concepts and modes of analysis put forward by feminist film theory. Feminist critical discourse analysis and elements of semiotics and psychoanalytical theories are applied which gives an overall approach as interdisciplinary.

### **Modernity and Flâneur**

Having been accelerated mainly by waxing capitalism, high-speed industrialisation and division of labor in the late eighteenth and the following century, the phenomenon of Modernity (or The Modern Era) turned out to be one of the most unprecedented, momentous experience of humanity. It was such a rapidly altering process that, to a modernist, everything which is new today was old the next day, metaphorically putting. This speedy changeness can be interpreted as changelessness as it was happening in the blink of an eye. Baudelaire articulates this temporal nature of Modernity as such: "By 'modernity' I mean the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art whose other half is the eternal and immutable" (Baudelaire, 1964: 13). It is this transitory nature of modernity from which the flâneur was aiming to derive the eternal. This is what gave him a form of transcendence, a perpetual trial to seize what is already flying. What was beckoning Benjamin in the embodiment of the flâneur was most probably the same transitory entity.

This transient, fugitive nature of the Modern Era, which is named as "paradoxical unity of modernity" by Marshall Berman, accommodated various contradictions and dichotomies by forming a slippery ground where "all that is solid melts into air". In the introduction part of his book referring to Marx's well-known statement, Berman articulates this dualistic nature of modernity as such "(A) unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish" (Berman, 15). Having generated many upheavals and paradoxes in every dimension of

personal, political and social life, this 'unity of disunity' has brought various novel phenomena alongside, among which urbanisation can be counted as one of the most critical ones. The reason why I prioritise the phenomenon of urbanisation is also related to symbiotic relationship between urban environment and the embodiment of flâneur and flâneuse, on which I base my study.

### Urbanisation and the City

The city, as we are familiar with today, started to have been established in the process of modernity. No doubt there had been cities before that period; however, this time, it was 'accelerated urbanisation' (term adapted from Janet Wolff). Even, the term 'urbanist' was coined in 1853 (Sennett, 2015). Following the Industrial Revolution, the spreading of factories in metropolises (particularly in London, and subsequently Paris and New York) were leading the mass of people to flee from rural areas to the cities, mainly for the sake of employment and so as to benefit from better opportunities. As the factory owners launching their business specifically in these mother cities (metropolises) grew in both size and wealth, their demand for more and more workers was supplied with a mass migration from the rural to urban areas, which led to a radical transformation of the long-lasting agrarian, feudal lifestyle to a modern lifestyle. Quite different from the former one, this city-based lifestyle has created major socio-economic problems as the gap between the classes was being rendered by far the most visible. What is more, with a dramatic increase of female labour force participation, a new dimension to urbanisation was triggered: the issue of gender. Overall, the process of urbanisation, which is the most notable output of modernity, was clearly being shaped and furiously stratified according to two dimensions: social classes and gender issues.

Beside aforementioned Berman's evaluation of Modernity as a 'unity of disunity', psycho-social analysis of Simmel is also an important reference to grasp the modernist urban life and its effects on the modern individuals so that we have a better understanding of the conditions encompassing the flâneur and the disputably invisible flâneuse. In his seminal work *The Metropolis and Mental Life* (1903), sociologist Georg Simmel has noted the significance of the nascent metropolis in changing lifestyle, culture and mainly subjectivity. This accelerated shift in every sphere of life has created both a radical rupture of the "sensory foundations of mental life" and a new type of "sensory mental imagery" (12). All together, the complexities of the modern city led a transformation of humans and their relations, alongside giving them a new understanding of time and space, instilling a 'blasé' attitude in the individuals. That was the scene the flâneur was born into, and supposedly as a protest (in Benjaminian phrase), he was keeping himself aloof. With his distant and spectatorial gaze, the flâneur was rejecting the modern ordering and fragmenting of space; instead, "the flâneur fully embraced uneasy, fleeting lifeworld of the modern city, enthralled by the pleasures and potentialities of a world removed from the presence, stricture and restraint of tradition, but also from the functional efficacy of modern rationality" (Clarke, 5). To rephrase it with Benjaminian terms, the flâneur, rejecting *erlebnis* -characterised by the shock to overwhelming sensory bombardment of modern city-life, has chosen *erfahrung*, which is a more welcoming response to the city's wealth of sights and sounds gained merely through wandering aimlessly. To Benjamin, it was Baudelaire's poetry as "a successful medium for *erlebnis* into *erfahrung*" (Benjamin, 2006:177).

In brief, it is mainly the discontinuity and fragmentation that characterised urban life according to the modernist historiographers, most of whom were unsurprisingly males. However, by the time feminist scholars reexamined the period, they have detected that this fragmented and disunited stratifications was merely a result of patriarchal perspective. That is, understanding the city as 'fragmented' and 'chaotic' has been suggested to be an outcome of 'male anxiety'. Deborah Parsons, for instance, enunciates "(F)ragmentary chaos and the bewilderment of the self is indeed the perception of the male observer whose possessive, ordering control of the city is frustrated by the frequent contestation of socio-cultural boundaries" (Parsons, 40). The city was clearly a growing threat and paranoia to men who have traumatized the woman alongside, whereas it meant freedom to women who did not internalise any desire for authoritarian order unlike men. As Elizabeth Wilson reclaims "(U)rban life is actually based on this

perpetual struggle between rigid, routinised order and pleasurable anarchy, the male-female dichotomy" (Wilson, 1991: 7-8). Despite being a pleasurable anarchy for women, the traces of modernist urban experience are mostly male, which needs to be in our mind when reading the modernist flâneur, who was invariably male.

### Architecture and City Spaces

The architecture and city planning can be said to be the material aspect, culturally produced artefact that compose the city spaces. City planning (and modern architecture) has been one of the newborn extensions of modernity accompanied by critical dimensions to discuss. It was already 1955 when Guy Debord defined the term 'psychogeography', which basically refers to how our surroundings affect us. However, long before Debord, architects and city planners such as Haussmann, Olmsted and Cerdà had already realised "the physical environment is not only a representation but the real makings of social life" as Richard Sennett puts forward in a recent interview (Sennett, 2015). What these people had initially realised was that the cityscapes could have a 'transformative' force on the social relations. As Sennett quotes from Olmsted, who is the planner of Central Park and White House: "If we want to break free the black people, let's make a park, a place where they can go". This quotation is important as it sheds light on the immediate importance of certain public areas for its inhabitants, which reminds me of the worldwide protests in previous decade all of which were set in specific locations -mainly parks, or boulevards- with a demand to claim and transform these places into meaningful 'spaces' for the sake of the cities' respective dwellers. In this point, it would be fitting to mention Haussmann, the planner of modern Paris, who had planned the large Parisian pavements, avenues, and boulevards as a precaution against possible protests (as it had been experienced in previous decades). Transferring the working people to the alleys, suburbs of Paris, he may not have solved the problem of poverty, rather replaced it, and this was how the class discrimination -one of the most notable outcome of modernity- was montaged into the city. Preferring the large pavements of the downtown, the modernist flâneur did not wander through these suburbs, but the pavements (and passages) of Haussmann.

One can easily notice that modern city is being fragmented while being established according to not only class but also gender. Everlasting intellectual tradition of the Western related to the dichotomies (of body vs mind, nature vs culture, reason vs emotion et cetera) has also been applied to the symbolic gendering of spaces. Places of consumption, to set an example, are usually regarded as feminine and places of business as masculine. While at the same time, however, the figures of the flâneuse was a stroller of window displays, an early archetype of a consumer; indicating the intimate and paradoxical relationship link between the flâneuse and early capitalism. In the recent decades, however, certain feminist theoreticians have thankfully read the modern city spaces from the gender perspective. In her book *The Sphinx in the City*, Elisabeth Wilson claims "the city is 'masculine' in its triumphal scale, its towers and vistas and arid industrial regions; it is 'feminine' in its enclosing embrace, in its indeterminacy and labyrinthine uncentredness" (Wilson, 1991: 7). From this perspective, as Wilson proposes, a city can be read and interpreted like a 'text', aka a 'city-text'. It must be underlined that a reductionist view of city spaces has been disclaimed in this study; rather, city spaces are accepted to be composed of signs and representations which are waiting for being interpreted and deciphered like 'a text' as Wilson suggests. In our context, as flâneur and flâneuse are urban types, the issue of city spaces are worth mentioning.

What has been mentioned until here can be interpreted as a transformation of urban place into urban space. Since 1970s, social theory and cultural geography have undergone a spatial turn based on humanistic values. The focus which has shifted on the lived experience of everyday city can especially be observed in Foucault, Lefebvre and in De Certeau. To set an example, in his book *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1980), Michel de Certeau claims "[s]pace occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalise it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities... In short, space is a practiced place. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into space by walkers" (Certeau, 117). Once the places have been practiced, then they do

become spaces; the city environment is no more material aspects, but culturally produced artefacts as claimed at the very beginning of this section. Now that this practice involves and necessitates the 'experience' of its claimers, the issue of urban space brings up everyday praxis of the individuals and their social relations (interactions) on the agenda.

### Urban Experience and Everyday Life

"The city is a discourse that is truly a language: the city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak our city, the city where we find ourselves, simply by inhabiting it, moving around it, looking at it." Roland Barthes

The city is like 'a factory of experience', as Richard Sennett suggests, a full-pack-aged box in his aforementioned interview. It is neither a physical mechanism nor an artificial construction, hence it is not possible to define it with only its architecture or its environment. Rather, the essential processes and praxis of its dwellers are essential to attribute a meaning, a value to it. In the context of the city, the experiential realm is situated in the everyday places and objects of life. It must be the reason why the studies and discussions over urban experience of everyday life (starting from modernity and encompassing contemporary periods) have been attracting various writers and philosophers such as Lefebvre, Certeau, Simmel and Benjamin all of whom agreed on a common point: following the trivial practices of the quotidian, one can chase the traces of modernity (or any period). As Lefebvre utters "the quotidian and the modern mark and mask, legitimate and counterbalance each other" (Lefebvre, 27). This inductive methodology, which attributes a meaning to the micro-actions of everyday life, problematising the social relations and interactions as well on the backdrop, validates the importance of the flâneur and the flâneuse as a practitioner of everyday life, and the act of walking carries various associations to be discussed in the context of urban experience.

Being generally regarded as the emblem of modernity and "personification of contemporary urbanity," (Ferguson, 22) mainly in the field of literary and social analysis, the flâneur is, first and foremost, characterised by his walking in the city; that is, the act of walking -which seems to be a trivia, a routine, just an everyday operation- turns out to be a topicality embodied in this modern hero's character. Despite not using the word flânerie, De Certeau discusses the act of walking in his afore-mentioned book where he suggests that it is "an elementary form of [the] experience of the city" (De Certeau, 93). According to him, the practice of walking uncovers the meanings embedded in the city and gives rise to spaces in the city which cannot be seen. De Certeau's interpretations of the act of walking in the public spaces of the city and of the people who are practising this activity could be read as a post-modern version of modernist flânerie. As de Certeau puts, there is certainly a rhetoric to the act of walking, and walking the city streets is 'a form of utterance'; as he furthers, "to walk is to lack a place. It is the indefinite process of being absent and in search of something of one's own" (ibid., 103). Therefore, the trope of walking, as an everyday operation that could be seen as a transformative activity during which one is 'absent' and gains 'something of one's own' is the departing point of this study.

Though basically incorporating the act of walking through urban spaces, the act of flânerie moves beyond it as it accommodates several associations such as idling, observation, philosophical thinking et cetera. It is surely more specific than mere city strolling. Therefore, one can easily see the reason why the figure of flâneur has already walked away from its time and place restrictions, and enters into the pages of the commonplace as Keith Tester claims in the Introduction part of his compiled book with the same name of the figure. As he proves, the act of flânerie is an activity as "a recurring motif in the literature, sociology and art of urban and most especially of the metropolitan existence" (Tester, 1). However, in spite of his long-lasting popularisation, the precise meaning of the flâneur or its accompanying associations are somehow elusive and disputable. As a consequence, the debates over the flâneur (and the act of flânerie) have still been carrying on in the contemporary fields. This is even more so when we speak of the flâneuse.

Apart from the ambivalent definition, as for the origin of the word, we should note the earliest flâneur

dates back to 16th century (possibly 1585) according to P.P. Ferguson (39), and this untranslatable French word was possibly borrowed from the Scandinavian noun 'flâna', meaning "a person who wanders without an aim" (Wilson, 2001: 75). Encyclopaedia Larousse had defined the term as "a person who was 'a loiterer, a fritterer away of time". They suggested his existence was merely possible in the great city -the metropolis-, as provincial towns would provide "too restricted a stage for his strolling and too narrow a field for his observations" (ibid., 75). Wilson notes a French pamphlet published in Paris in 1806, detailing a day of a flâneur called M. Bonhomme. This 32-page anonymous leaflet "Le Flâneur au salon ou M. BonHomme" reflects and narrates the type in detail (see Wilson, 2001: 75 for more detail).

The flâneur, basically is someone who strolls, roams about cityscapes without a predefined itinerary and with a leisurely compartment, only to observe city landscapes. Carrying diverse set of associations, the word flâneur lacks a definite meaning, though, which leads to different writers' defining it in their own ways. Balzac, accentuating its visual trait, defines the act of flânerie as 'the gastronomy of the eye', for instance. Bazin, overestimating his position, writes "the only, the true sovereign of Paris is the flâneur". Fournel sees it as "a way of understanding the rich variety of the city landscape; it was like "a mobile and passionate photograph" of urban experience (Fournel, 268). Most practically, in David Frisby's words, flânerie refers to a "form of looking, observing (of people, social types, social contexts and constellations; a form of reading the city and its population (its spatial images, its architecture, its human configurations" (Frisby, 82-83). In the end, "both surveyor and surveyed, the flâneur is a beguiling but empty vessel, a blank canvas onto which different eras have projected their own desires and anxieties. He appears when and how we want him to" (Elkin, 22).

Although its root dates back to centuries, it was only in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the term flâneur did really catch on once Baudelaire introduced the illustrator Monsieur Guys as a flâneur with versatile depictions, which were deeply analysed by Walter Benjamin in the context of modernity, leading to its scholarly popularity. As a 'modern hero', Guys is said to be "by nature a great traveller and cosmopolitan" (Baudelaire, 1964: 6) and a passionate lover of crowds. The 'painter of modern life' is very much a 'man of the crowd' who is keen on observing the city like a child and "rapturously breathing in all the odours and essences of life" (Baudelaire, 1964: 7). Albeit forming the basis for the theory, Baudelaire's flâneur, was not the only flâ-neur in the Modern Era. Edgar Allen Poe, for instance, wrote The Man of the Crowd in 1840 where he was describing his Londoner flâneur as such: "The mere armature has remained: the pursuer, the crowd, and an unknown man who arranges his walk through London in such a way that he always remains in the middle of the crowd. This unknown man is the flâneur" (Poe). His 'detective' flâneur bore the questions whether the flâneur is the one who follows or being followed. Compared to Baudalarian, Poe's flâneur is more like an asocial person as Benjamin asserts: "Poe purposely blurs the difference between asocial person and the flâneur" (Benjamin, 1997: 48) who was not 'in', but 'of' the crowd. Just because he did not enjoy his own company, he paradoxically seemed to seek refuge amid the crowds. Unlike Poe's London, however, Paris (of Baudalarian flâneur) was more favourable for the act of flânerie. As not being so much industrialised as London (and as not provincial as Brussel), Paris which was in the threshold of modernity was a perfect place to welcome the flâneur in 1840s, in Baudelaire's time. "Paris created the flâneur type... It opened itself to him as a landscape, it enclosed him as parlour" (Frisby, 85).

Baudelaire saw the industrialised modern city as an enchanting, alluring playground for the flâneur who was the perfect spectator of that modern city. It was back then in 1840s, thanks to the construction of wide pavements of Haussmann, Baudelaire's flâneur was able to 'botanise' on the asphalts, and experience the Parisian landscape with all its modern boulevards, avenues, parks, passages et cetera. The spaces of the nascent metropole, being unfolded before him, literally belonged to him like a house. He clearly took 'visual possession' of the city by gazing at the city and moved by its visual aesthetics. As Bazin expressed he was "the only, the true sovereign of Paris". Encompassing all colours of Parisian life, the flâneur, thus resembled "a kaleidoscope gifted with consciousness, responding to each one of its movements, and reproducing the multiplicity of life and the flickering grace of all the elements of life" (Baudelaire, 1964: 9). He was clearly the practitioner of urban space in that sense. Moving freely about the city, he was making

the best of 'practicing the everyday life', by "unhiding the covered meanings" on the sidewalks as mentioned above with de Certeau's words. Geographically, he was circumscribing the peripheries of the city; and perceptually, incorporating all its 'ebbs and flows', harmony and turmoil. He was watching the river of life flowing past him in all its splendour. The city was like a stage, a spectacle, a performance, anytime ready to be watched by this child-like, curious and passionate spectator. He did not have to head to a defined destination; he could just stroll everywhere, searching for the traces of modernity, or what was the 'ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent'. Neither did he have to have a purpose for his strolling, nor did he have to have a chaperon to accompany him. Bedecked with countless privileges, the flâneur was overtly relishing the urban experience. In addition to these gender-based privileges, he also had class-related advantages. One cannot deny that the flâneur clearly had enough time and money for his perambulations. He was in no rush to the factories unlike the majority, and even there are rumours of some flâneurs' taking the turtles to the walk. His pace and style of walking was clearly contradictory to the majority of modernist working class.

The flâneur's relishing urban experience was not merely restricted to the cityscapes. He was also highly well received by the crowds of people -most of whom were inferior to him; mainly composed of men, working class women or sex workers as criticised later by the feminist scholars. "The crowd is his element, as the air is that of birds and water of the fishes" writes Baudelaire in his famous paragraph depicting the flâneur (see Baudelaire, 1964: 9). To him, this crowd was a "magical society of dreams painted on canvas". Obviously, it was the crowd of the city that beckons the flâneur as a dream-like "phantasmagoria – now a landscape, now a room" (Benjamin, 1997:10). Baudelaire's flâneur could enter into this crowd as if it were "an immense reservoir of electrical energy", and thus making "the whole world his family" (Baudelaire, 1964: 9). The exterior, thus, has turned into the interior in favour of the flâneur as the boundaries between the public and private spaces are blurred for the sake of his urban spectacle, which will not be so in the case of the flâneuse. Quite opposite to its previously common depictions as menacing and competitive, the crowds were 'the elements' of Baudelaire's flâneur whose passion is to become one flesh with this crowd. No doubt that he was rejoiced to be among these human configurations. Nonetheless, his interaction with these crowds were practically limited to be physical. Keeping himself one step back from the crowds, he was definitely distancing himself emotionally, too. Not involving in their daily hassles has made him aloof, detached observer of the city surroundings; instead of an intimate participant of it, which will be subverted once the flâneuse is involved.

Conspicuously, the flâneur accommodates myriad dualistic traits, which made him a figure of ambiguity. He was "at the centre of the world and yet to remain hidden from the world" (Baudelaire, 1964: 9). He paradoxically seemed to seek solitude in the crowds of the people. This state of in-betweenness, being in the threshold is the common trait of the flâneur and of the era of modernity. They both do share these ephemeral, temporal traits. "The flâneur still stands on the threshold-of the metropolis as of the middle class. This state of in-betweenness is well reflected in the 19th century passages, which is neither interior nor exterior, not alike any pre-defined settings, rather more like a spatio-temporal setting. Threshold, like phantasmagoria, which is a Benjaminian term, stands for the situation of the flâneur, who was a response to ambivalent modernity. "He is an almost mythological or allegorical figure, who represented what was perhaps the most characteristic response of all to the wholly new forms of life that seemed to be developing. This response was one of ambivalence" states Elizabeth Wilson (Wilson, 2001: 75). He clearly involved dualities of modernity in his embodiment. He was a solitary character amid the crowds. Neither was he an outsider nor a member of the society. The flâneur's social and political state of in-betweenness does create the extant discussions on which scholars and academicians can hardly agree, which leads to still ongoing debates, and making the flâneuse even more disputable.

Although the movement of the flâneur -travelling through the urban spaces of modernity, yet looking at the past- creates anachrony, the flâneur has been a significant figure within the parameters of urban public life. From the nineteenth century onwards, the flâneur is acclaimed to be the processor of many occupations

from detective to photographer, from journalist to writer. Above all, he is regarded as the first consumer archetype in many ways, as a consumer of images (much like the tourist and the shopper) since “he stands wholly outside production. He heralds the society of consumption” (Wilson, 2001: 76). His invariably white and male oriented position has been opened to discuss as the city becomes the “geography of passage” (Bruno, 724) for women providing space for “female nomadic subjectivity” (ibid., 290) once the flâneuses transform and empower their lives through the act of flânerie with a claim of their rights of walking in the city.

### The Invisible Flâneuse in Modernity

While the flâneur, enjoying the spectacle unfolded before his eyes, was mapping the peripheries of the metropolis, didn't he meet any of his female encounters by any chance? Or let us pose a simpler question: Didn't he meet any women out there on the streets? Baudelaire definitely met a (female) passer-by, as portrayed in one of his poems called “To a (Female) Passerby” from *Les Fleurs Du Mal* (1857):

“The deafening street roared around me

Tall, slender, in heavy mourning, majestic in her grandeur

A woman walked past me, her sumptuous hand

Lifting and swinging her hem as she went.

Swift and graceful, with legs like a statue's

Twitching like a madman, I drank in

Her eyes, a pallid sky where storms are born

the sweetness that charms and the pleasure that kills” (translation by Elkin, 20).

This woman (thought to be of the night) eludes from the frame as he cannot gauge her, thus leaving no footsteps but mystery, brimmed with ‘charm’ and ‘poison’. Baudelaire had clearly no inclination either to go after her or to get to know her. Had he done so, we would possibly be talking about a modernist flâneuse, which is a much later-coinage word, having been feminised by the scholars of gender studies and feminist writers. It was not until the second half of the twentieth century that the notion flâneuse was coined. Although women had started to go out, “the female flâneur was remained absent from debates over the status of the image and the perception of modernity” (Gleber, 1997: 69). Yet, Few people can deny that modernist literature was overtly male-dominated. Indeed, not only literature representation, but the overall experience of modernity could possibly be read as the experience of merely men (Wolff, 1985: 37). History had long been his-story; historiography written by him, same as the literature and the streets alike had long belonged to him. While ‘respectable’ women were meant to be interior in the domestic space of home, public space was masculinised and “for women to enter it entailed unforeseen risks” (Pollock, 2003: 97). That is, the spaces were genderly divided. This being the case, aimless wandering of women -aka flâneusing- seemed practically impossible for long periods, which is why the generic word flâneur had been associated with exclusively male.

It was not until the second half of the 20th century that the notion flâneuse was retro-fittingly coined by the feminist scholars so as to draw attention to a non-existent entity with an aim to point at a gender-biased exclusionary act. “There is no question of inventing the flâneuse, such a character was rendered impossible by the sexual divisions of the nineteenth century” writes Janet Wolff in her oft-cited essay “The Invisible Flâneuse” (Wolff, 1985: 45). Pollock, agreeing with her, overtly states: “(t)here is no female equivalent of the quintessential masculine figure, the flâneur: there is not and could not be a female flâneuse” (Pollock, 71). That is, to certain feminist scholars, flâneuse is a nominal- in-existent though with a name, just in imaginary word that most French dictionaries do not even include (Elkin, 2017: 17).

However, from the 1990s onward, certain feminist critics have disagreed with the idea that highlights the



'practical invisibility' of women walking out on streets. Critics like Elizabeth Wilson (1991), or Deborah L. Parsons (2000) were among those who discussed some of Wolff's arguments. In fact, claiming that there were not any respectable women out in the city until the twentieth century would be a highly reductionist point of view, and this idea does nothing, but serves to exclude women from the 'modern'. Indeed, women were there, though they were either marginalised in literature, or not represented in art. In her very recent book *Flâneuse* (2017), Lauren Elkin reminds a painting from 1884 called "A Meeting" where a couple of young boys gathered around a bird in the nest (symbolically reminds of the women's situation), and on the backdrop, we see a young girl (probably Marie Bashkirtseff herself) who is half-seen and whose other half is cut off from the frame, yet still she was 'practically' there.

### Some Intruder Flâneuses

"Dancing was barely tolerated, if at all, so they danced in the forest where no one could see them, or in the basement, or on the way out to empty the trash." (Women Who Run With The Wolves, Clarissa P. Estes)

No-one can deny that patriarchal society begins to remind us when we are little girls that streets are unsafe for us. Out is a 'threat' for little girls who are to play inside and wait for the prince charm to be coming from outside. Once she is a grown up woman, she herself becomes a 'threat' for outside. As Wilson underscores: "writers definitely and clearly posed the presence of women as a problem of order, partly because their presence symbolised the promise of sexual adventure. This promise was converted into a general moral and political threat" (Wilson, 1991: 6). This being the case, flâneusing was rendered as such a distant possibility that even the word 'street-walker' has been applied to sex-workers. "The flâneur was simply the name of a man who loitered; but all women who loitered risked being seen as whores, as the term 'street-walker,' or 'tramp' applied to women makes clear" writes Susan Buck Morss in her provocative essay "The Flâneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering" where she equates female flânerie to prostitution (Morss, 1986: 119). Wilson, agreeing with Morss, adds up the class paradigm: "the prostitutes were even the working-class flâneuses" (Wilson, 2001: 85). Surely, apart from the prostitutes, there were some intruder flâneuses. Indeed, regarding her as a threat only serves to make her walking out a 'transgressive' act, which will always find its buyer. As Rendell clearly states: "Her movement was transgressive, blurring the boundaries between public and private, suggesting the uncontrollability of women in the city" (Rendell, 143).

Only in certain circumstances could this transgression be excused: If they were bourgeois, they needed a chaperon, a company. Or, making up a purpose would be valid as aimlessness was not for a woman, even a humble one like "to buy a lead pencil", which Virginia Woolf poignantly claims to be the "only spoil we have retrieved from all the treasures of the city, a lead pencil" (Woolf, 1930: 36). Another way of women's unlocking the doors and stepping out necessitated them to manifest masculine, mannish traits, had they wanted to be accepted in public territory. Referring to Richard Sennett, Janet Wolff indeed mentions, at the end of eighteenth century, women, even the ones "ideologically committed to emancipation" (Wolff, 1985: 42) were dressing like men and showing mannish bodily gestures. Within the same paradigm, one can do nothing, but sympathise with Amandine Aurore Lucile Dupin (aka George Sand) who disguised herself as a man (in 1831) only to taste the freedom of roaming around Parisian streets, enjoying to be an undisturbed solo-walker and observer, like "an atom lost in the crowd". As she documents:

"With those little iron-shod heels, I was secure on the sidewalk. I flew from one end of Paris to the other. It seemed to me that I could go round the world.... No one paid attention to me, and no one guessed at my disguise.... No one knew me, no one looked at me, no one found fault with me; I was an atom lost in that immense crowd" (Sand, 1831).

Similarly, in "Street Haunting", which is appreciated as one of the most notable written prototypes of flâneusing, Virginia Woolf depicts her perambulations around London on a late afternoon, and how deeply transformative it could be to be solo-walking; just walking for the sake of it and engaging with the city

surroundings. "But when the door shuts on us, all that vanishes", yet once we step outside of the "shell-like covering which our souls have excreted to house themselves", there will be "a champagne brightness" writes she (Woolf, 1930: 5). No doubt this metaphorical shutting down on us was far beyond the literal closing. The trappings of the self, one's identity resided in the house and the only solution was being out, to claim the streets, only then can we gain our authentic subjectivity. It was almost 1930s when Woolf gave the sensational speech in Cambridge (later published as *A Room Of One's Own*), when the women were just accepted in universities. Still, as she records, on the way to the campus, she was non-verbally warned to walk on the grave rather than the path due to her gender: "This was the turf; there was the path. Only the Fellows and Scholars are allowed here; the gravel is the place for me" (Woolf, 1977: 10).

As confirmed, despite their locked-down, surely there have been women who trespassed, transgressed, whose peripatetic bodies could hardly have been locked in; and those women (like Woolf, or G. Sand) are celebrated and commemorated as the forebears of flâneuses in the gender studies. As I claim, the flâneuse does exist whenever a woman voyages out and intrudes into a space she is not supposed to, deviating from the paths laid out for her, and lightening out for her own territories. In this sense, those women, who were stepping out of the 'shell-like' restrictions of the patriarchal society, whose only road was the 'gravel' but still walked by her; who trespassed, transgressed, poached in the public spheres; despite in disguise, but still insisted on claiming the city spaces, they can be regarded as flâneuses in their respective context as long as they were on move, walking, looking and transforming themselves and the spaces they have been to.

### How to Define Flâneuse

For all these reasons, following her footsteps, we have to tunnel back and give an ear to her untold story. Surely, the women's urban experience, which is quite different and practically more challenging compared to men, needs not to be evaluated from the same projection. An attempt to fit her into an old-fashioned masculine concept dooms to fail in practice, so defining one kind of flâneuse is far from possibility, rather there are kinds of flâneuses with countless experiences. As confirmed by the very contemporary feminist writers, what we have to do is to re-define the concept of flâneuse. Tracing back her excluded, unrecorded footsteps, and collecting the subtle clues of her existence, we need to call her out to make her visible, fully-seen. Not ignoring the gender-biased restrictions, we need to shed lights on women's experience with the city; encompassing all its challenges and gifts, alongside with its all troubles and merits.

Agreeing with Elizabeth Wilson who calls out to project 'a feminine voice in favour of cities', this study claims to read the flâneuse from a pro-urban projection entailing women's urban experience. Along with Wilson, it is also important to note down Deborah L. Parsons' legitimacy of the flâneuse. In her book *Streetwalking the Metropolis* (2000), negating the previous feminist writers' ideas about the 'practical invisibility' of the flâneuse, she draws attention to a different arena. Parsons claims the critiques of Wolff and Pollock constitute a problematic point due to their regarding the flâneur as a merely socio-historical figure rather than a metaphor for a way of critical observation. According to her, the act of flânerie is more like "a metaphor for a style of observation adapted to the modern city" (Parsons, 2000: 40). She puts forward that "as a metaphor for the experiences and aesthetic styles of an increasingly urban society, "characteristics of flânerie (adaptability, multiplicity, boundary-crossing, fluidity) place it prominently within a well-established critical debate on masculine/feminine art-forms" (ibid., 41). Parsons thinks Benjamin has ambiguous and self-contradictory ideas about the flâneur, which keeps the door ajar for further discussions. As Keith Tester has also claimed the concept of the flâneur is much more flexible than its earlier definitions, Parsons states: "the post-Benjaminian flâneur is more influentially a conceptual metaphor for urban observation and walking that extends even to the present day and the flâneur of de Certeau's postmodern city" (ibid., 41). In fact, the most important contribution of Parsons's discussions of female flânerie was her breaking the limiting chains of the concept, and encouraging the potential studies of the female urban experience in a broader sense. All in all, flâneuse is more than a figure, and it can be held as more of a way of perception and interaction with women's urban settings.

### Women as Commodity and Consumers

Department store was the last coup for the flâneur as Benjamin clearly states. However, it happened to be the birthplace of the flâneuse according to particular critics like Anne Friedberg. In her book *Window Shopping* (1993), she praises shopping as a way of flâneusing since it provided a relatively safe terrain for the woman to wander out anonymously and all by herself without a company. The city became accessible to women through the privilege of shopping to Friedberg. However, this idea knits subtle ties between the flâneuse and the capitalist (consumerist) praxis. Thus, another privilege of the flâneur, who had the autonomy to keep himself away from the capitalist system and its money-based economy, is not readily offered to women.

It may have been true that the increasing number of department stores (together with rising capitalism) let more and more women step out. However, there was another point Friedberg was missing to which Janice Mouton catches the attention: Shopping has had a notorious association with 'commodity fetishism' as women have long been exposed to commodification, and being fetishized. That's why, "the woman shopper could never be identified with the authentic flâneuse, or the shopping mall with the street" (Mouton, 8). Indeed, the shopping malls could never be equivalent of the streets since, unlike malls, "the life of the street-its risks, surprises, and endless variety-carries with it the transformative force" (ibid., 8). In addition to Mouton's counter-arguments, it would be fitting to remind that Walter Benjamin had also disallowed the shopping places as a space for flânerie as he points them as the denouement, final destination of the flâneur. His justification -different from Mouton- was about the contrast between 'detachment' and 'engagement'. The former was the component of flânerie, the latter was of the shopping. To him, one cannot be a detached observer, but an involved consumer when shopping (Benjamin, 54).

In brief, the discussions over women's relation with shopping generally revolve around two slippery grounds: women as being consumers and women as consumed (her body as a fetishised object). Both being a buyer and a seller, the prostitute- the street walker- was also incorporating these dualities according to Susan Buck Morss. In her aforementioned essay, she declares the modernist flâneuses were the prostitutes: "For Benjamin, while the figure of the flâneur embodies the transformation of perception characteristic of modern subjectivity, the figure of the whore is the allegory for the transformation of objects, the world of things. As a dialectic image, she is 'seller and commodity in one'" writes she (Morss, 1986: 120). It is possible to admit while the male flâneur experiences the city that is a public space as a consumer, the flâneuse experiences the city life as a consumer; her wandering is not only idling but related to the objects. Being connected with fashion and advertisement as a commodity and as a seller, she "mimics the commodity and takes on its allure: the fact that her sexuality is on sale is itself an attraction" (ibid., 120). All in all, women's problematic relation with the urban milieu already started as their path was related to commerce and consumption, leading to the commodification of her body as a fetishised object.

### Women as Objects of Male Gaze

The gaze had long been mainly male-dominated, and as the beholder of the gaze, he was dominating her, restricting her vision, taking away her right "to look without being look at" (Mouton, 8). As the 'sovereign surveyor of the scene' as Bazin expresses, the flâneur was clearly taking the advantage of his gender as he had the privilege to look. His eyes, just like his feet, could ramble anywhere, announcing his dominance over, especially on the women. As Wilson articulates, "the flâneur as a man who takes visual possession of the city has emerged in feminist debates as the embodiment of the 'male gaze'. He represents men's visual and voyeuristic mastery over women" (Wilson, 2001: 79). As for the flâneuse, just like the act of walking, the act of looking also turns into an arena, a long-lasting challenge that she had to claim her right and finally win over as she cannot be "undisturbed onlooker" (Pollock, 112). As Pollock clearly accentuates in her analysis of Baudalarian text: "Women did not enjoy the freedom of incognito in the crowd. They were never positioned as the normal occupants of the public realm. They did not have the right to look, to stare,

scrutinize or watch (...) Women do not look. They are positioned as the object of the flâneur's gaze" (Pollock, 100). Thus, the objectification of women was assured by male dominated gaze. Indeed, women were just too 'visible' to be looked at by men. All in all, we can claim that she was either cloistered at home-deprived of the act of walking; or once out, she was deprived of looking, observing. For women, the act of looking can therefore said to be transgressive, as well. Kaplan even furthers by stating unlike men, even when women gaze, they do not possess the gaze; their gaze cannot instrumentalize and objectify (Kaplan, 1983).

It was 1972 when John Berger's *Ways of Seeing*, which was broadcast and subsequently published, resonated with the studies of western cultural aesthetics. Analysing the covered ideologies in visual images of woman representations, Berger unearths that the "ideal spectator is always assumed to be male and the image of the woman is designed to flatter him" (Berger, 2008: 98). The surveyor was invariably male, and the female was the surveyed in most visuals. As a consequence, he put this sensational phrase: "men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at" (ibid., 68). The woman, who is aware of being constantly looked at begins to internalise this situation according to him; what is worse, this imaginary surveyor inside the female is also male. He states "the surveyor of woman in herself is male: The surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object – and most particularly an object of vision: a sight" (ibid., 68). This is recently discussed as 'internalized male gaze' in feminist studies.

Influenced by Berger's ideas and building her study on a psychoanalytical matrix, feminist film critical Laura Mulvey has probed this issue of women's objectification by the dominant male gaze in the fields of mainstream cinema (mainly in classical Hollywood of 1940s-1960s). In her oft cited essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975), adopting the Lacanian gaze and applying it to feminist film studies, Mulvey has introduced the theory of male gaze into the field. As a socially constructed derivation of patriarchal discourses, the term has later been affiliated to voyeurism (looking as sexual pleasure mostly secretly), and scopophilia (Freudian term referring to the narcissistic pleasure of both looking and being looked at). The male oriented gaze, thus, has become an investigation subject, especially in the fields of cinema (more generally in visual arts) and in feminist film theories. Mulvey most famously states:

"In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to the female figure which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness" (Mulvey, 62).

Unfortunately, it is too difficult to claim ways of seeing and relatedly representing women have changed through time in the mainstream cinema. The same old motto is continuously resonated: "Men do the looking, and women are to be looked at" although in independent cinema, we can find the subversion of this male gaze with a more recent notion of female gaze.

### **Female Gaze**

Female gaze (aka feminine gaze) is not a direct counter-version of male-gaze objectifying men as a spectacle unlike one may presuppose, much like women are not a direct counter of men. Or, as Iris Brey, the writer of the book *The Female Gaze: A Revolution Onscreen*, suggests: "It is a gaze that allows us to share the lived experience of a female body onscreen. It is not a gaze created by female artists, but rather one that takes the point of view of a female character in order to embrace her experience" (Grey, 2020). In the female gaze, the women protagonists reclaim their space in the frame with an intention to open up their bodies not as fetishes, but to lay out their emotions, their inner world, their own subjectivity. The women's body is not underscored but serves as a medium to create a formal imagery that is specifically feminine, reflecting pleasure and pain, not denying its role, but reclaiming it as a tool to 'communicate'. In this kind of gaze, the representation of women's body and her feelings are to be in an equal treat(ment) and meshing with each other less her body is objectified.

Jill Soloway, in her very recent TIFF talk in 2016, divides female gaze's components into three. To her, first woman character claims to be the onlooker, that is, "the subjects of the look" (Soloway, 2016). Secondly, the women protagonists are aware of being looked (how could it be ignored!). In this second step, what Soloway calls "gazed gaze" functions as a disclosure of "how it feels to be gazed at". In other words, the camera (and thus the spectator) receives a feedback, full with consciousness and awareness. Last but not least, the third stage is where she returns the gaze by announcing "I see you are seeing me". Much more than a shooting style, female gaze is an 'empathy generator' in that sense. It is a way of saying that 'I was there, in that room', which is like a signature of female presence.

Therefore, the act of looking could be the initiator of flâneusing. And it does not have to be the same as in the patriarchal model of the subject/object dichotomy where the onlooker dominates the looked. An alternative model could be possible by the time she raises her eyes, claiming her right to look and to observe her surroundings. This would not be voyeuristic, but voyageur look (term adapted by Bruno). As Agnes Varda states: "The first feminist gesture is to say right, OK, I'm being looked at, but I'm looking too... it is the act of deciding to look, and that the world is defined by how I look and not how I'm looked at" (Mandy, 2000).

## Conclusion

Departing from flâneur, the era of Modernity has been discussed with all its tropes such as urbanisation, city spaces and everyday life in the embodiment of the flâneur. Later, women's urban experience in modernity has been discussed. By mainly tracing the tropes of walking, I try to answer the questions over the practical existence or inexistence of women out there in the urban spaces. The different perspectives of various feminist scholars are mentioned, only to agree with a pro-urban perspective, which is in favour of women's presence in public spaces. Albeit restricted or not represented, or their walking out was seen as a transgression, those women were out there. Despite denying their 'practical existence', tracing back their ambiguous footsteps is what this paper humbly suggests. As for the act of looking, male gaze theory is discussed in detail, only to suggest to be replaced with a pro-feminine gaze, aka female gaze, which prioritises the woman as the subject of the look. This is a look endorsed with an awareness of being looked at, though still insisting on looking.

Patriarchal schemes that cause the commodification of woman body as a fetishised are meant to be subverted in favour of the women. What is made obvious is that while the flâneur 'enjoys the freedom to look, appraise and possess, in deed or in fantasy' (Pollock, 112), the flâneuse has never enjoyed the freedom of looking without being looked in return as she cannot be an "undisturbed onlooker". However, an alternative model of 'female gaze' is possible as these words of Varda highlight: "the first feminist gesture is to say they are looking at me, but I am look-ing at them'. Basically, female gaze is about how women look at the world, not how the world looks at them. Unlike male gaze, female gaze prioritises the 'communication' through an empathy, it is indeed a signature of female presence. Opening up the discussions of female gaze in this section, what I seek out is an alternative model of looking for the sake of the flâneuse. Surely, it does not have to be same as the flâneur. While the flâneur's look is more voyeuristic, the flâneuse's look is suggested as 'voyageur' (term adapted from Bruno), which is the main argument here. Overall, this study calls for a second thought of the modalities of our (women's) interaction with the city.

## References

- Baudelaire, C. (1964). *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*. Phaidon Press.
- Benjamin, W. (1997). *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn. Verso.
- Berger, J. (2008). *Ways of seeing*. Penguin Classics.
- Berman, M. (1988) *All that is solid melts into air: The experience of modernity*. Canada: Penguin.
- Brey, I. (2020) *The Female Gaze: A Revolution Onscreen* Translated by Daniela Ginsburg. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a68a5a4cf81e073e471d1ac/t/5f80921f4c46ce4f477e5145/1602261535527/Brey+Sample+Beginning.pdf>
- Bruno, G. (2018). *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film*. Verso. (first published 2002).
- Buck-Morss, S. (1986). *The Flâneur, the sandwichman and the whore: the Politics of loitering*. *New German Critique* no. 39, pp. 99–140.
- Clarke, D. B. (1997). "Introduction: Previewing the Cinematic City", *The Cinematic City*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 1-17.
- De Certeau, M. (2002). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press.
- Elkin, L. (2017). *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*. First American ed., Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Kindle Edition.
- Ferguson, P. P. (1994). "The Flâneur On and Off the Streets of Paris", *The Flâneur*. Ed. Keith Tester. Routledge, 22-42.
- Fournel, V. (1867). *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris*. p. 268 – via Bibliothèque nationale de France. (taken from wikipedia)
- Friedberg, A. (1993). *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*. University of California Press.
- Frisby, D. (2014). "The Flâneur in Social Theory", In *The Flâneur* (pp. 81-110). Routledge. (edited by Tester K.)
- George Sand, *Story of My Life*, ed. Thelma Jurgrau (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 893-9
- Gleber, A. (1997). "Female Flânerie and the Symphony of the City" In *Women in the metropolis: Gender and modernity in Weimar culture*, ed. K. von Ankum, 67–88. University of California.
- Kaplan, E. A. (2013). "Is the gaze male?" *Women & Film*. Routledge. (first published in 1983).
- Lefebvre, H. (1984). *Everyday Life in the Modern World*. Routledge. (first published in 1968).
- Mandy, M. (2000). *Filmer le desir. the factory/Saga Film/ARTE France/*
- Mouton, J. (2001). *From feminine masquerade to flâneuse: Agnès Varda's Cléo in the city*. *Cinema Journal*, 40(2), 3-16. from <http://www.jstor.org/sta-ble/1225840>
- Parsons, D. L. (2000). *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City and Modernity*. Oxford University Press.
- Poe, E. A. (2008). *The man of the crowd* (pp. 48-54). University of Virginia Li-brary. Available at: <http://162gettinglostfall2012.qwrit-ing.qc.cuny.edu/files/2012/08/Poe-Man-of-the-Crowd.pdf>
- Pollock, G. (2003). *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art*. Routledge. (first published in 1988)
- Rendell, J. (1998). *West End rambling: gender and architectural space in London 1800–1830*. *Leisure Studies*, 17(2), 108-122.
- Sennett, R. (2015). *Uncomfortable Spaces: Richard Sennett on Urbanism*. Inter-viewed by The Architectural Review. YouTube. Available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3\\_soJHqkzSs&t=46s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3_soJHqkzSs&t=46s) (Accessed 19 June 2021).
- Simmel, G. *The Metropolis and Mental Life*. pp. 11-19. [http://cast.b-ap.net/arc597f15/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2015/09/Simmel\\_Metropolis\\_Men-tal\\_Life.pdf](http://cast.b-ap.net/arc597f15/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2015/09/Simmel_Metropolis_Men-tal_Life.pdf)
- Soloway, J. (2016). *Jill Soloway on The Female Gaze | MASTER CLASS | TIFF 2016*. YouTube. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pnBvppooD9I>
- Tester, K. (2015) "Introduction." *The Flâneur*. Ed. Keith Tester. Routledge. (first published in 1994) 1-21.
- Wilson, E. (1991). *The sphinx in the city: Urban life, the control of disorder, and women*. Univ of California

**Practical Possibilities of Being Flâneuse: Over the Act of Walking and Looking**

Flâneuse Olmanın Olasılıkları: Yürüme ve Bakış Üzerine

Press.

- Wilson, E. (2000). The contradictions of culture: Cities, culture, women. *The Contradictions of Culture*, 1-192.
- Wolff, J. (1985). "The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity" *Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women & Culture*, Polity Press. p. 34-50.
- Woolf, V. (1930). *Street Haunting, A London Adventure*. Westgate Press (first published in 1927) <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/street-haunting-an-essay-by-virginia-woolf>
- Woolf, V. (1977). *A Room of One's Own*. Grafton. (first published in 1929).