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traditions which can be presented to new audiences as meaningful and exotic without venturing into areas of judgement or value-hierarchization (Bauman, 1985).

- 6 This can be linked to one strategy for outsider intellectuals, which is to appear to attempt to subvert the whole game – postmodernism. With postmodernism, traditional distinctions and hierarchies are collapsed, polyculturalism is acknowledged which fits in with the global circumstance; kitsch, the popular, and difference are celebrated. Their cultural innovation proclaiming a *beyond* is really a *within*, a new move within the intellectual game which takes into account the new circumstances of production of cultural goods, which will itself in turn be greeted as eminently marketable by the cultural intermediaries.

Notes

1 It therefore becomes less important to endorse product quality (although functional information is still required about certain consumer goods) since an experience is associated with and consumed alongside the commodity. While this experience has a psychological dimension in relation to fantasy fulfilment it also has a social dimension which relates to the role goods play as communicators. The more general tendency for not only goods but experiences to become commodified and sold should also be noted – sport spectacles, tourism theme parks, Disney World etc. increasingly involve an aesthetically mediated – that is, distanced – perception of ‘reality’.

2 There is not the space here to provide an analysis of the working class in this respect. Suffice to say that Bourdieu’s analysis of the French working class who have to make do with ‘the choices of necessity’ while ringing true for the lumpen, traditional or unemployed working class does not take into account the privatized, consumer-orientated fractions, which of course, have different consumption patterns to the new petite bourgeoisie and the *horige* and a very different habitus, but can identify with the latter groups via the problematics of autodidacticism: embarrassment and the learning mode.

3 For a discussion of the process of informalization which took place in the 1960s from a perspective which builds upon Elias’s theory of the civilizing process, see Cas Wouters (1986).

City Cultures and Postmodern Lifestyles

How are we to understand the recent growth of interest in city cultures and urban lifestyles? On one level we can rightfully argue that cities have always had cultures in the sense that they have produced distinctive cultural products, artefacts, buildings and distinctive ways of life. It is possible to be even more ‘culturalist’ and assert that the very organization of space, the layout of buildings, is itself a manifestation of particular cultural codes. In this case particular ‘deep’ culture codes may dispose us to see cities as for example primarily economic, functional or aesthetic entities. If there is a switch from say a more economic and functional emphasis to a more cultural and aesthetic emphasis does it help to try to relate this to the asserted shifts from modernity and modernism towards postmodernity and postmodernism? If we set aside this question for the moment and focus in the first level, the notion that cities have always had cultures, we can take this to imply two senses of the term culture: culture as a way of life (the anthropological sense); and culture as the arts, spiritually elevating cultural products and experiences (high culture). One of the central themes which I will address in this chapter is that there has been a blurring of the boundaries between these two senses of culture which has broadened the range of phenomena designated as culture from the arts (high culture) to take in a wide spectrum of popular and everyday cultures in which practically any object or experience can be deemed to be of cultural interest. This has been accompanied by a shift in attention from lifestyles conceived as a relatively fixed set of dispositions, cultural tastes and leisure practices which demarcate groups from each other to the assumption that in the contemporary city lifestyles are more actively formed. Hence the focus turns away from lifestyle as class- or neighbourhood-based to lifestyle as the active stylization of life in which coherence and unity give way to the playful exploration of transitory experiences and surface aesthetic effects. It is the compound effects of these shifts which prove to be a source of fascination for a number of cultural commentators who are disposed to regard them as indicators of a more fundamental social and cultural displacement which is increasingly referred to as postmodernism.

This chapter will seek to understand these changes via a dual focus, first, on the transformations in lifestyles and city cultures which are taking place and alleged to amount to a postmodern shift; and, second, to raise the question of the changes in social structures and relationships which dispose particular sets of cultural specialists and intermediaries to exploit and

develop new markets for cultural goods and experiences. In short, attention needs to be given to the role of the interpreters, carriers and promoters of both a range of new cultural goods and experiences and the perception of those goods and experiences as significant, meaningful and worthy of investment.

Before going into these questions in more detail we can briefly refer to a number of factors which point to the ways in which the culture of cities and urban lifestyles have become thematized. First, there is the assumption that particular cities (for example, Florence, Venice) are cultural centres containing the art treasures and cultural heritage of the past which are housed both in museums and galleries and in the fabric of the buildings and layout which represents the prime source of their cultural capital. Alongside the notion that the city can be regarded as 'work of art' (Olsen, 1986) as in the above cases, or in the case of the outstanding natural beauty of the site (for example, Rio de Janeiro, San Francisco) which can be regarded as an alternative source of prestige, or cultural capital, we have the view that cities can also be cultural centres to the extent to which they house leisure and entertainment industries. Particular metropolises (such as New York, Paris, Los Angeles, London) may be strong in cultural capital in terms of the extent to which they are centres of cultural production, housing not only the arts (still an expanding sector), but also the mass culture industries of fashion, television, cinema, publishing, popular music, tourism and leisure. The employment of the notion of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) in this context is to point to alternative sources of wealth than economic (financial and industrial) capital whose value may nevertheless be redeemable and reconvertible back into economic value, through a whole series of direct and indirect routes. Hence the willingness of national policy-makers, city administrations and private capitalists to encourage and seek investment in culture (Fisher et al., 1987) and their sensitivity to the importance of the city's image under conditions of intensified competition.

Second, the general expansion of the cultural sphere within contemporary Western societies not only points to the enlarged market for cultural goods and information, but also to the ways in which the purchase and consumption of commodities, an allegedly material act, is increasingly mediated by diffuse cultural images (via advertising, display and promotion) in which the consumption of signs or the symbolic aspect of goods become the major source of the satisfaction derived (Baudrillard, 1981). Here one can point to the increasing salience of forms of leisure consumption in which the emphasis is placed upon the consumption of experiences and pleasure (such as theme parks, tourist and recreational centres) and the ways in which more traditional forms of high cultural consumption (such as museums, galleries) become revamped to cater for wider audiences through trading-in the canonical, auratic art and educative-formative pretensions for an emphasis upon the spectacular, the popular, the pleasurable and the immediately accessible. In addition it can be argued that there are

further convergences between these two cultural forms and a third, the development of malls and shopping centres.

Third the extension of the range of cultural and leisure pursuits available has not only extended the range of leisure lifestyles available but has resulted in some qualitative shifts too. As I mentioned earlier, there is a tendency on the part of some groups (especially the young, highly educated sectors of the middle classes) to take on more active stance towards lifestyle and pursue the stylization of life. Here we can point not only to the imitation and popularity of the lifestyles of artistic subcultures (bohémias, avant-gardes) in contemporary metropolises, but also to what has been referred to as 'artist of life', the painters who do not paint but adopt the artistic sensibilities in order to turn their lives into a work of art. The concern with fashion, presentation of self, 'the look' on the part of the new wave of urban *flâneurs*, points to a process of cultural differentiation which in many ways is the obverse of the stereotypical images of mass societies in which serried ranks of similarly dressed people are massed together. If the contemporary age can be characterized as an era of 'no style', to borrow a phrase of Simmel's, then it points to the rapid circulation of new styles (fashion, appearance, design, consumer goods) and the nostalgic invocation of past ones.

Here we can point to a further convergence in the process of the stylization and aestheticization of everyday life between the popularity of artistic lifestyles and stylistic presentation and display and the development of a differentiated and sophisticated range of consumer goods, leisure-time pursuits and experiences which incorporate a high input of design, style, and artistic and fashionable cultural imagery. It can also be argued that certain modernist artistic currents (such as Dada and surrealism) which became central to postmodernism in the 1960s themselves sought to collapse the boundary between art and everyday life to show that the most banal consumer cultural objects and the kitsch and detritus of mass culture could themselves be aestheticized and introduced as the subject of, or incorporated into, the formal structure of artworks. Postmodern art also focused upon the body, living art and the happening (see chapter 3). Hence we have an interchange between a number of currents: a higher input of style, design and cultural imagery into consumer goods, sites of leisure and consumption and the fabric of the city; an expansion of artistic professions, intermediaries and ancillary workers with the growth of specific artistic enclaves and neighbourhoods (e.g. SoHo in New York); the move towards postmodern art with its aestheticization of everyday life and mass consumer cultures; the growing prominence of social agglomerates which show a concern with stylistic display, fashionable clothing and presentation of self (which often entails a playful or parodic emphasis which allegedly seeks to transcend traditional status games), as people move through city spaces and consumption, leisure and entertainment sites. We will now turn to a more detailed examination of these strands.

Postmodern city cultures

Some commentators have referred to some of the tendencies we have just mentioned as postmodern (Cooke, 1988; Zukin, 1988a; Chambers, 1987). While the term 'postmodern' and its most common derivatives 'postmodernism' and 'postmodernity' are generally used in a confusing range of ways (see chapters 1 and 3), they do sensitise us to a series of cultural changes which may presage a more fundamental set of transformations of social structures and relationships. Among the most frequently cited characteristics associated with postmodernism are (1) an antifoundational stance in philosophy and social and cultural theory which suggests that the foundational meta-narratives which ground Western modernity's claims for privileged universality in its notions of science, humanism, socialism etc. are flawed and that we should seek to produce less pretentious modes of knowledge which are more sensitive to local differences as intellectuals swap their role as confidant legislators to that of interpreters (see Lyotard, 1984; Kellner, 1988; Bauman, 1988); (2) this privileging of the local and the vernacular is translated into a democratic and populist collapsing of symbolic hierarchies within the academy and intellectual and artistic circles in which for example the distinctions between high culture and popular or mass cultures, art and everyday, are contested – put simply we should 'learn from Las Vegas' (Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour, 1977); (3) there is a shift from discursive to figural forms of culture manifest in an emphasis upon visual images over words, primary processes of the ego over secondary and immersion rather than the distanced appreciation of the detached spectator (Lash, 1988); and (4) these aspects are captured in the phrase 'postmodern depthless culture' (Jameson, 1984a) and the notion that ordered historical development should give way to the perception of the past as a conglomerate of images, fragments and spectacles which are endlessly reduplicated and simulated without the possibility of discovering an essential order or point of value judgement. These features have been noted by commentators within a wide range of academic fields, and however suitable the emphasis on the move beyond the modern implied by the term 'postmodernism', the use of the term has the merit of directing us towards what are perceived to be significant changes in artistic and popular cultural practices, regimes of signification and modes of orientation within everyday life. The populist and de-hierarchizing spirit of postmodernism directs our attention to the way in which culture has surfaced as an issue, as something to be theorized and explored alongside the de-monopolization of long-established symbolic hierarchies whose former dominance meant that particular notions of culture were taken for granted and unthematized. Hence it is possible to follow DiMaggio (1987) and regard the Western world as entering a phase of 'cultural de-classification' in which there will be heightened competition between a wide variety of notions of culture and a reduced ability to impose a value-hierarchy.

For our particular purposes it is interesting to note that commentators have adopted the rhetoric of postmodernism to understand the changes to

the culture of cities and urban lifestyles we have alluded to. Particularly influential has been the work of Baudrillard (1983a, 1983b) with his notion of a simulational culture. Arguing that consumer commodities in late capitalism have developed the capacity to take up a wide range of imagistic and symbolic associations which overlay their initial use-value and hence become commodity-signs, he detects a qualitative shift in the intensification of this process which leads to the loss of a sense of concrete reality as the consumer–television culture with its floating mass of signs and images produces an endless series of simulations which play off each other. Baudrillard refers to this as a 'hyperreality', a world in which the piling up of signs, images and simulations through consumerism and television results in a destabilized, aestheticized hallucination of reality. For Baudrillard, culture has effectively become free-floating to the extent that culture is everywhere, actively mediating and aestheticizing the social fabric and social relationships. A move beyond the discursive reflexive primacy of language towards figural cultural forms which emphasize the immediacy and intensity of aural and visual sensations which provide inchoate and dispersed pleasures for decentered subjects.

If these perceptions are translated into an urban context it is apparent that the old notion of pre-modern city cultures which implies certain cities are sedimented in tradition, history and the arts, housing famous buildings and landmarks which provide a strong sense of place and collective identity – or the 'de-cultured' city, the modernist functional economic city whose spatial form is dominated by the grid-iron layout and high-rise modernist architecture – both give way to the postmodern city which marks a return to culture, style and decoration, but within the confines of a 'no-place space' in which traditional senses of culture are decontextualized, simulated, reduplicated and continually renewed and restyled. The postmodern city is therefore much more image and culturally self-conscious; it is both a centre of cultural consumption and general consumption, and the latter, as has been emphasized, cannot be detached from cultural signs and imagery, so that urban lifestyles, everyday life and leisure activities themselves in varying degrees are influenced by the postmodern simulational tendencies.

To take some examples: postmodern tendencies in architecture can be seen as a revolt against architectural modernism with its austere Miesian functionalism and abstract formalism (Jencks, 1984; Davis, 1985) by the reintroduction of decoration, the mixing of styles and a playful pop art simulation of commodities (such as Philip Johnson's Chippendale ATT Building in New York). It also introduces what Venturi and associates (1977) in *Learning from Las Vegas* refer to as 'Roadside Eclecticism': the eclectic stylistic hotchpotch of big signs and little buildings which run along the highway. Words, pictures, sculpture and neon are mixed together and in contrast to modernism's austerity, symbolism is reintroduced to produce a hedonistic consumer culture landscape. Here pop art's parodic duplication of mass consumer cultural objects are fed back into the urban landscape

and culture industries. Not only the billboard, but especially electronic media images, provide sources of inspiration. There is a plethora of ornamental, overcoded multicoloured façades whose impact is immediate with no opportunity for distanciation (Cooke and Onufrijchuk, 1987).

If architecture and art take quotations from everyday consumer culture and play them back to produce postmodern cities 'where everything is "larger than life", where the referents are swept away by the signs, where the artificial is more "real" than the real' (Chambers, 1987: 1), then what of the people who move through these urban spaces? In many ways the people are regarded as engaging in a complex sign play which mimics or resonates with the surfeit of signs in the built environment. Contemporary popular culture (fashion, music, television, videos, drinking, dancing, clubbing) is regarded as dominated by the 'as if ...' world of advertising. Clothes, bodies, faces become 'quotations drawn from the other, imaginary side of life: from fashion, the cinema, advertising and the infinite suggestibility of urban iconography' (Chambers, 1987: 7). These signs, which are decontextualized from tradition or subcultural ordering, are played with in a superficial way, with people revelling in the fact that they are artificial, opaque and 'depthless' in the sense that they cannot be decoded to offer access to some revelatory meaning or fundamental sense of truth. Everyday life becomes a 'fantastic *mélange* of fiction and strange values' which captures the sense of the surreal as an everyday presence both as excess, style and experimentation and as randomness, banality and the repetition of street images (Calefato, 1988: 225). The contemporary is a dandy of a new and more democratic bohemia', a new metropolitan figure who 'explores routes already travelled by avant-garde art, crossing the boundary between the museum and mass culture, but transfers the game from the art gallery to the fashion catwalk of the street' (Del Sapio, 1988: 206–7).

It should be apparent that this group of people who seek to cross, re-cross and transgress the boundaries between art and everyday life are predominantly the young and are the inheritors of the tradition of youth subcultures. The latter operated as fixed symbolic structures which are now rejected or ironically parodied and collaged. Yet there is the assumption on the part of commentators that these new tendencies are indications of the processes which are breaking up traditional patterns of social regulation which link lifestyles closely to class, age and normativity (Baudrillard, 1983a; Chambers, 1987: 7). Hence Chambers (1987: 2) quotes Robert Elms, a writer for the fashionable youth magazine *The Face*, as remarking 'nobody is a teenager any more because everybody is'. Certainly there is some evidence that youth styles and lifestyles are migrating up the age scale and that as the 1960s generation ages they are taking some of their youth-orientated dispositions with them, and that adults are being granted greater licence for childlike behaviour and vice versa. This relationship between lifestyle, habitus and class will be discussed towards the end of this chapter.

One interesting aspect of the new urban lifestyles and depth less stylistic eclecticism commentators label as postmodern is that it is linked to the

notion of a movement beyond individualism, to a de-centring of the subject. The de-centred subject has a greater capacity to engage in a controlled de-control of the emotions and explore figural tendencies, immediate sensations and affective experiences formerly regarded as threatening, as something which needs to be kept at bay or strictly controlled. It has been argued by Maffesoli (1988b) that in the postmodern city we have a move beyond individualism with a sense of communal feeling being generated, a new 'aesthetic paradigm' in which masses of people come together in temporary emotional communities. These are to be regarded as fluid 'postmodern tribes' in which intense moments of ecstasy, empathy and affectual immediacy are experienced. Of course it should be emphasized that these tendencies are not in themselves historically new. One can find examples of the disorientating *mêlée* of signs and the aestheticization of everyday life in the carnivals and fairs of the Middle Ages and mid-nineteenth-century Paris with its *flâneurs*, or the great world exhibitions in metropolises like Berlin and Paris (see chapter 5 above). What is new is not only the capacity to reduplicate and simulate these previously enclaved examples of the aestheticization of everyday life – and indeed any other cultural experience – on a hitherto unexperienced level of intensity and vividness of reproduction. Also new is the attitude of intellectuals and theorists towards the process. Whereas Simmel was troubled by the threat to art posed by the de-auratization of art and the ways in which the stylization of everyday objects lead to an interference with the distanced appreciation demanded by the artwork Benjamin especially in his *Passagen-Werk*, celebrated the fragmented images of mass culture and the shocks and jolts of the perceptions in everyday city life from a theoretical perspective clearly influenced by surrealism, Dadaism and montage (see Wolin, 1982) which resonates well with postmodernism.

If postmodern cities have become centres of consumption, play and entertainment, saturated with signs and images to the extent that anything can become represented, thematized and made an object of interest, an object of the 'tourist gaze', then it is to be expected that leisure activities such as visiting theme parks, shopping centres, malls, museums and galleries should show some convergence here. To take some examples, Disney World is often taken as the prototype for postmodern simulational experiences (Baudrillard, 1983a) and it is interesting to see that the format of moving between spectacular experiences (white-knuckle rides, hologram illusions etc.) and the simulation of historical national-founder or childhood worlds (the Magic Kingdom) or wandering through simulations of building, which are chosen to symbolize selected national cultures (such as the Merry England pub) or futuristic scenarios (EPCOT) in sanitized, highly controlled surroundings, has not only been imitated by theme parks around the world, but has also been merged with other formats such as museums. The growth of open-air museums directed at a wider spectrum of people has broadened the range of objects worthy of preservation (such as working coal mines, miner's terraced houses, trams, metal advertising signs dubbed 'street jewellery', as at the Beamish Open Air Museum in Tyne and Wear in

north-east England). It has also encouraged a new attitude on the part of spectators with actors (often the unemployed on government schemes) trained to play historical roles to enliven the recreated physical settings, so that the mood of walking through a film set is extended as spectators are encouraged to participate and bring the simulation to life (Urry, 1988). The range of sites worthy of the tourist gaze and exploration is extended. One increasingly lives in a 'heritage country' in which the sense of historical past gives way to myths. Hence if one crosses the north of England one moves rapidly from Wordsworth country, to Brontë country, to Herriot country, to Captain Cook country – and to show working-class popular culture is respectable too – to Catherine Cookson country, each with tour guides, itineraries, museums and souvenirs. Even former non-attractive locations are clamouring to join the queue with towns like Bradford capitalizing on its 'Northern Grit' industrial past and current large Asian community to become the site for 'getaway break weekends'. Here we have typical sites for what have been referred to as 'post-tourists' (Feifer, 1985; Urry, 1988), people who adopt a postmodern de-centred orientation towards tourist experiences. Post-tourists have no time for authenticity and revel in the constructed simulational nature of contemporary tourism which they know is only a game. They welcome the opportunity to explore backstage regions and tackle the experience from many points of view.

Similar orientations are also to be found in contemporary museums, many of which are abandoning their commitment to the cultural canon and education project, in which the old and the new were organized in terms of a hierarchy of progress developed in the nineteenth century to reflect the values of ascendant Western modernity (Bann, 1984; Bennett, 1988), in favour of a more populist ethos. From this perspective, museums should cease to be dull places of education; rather, they should incorporate the features of postmodernism and become 'amazing spaces' which present spectacular imagery and simulations. This encourages a different, more playful, orientation from much broader-based crowds whose mass-media-influenced perceptions are at home with the abandonment of symbolic hierarchies and a more playful approach to montaged exhibits that offer experiences organized in terms of the equality of a plurality of styles, which shows the abandonment of a civilizing mission and hierarchized vision of a unitary culture (Roberts, 1988; Horne, 1984). This is captured in Baudrillard's (1982) description of the Beaubourg Museum in Paris which draws in the masses to what he calls this 'hypermarket of culture'. He states:

The people want to accept everything, eat everything, touch everything. Looking, deciphering, studying doesn't move them. The one mass effect is that of touching or manipulating. The organizers (and the artists, and the intellectuals) are alarmed by this uncontrollable impulse, for they reckoned only with the apprenticeship of the masses to the *spectacle* of culture. They never anticipated this active, destructive fascination – this original and brutal response to the gift of an incomprehensible culture, this attraction which has all the semblance of housebreaking or the sacking of a shrine. (Baudrillard, 1982: 10)

It can be argued that the conflict between populism and elitism is a perennial feature of museums (Zolberg, 1984), yet the populist tendencies certainly have come to the fore in the 1980s.

This populism is hardly an unexpected feature of shopping centres, malls and department stores. Within these sites it is apparent that shopping is rarely a purely calculative rational economic transaction to maximize utility, but is primarily a leisure-time cultural activity in which people become audiences who move through the spectacular imagery designed to connote sumptuousness and luxury, or to summon up connotations of desirable exotic faraway places, and nostalgia for past emotional harmonies. In short shopping has to become an experience. As cities de-industrialize and become centres of consumption one of the tendencies in the 1970s and 1980s has been the redesigning and expansion of shopping centres which incorporate many of the features of postmodernism in their architectural design of interior space and simulated environments: use of dreamlike illusions and spectacles, eclecticism and mixed codes, which induce the public to flow past a multiplicity of cultural vocabularies which provide no opportunity for distancing (de-distanciation) and encourage a sense of immediacy, instantiation, emotional de-control and childlike wonder. One of the major North American examples is the West Edmonton Mall – or more appropriately 'mega-mall' – which has a supplementary sixty-four-acre entertainment centre with a 'Fantasyland' funfair and water park which includes an indoor saltwater lake containing dolphins, mini-submarines and Spanish galleons (Shields, 1987: 9). Europe's largest shopping centre is the Metrocentre in Gateshead, in north-east England. The Metrocentre is a good example of the de-industrialization process and switch of cities to become centres of consumption being built upon derelict industrial land in an economically depressed metropolitan region. The Metrocentre has promoted itself as a tourist attraction with its 'Antiques Village', fantasy fairytale 'Kingdom of King Wiz', Ancient Roman Forum gallery and general eclectic smattering of symbolism to evoke the myths of a communal past via Christmas card and chocolate-box iconography (Chaney, 1990).

There are therefore common features emerging between shopping centres, malls, museums, theme parks and tourist experiences in the contemporary city in which cultural disorder and stylistic eclecticism become common features of spaces in which consumption and leisure are meant to be constructed as 'experiences'. As Lefebvre (1971: 114) remarks, in the contemporary city we have 'consuming displays, displays of consuming, consuming of signs, signs of consuming'. This convergence takes place not only on the level of the common form to the sets of experiences which are sought to be generated by advertisers, designers, architects and other cultural intermediaries, but also in terms of the alliances forged between the proprietors, patrons, trustees and financiers of these institutions. For example, a New York department store promoted a China Week in which art works and museum treasures were exhibited in the store. The Metropolitan Opera in New York hosts fashion shows (Silverman, 1986). Japanese

department stores regularly display art treasures and hold exhibitions of paintings. Such promotion phases and exhibitions blur the distinctions between high culture and low culture and the distinctions between commerce and culture.

These convergences are not without forerunners, although they are new to the extent that the mixing of codes and the deconstruction of the symbolic hierarchies involving discriminations between high and mass culture, now takes place across a wider range of cultural forms and within what were almost exclusively regarded as places of inculcation of high cultural values and a coherent education formative process (such as museums). With regard to forerunners, the department stores which developed first in Paris and then in other cities in the second half of the nineteenth century were essentially conceived as 'palaces of consumption', 'dream-worlds' and 'temples' in which goods were worshipped by new consumers (largely female) who were able to wander through display areas which introduced simulations and an evocative, exotic imagery (R.H. Williams, 1982; Chaney, 1983). Similar experiences were also generated by the world exhibitions and expositions which became regular events until the early years of the twentieth century, in the wake of the Crystal Palace Great Exhibition of 1851. These presented simulation involving stuffed animals and ethnographic scenarios, stands for various nations involving replicas of cultural treasures and everyday life (for example, a Moorish palace, a Chinese house) and even simulations of experiences (for example, a Trans-Siberian Railway journey) (see R.H. Williams, 1982). In addition the phantasmagorical distractive overload of signs and impressions which Simmel (1978) refers to in *The Philosophy of Money* produced many similar experiences to those which have been labelled postmodern (Frisby, 1985b). We have a similar emphasis upon play and display. As the 'Short Sermon to Sightseers' at the 1901 Pan-American Exposition instructed 'Please remember when you get inside the gates you are part of the show' (cited in Bennett, 1988: 81). In effect the crowd itself became part of the spectacle and the reason for going just as much in the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the Berlin Trade Exhibition of 1896 as in the Parisian Beaubourg Museum described by Baudrillard in the 1980s. Yet to be a *flâneur*, a stroller, who watches others and displays him or herself, necessitates an ordered space as much in the Parisian Arcades so dear to Baudelaire in the 1840s and 1850s which became central to Benjamin's *Passagen-Werk* (Berman, 1982), as in the exhibitions and department stores of the late nineteenth century and as much in the theme parks, shopping centres and museums of today. In short, to wander through goods or art treasures on display demanded discipline. The imagery may summon up pleasure, the carnivalesque and disorder, yet the emotional decontrol these encouraged must itself take place within a framework of self control. And for those who lacked it or were in danger of losing it there existed a battery of external controls designed along the principles of regimentation (Foucault, 1977). These entail surveillance and exclu-

are privately owned public spaces in which the public are under the watchful eye of video-cameras, and rowdy, troublesome elements are excluded before the disorder might disturb others.

This suggests that before going along with the thesis that de-industrialization and the shift to cities as centres of consumption have entailed accumulation of spectacles, mixing of codes and merging of high and low cultures, a shift towards postmodern lifestyles, we need to ask specific questions about (1) the extent of forerunners and (2) the extent to which postmodern lifestyles represent minor enclaved experiences in the lives of specific groups of people in specific urban locations. In short, we need to ask stark sociological questions about not only where the postmodern lifestyles take place; but how many people from which range of groups participate and for how long. We need also to attempt to understand the forces which are propelling culture to greater importance within the contemporary world and investigate the interdependencies and conflicts between specific groups (such as cultural specialists, economic specialists, policy makers) which are bringing this about.

Cultural capital, gentrification and the stylization of life

In recent years there has been increasing recognition of the value of culture industries to the economy of cities and the many direct and indirect benefits in which the presence of cultural institutions, activities and a general sensitivity to ways in which the enhancement, renovation and redevelopment of the cultural façades, fabric and lived space of cities carries benefits. An awareness that culture industries such as publishing, recorded music, broadcasting, and tourism generated by arts and cultural institutions, can play a growing role in national and local economies has grown alongside the general expansion in the production and consumption of symbolic goods in contemporary Western societies. Here we might usefully refer to the concept of *cultural capital* which has been developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1987) and others (see Lamont and Lareau, 1988). The concept points to the way in which in parallel to economic capital which is immediately calculable, exchangeable and realizable, there also exist modes of power and processes of accumulation based upon culture in which the value of the latter, the fact that culture can be capital, is often hidden or unrecognized. Bourdieu (1987: 243) points to three forms of cultural capital: it can exist in the *embodied* state (style of presentation, mode of speech, beauty etc.), *objectified* state (cultural goods like pictures, books, machines, buildings etc.), and in the *institutionalized* state (such as educational qualifications). It is the objectified state which is of particular interest in respect to cities and I have already mentioned the ways in which specific cities may have accumulated cultural capital because of their exemption from the preservation of buildings, artefacts and goods which have become de-

symbolic hierarchy of cities according to their accumulated prestige in terms of culture capital with Florence, Paris, Rome near the top. Conventionally the culture industries are defined as producing mass cultural goods (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972; Garnham, 1987) which traditionally have featured low on the scale of cultural capital. Yet one can argue that the legitimacy of particular forms of cultural capital and the legitimacy of the existing symbolic hierarchy and structural features of the field of cultural capital should not be eternalized. Rather, they should themselves be conceived as a process which is the result of the intentional and unintentional outcome of particular groups who are bound together in interdependencies and struggles (often misrecognized or masked by claims to disinterestedness) to maximize their own particular form of cultural capital. Hence it is possible that particular forms of cultural capital, such as popular and mass culture (jazz, rock music, cinema, theme parks) may themselves become regarded as more legitimate and the source of prestige and further up the symbolic hierarchy. Hence New Orleans and districts of large cities may gain attraction and cultural capital as sites of formerly defined 'low life', now elevated to respectability and worthy objects of the tourist gaze.

There are therefore an expanding range of criteria on which cities may be ranked in terms of cultural capital. What the shift towards postmodern culture is held to introduce is a movement away from agreed universal criteria of judgement of cultural taste towards a more relativistic and pluralistic situation in which the excluded, the strange, the other, the vulgar, which were previously excluded can now be allowed in. In this sense the tendency is for the long-held Western universally based symbolic hierarchy to become spatialized out with a greater tolerance of difference and diversity. From the perspective of the economic utility of cultural capital this means that while traditional smokestack industrial towns of the 'rust belt' are to be regarded as low in cultural capital (with the exception of those who are able to repackage and museumify these elements as assets), the range is extended from traditional historic value and treasures to include newly created and simulated environments that take in some of the postmodern and more popular cultural forms we have mentioned, which are perceived as attractive and saleable. In short, those who seek to invest in new service, information and high-tech industries may be swayed by the ambience and cultural capital of cities and may have helped to speed up the reconversion strategies such as the redevelopment and gentrification of docklands and inner-city areas. Under global conditions of intensified competition and the freeing of market forces for investment and capital flows, cities have become more entrepreneurial and aware of their image and the ways in which image translates into jobs for the local economy. As Harvey (1988) puts it, cities have to mobilize culture to become 'lures for capital'. Hence in the early 1970s Seattle attempted to remove mass unemployment by bringing together business leaders and planners who lobbied for investment to

self-proclaimed 'quality of life capital'. Baltimore develops its Harbor Place, Hamburg becomes a 'media city', Gateshead has its Metrocentre and so on.

This is the process which has been referred to as *postmodernization* (Cooke, 1988; Zukin, 1988b) to point to the global restructuring of sociospatial relations by new patterns of investment which lead to some counter-tendencies to urban decentralization through the redevelopment of inner city areas. This process entails the de-industrialization of inner city areas and docklands, which become gentrified by members of the new middle class and developed as sites of tourism and cultural consumption. At the same time the working class and poor who previously resided in these areas are moved out or driven into other enclaves. A good example of this is Battersea in London, where large blocks of working-class council housing were sold and redeveloped for the yuppie market. In this case the new inhabitants were made to feel secure from the neighbouring lower orders by security fences and guards. This process of increased segregation as the middle classes move back into the central areas is also symbolized in the postmodern architecture with towers, moats and drawbridges which create defensible privatized spaces free from the unemployed, the poor, rebellious youth, and other residues of the 'dangerous classes'. It creates what David Harvey (1988) has called 'voodoo cities' in which the postmodern façade of cultural redevelopment can be seen as a carnival mask which covers the decline of everything else. In Los Angeles, for example, side-by-side but segregated from the financial node of the Pacific Rim economy and gentrified area, we have an Hispanic-Asian enclave of one million people fuelled by Third-World migration and the demand for labour which results in undocumented homeworkers and child labour (Davis, 1985). It is those processes which have helped to destroy the former fragile consensus within the middle classes that supported high culture and the culture industries and which raise the questions of the political uses of the arts and other forms of cultural capital within the city and whether there can be a more democratic cultural policy (Garnham, 1987). It also entails, in a wider sense, the question of resistance to redevelopment, to what some refer to as 'urbicide' (Berman, 1982).

The process of gentrification is of interest because it not only points to the redevelopment of the cultural fabric of inner-city areas, it also provides a higher profile for groups within the new middle class who are in many guises the producers, carriers, consumers of lifestyles which entail the culturally sensitive 'stylization of life' and have developed dispositions which make them receptive to postmodern cultural goods and experiences. They therefore have direct and indirect interests in the accumulation of cultural capital both on a personal basis, and in terms of that of their neighbourhood and the wider city.

The location which has been widely studied and can best illustrate this process is SoHo in New York City (Zukin, 1987, 1988a; Simpson, 1981; Jackson, 1985). As Zukin (1988) points out, the gentrification of SoHo is

with incomers attracted by the ambience of the artist's lifestyle is a complex story. It is based upon the rise in the investment value of art in the post-war era which has seen art become a strong international market in its own right. It also entails an elevation in the status of artists and ancillary occupations to the extent that other groups become more favourably disposed to associate themselves with artistic lifestyles. It is further based on the fact that city governments begin to realize the potential for redevelopment and reversal of the negative side of de-industrialization and general enhancement of the city's image by granting such enclaves a protected status. New York replaced Paris as the centre for Modern Art in the post-war era and a dramatic increase in the numbers of artists, galleries, museums and exhibiting outlets occurred (see Crane, 1987; Zukin, 1988b; DiMaggio, 1986). There was also a more general change on the part of national and local governments, foundations and corporations who began to perceive the arts as socially useful. In short, the economic value of cultural capital increased and from the 1960s the artistic avant-garde ceased to be seen as a troublesome and transgressive bohemian counterculture and were regarded by city politicians, speculators and developers as a different avant-garde, as those who beat the trail to large-scale low-rent rundown areas ripe for redevelopment through gentrification.

This was coupled with a more general reevaluation of the status of the artist in American society which made art less high-culture and elitist and more democratic. Artists now made money; some of them made a good living from art. With the transition from artistic modernism to postmodernism their oppositional pretensions and austere indecipherability of artworks were displaced and celebrity artists such as Andy Warhol gained much media attention and coverage. The artist became perceived as an attractive persona and his studio – the loft – an interesting place to be, and live. The new middle classes (Burris, 1986), and in particular those sectors which Bourdieu (1984) has referred to as 'new cultural intermediaries', have a fascination for artists' and intellectuals' lifestyles and a general interest in the stylization of their lives. Theirs is a lifestyle which focuses very much on identity, appearance, presentation of self, fashion design, decor; and considerable time and effort have to be expended in cultivating a sense of taste which is flexible, distinctive and capable of keeping abreast of the plethora of new styles, experiences and symbolic goods which consumer culture and the culture industries continue to generate.

The habitus of the cultural specialists within the new middle class points to a flexible, learning mode towards life. Here it may be that the new cultural intermediaries have an important role in the transmission of new style. Their interest may be less in the attempt to impose a particular style on consumer audiences and more in terms of a general interest in the full range of styles from different cultures, civilizations and traditions which they can play and replay. Hence there is an interest in the stylization and aestheticization of life on the part of particular factions within the new middle classes who have been referred to as 'para-intellectuals' in their role of

admiring intellectual and artistic pursuits and lifestyles. They, therefore, are able to transmit the latest styles such as postmodernism to wider audiences and themselves form part of the reception class for postmodern goods and experiences.

Conclusion

The proponents of postmodernism detect a major shift in culture taking place in which existing symbolic hierarchies are deconstructed and a more playful, popular democratic impulse becomes manifest. Here we have spatialization out of the previous more firmly structured symbolic hierarchies which became dominant motifs within Western modernity and established particular notions of universal history, progress, the cultivated person, state political structures and aesthetic ideals. With respect to the contemporary Western city it has been argued that postmodern and postmodernizing tendencies can be observed in the new urban spaces which point to a greater aestheticization of the urban fabric and the daily lives of people, the development of new consumption and leisure enclaves (such as shopping centres, theme parks, museums) and the drawing back of new middle-class gentrifying populations into the inner city. These postmodern impulses suggest less strong neighbourhood identifications and a less fixed habitus or rigid set of dispositions and classifications into which encounters are framed. Some of the new urban lifestyles point to a de-centring of identity and a greater capacity to engage in a de-control of the emotions and aestheticized play. It can also be argued that on the global level we are witnessing the end of the dominance of a few metropolitan centres over artistic and intellectual life (R. Williams, 1983). Paris and New York as centres of culture, the arts, fashion, culture and entertainment industries, television, publishing and music, now face greater competition from a variety of directions. New forms of cultural capital and a wider range of symbolic experiences are on offer within an increasingly globalized – that is, more easily accessible via financial (money), communications (travel), and information (broadcasting, publishing, media) – field of world cities.

Hence it could be argued by those who emphasize the novelty and historical events which postmodernism is purported to bring, that we are entering a phase in which the old cultural hierarchies are becoming obsolete. The de-hierarchizing impulse suggests that high/low, elite/popular, minority/mass, taste/tasteless, art/life, vertical classificational hierarchies (Goudsblom, 1987; Schwartz, 1983) which are held to be endemic features of social life, no longer apply.

Against this seductively oversimplified postmodern story of the end of history we have to point to the persistence of classification, hierarchy and segregation within the city. As we mentioned, the new middle class and new rich live in enclaved areas of gentrification and redevelopment which are designed to exclude outsiders. These enclaves are areas of high investment

in designed environments, stylized form and the aestheticization of everyday life. Such groups expect to be entertained while they shop and shop at places of entertainment. They seek to cultivate a style of life and have an interest in the arts and a pleasurable aestheticized living environment (Boyer, 1988). For certain fractions of the new middle class this style of life certainly has affinities with the range of characteristics and experience designated postmodern. There are tendencies which point to an overload of information and signs, which make the ordered reading of bodily presentation, fashion, lifestyle and leisure pursuits much more difficult. People are able to draw from a much wider repertoire of instantly accessible symbolic goods and styles from the 'global showcase' and it is more difficult to make a judgement of class from taste and lifestyle. Since the 1960s there has been a more general informalization and elaboration of previously restricted codes of behaviour. Notions of beauty prominent in consumer culture, for example, widened beyond the classic Western one in the 1960s to take into account standards of other cultures (Marwick, 1988). Yet for all the democratizing tendencies there are status differences. As Douglas and Isherwood (1980) points out, the informational component of consumer goods rises as one moves up the class scale. Those in the middle and upper reaches continue to use information about consumption goods to build bridges with like-minded people and close doors to exclude outsiders. This is very much the case with knowledge of the arts.

If, then, we are arguing that it is still possible to read bodily presentation and lifestyles as indicators of social status it is clear that the game is much more complex now. If postmodern points to something it is the eclipse of a particular coherent sense of culture and associated way of life which was dominant in the Western upper and middle classes which set the tone for the culture as a whole. This happens as the historical generations which carried them slowly recede in numbers and influence. Here one thinks of the notion of a common culture as a goal; as based on an educational formative project, as something unified, a totality of knowledge (the classics in literature, music and the arts), which had to be struggled through to improve the person. Along with it went the notion of a cultured or cultivated person, the ideal of a gentleman, the product of a civilizing process (Elias, 1978b, 1982). The middle and upper classes in the second half of the nineteenth century were prime carriers of this cultural ideal and sought to extend it through museums and educational institutions.

Since the 1960s the process of cultural declassification has seen the decline and relativization of this ideal. The question is whether these tendencies, which have been labelled postmodern, merely point to a collapse of an established hierarchy, a temporary phase, a cultural intermezzo of intensified competition, varied standards and value complexes, before a re-monopolization by a new establishment. Or should we see the extension of the current tendencies *ad infinitum* – the end of history? In this context it is salutary to refer to similar historical ages of cultural turmoil and incoherence. If it is proclaimed today that there is no fashion, only fashions, then we

should bear in mind that Simmel discovered similar tendencies in Florence around 1390 when the styles of the social elite were not met with imitation and each individual sought to create his own style. Fashion and other lifestyle pursuits, to use Simmel's metaphor, are used as 'bridges and doors' to unite and exclude. If these functions appear to decline does it mean that we are merely in a temporary intermezzo? Or does the extension of the game to draw more groups, cultures and nations into a widened global system mean that the conditions for particular dominant elites to exercise global hegemony over taste and culture are destroyed with the unlikelihood of foreseeable re-monopolization, thus pointing us towards a historical development in which some of the impulses detected and labelled post-modern may become more widespread?