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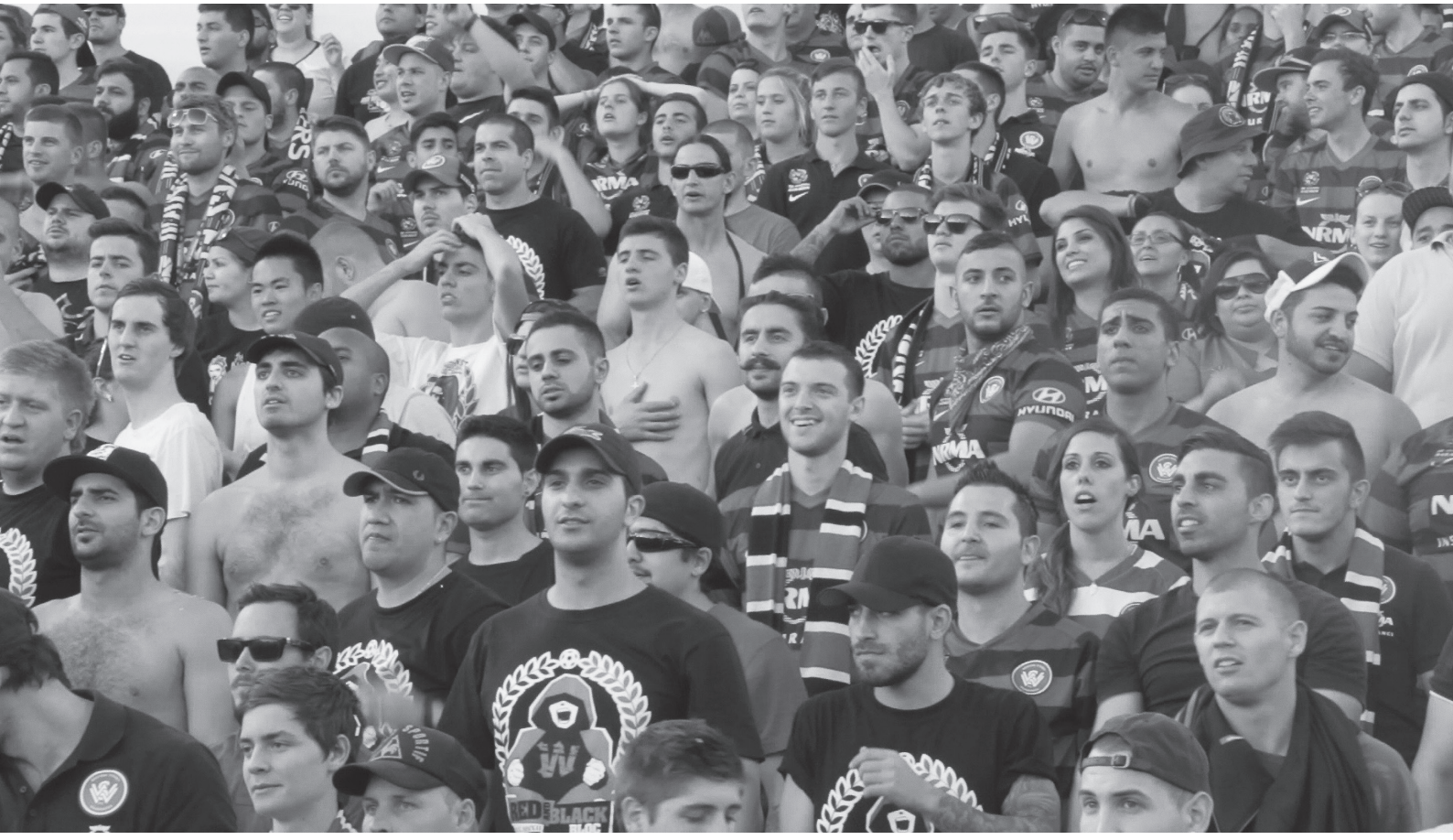
Multitude, Solitude: *Khaled Sabsabi's 'Crowds'*



Multitude, solitude: equal and interchangeable terms for the active and fertile poet.[1]

In considering how to approach Khaled Sabsabi's recent work, it seemed appropriate to explore its engagement with crowds and people. From the very beginning, Sabsabi's practice has been deeply invested in the multiracial and religious diversity characterising the suburbs of Western Sydney. In recent years, Sabsabi has turned his gaze to documenting sporting communities, in particular the Western Sydney Wanderers' fan club, the Red and Black Bloc. These works raise important questions pertaining to representation: how to portray the diversity and plurality of the crowd without homogenising or flattening complexity? This essay will argue that Sabsabi's recent work functions as a breach in the normative economy of representation, disrupting the construction of national sporting narratives, and the ideological frameworks sustaining them. Drawing on recent arguments by Judith Butler and Georges Didi-Huberman pertaining to representing "the people", it will proceed in two parts. Firstly, it will frame Sabsabi's video works *Wonderland* and *Organised Chaos* against an art-historical background, examining the uneasy relationship between artistic representation and crowds. And secondly, it will examine how Sabsabi leverages this historical anxiety as a critical tool for intervention.

The beautiful game of football (soccer) is often referred to in quasi-religious terms. Football stadiums provide a shared space for communities to regularly come together with a common goal of supporting their team. Sabsabi has taken these dual impulses as his departure point for recent video works, *Wonderland* (2014) and *Organised Confusion* (2015). Comprising two screens, *Wonderland* shows the Western Sydney Wanderers' supporters, the Red and Black Bloc. Shot frontally in a single take, the camera's gaze is relentless in its scrutiny of the crowd. The genre of sports photography conventionally treats the crowd as as foil, as the camera focuses on the drama being played out on the field. Sabsabi inverts this logic, by documenting the ritualised performance of the crowd enacted on the sidelines.

Sabsabi's investigation into crowd dynamics is continued in *Organised Confusion,* which was commissioned for Sydney's Carriageworks 2015 exhibition, *24 Frames Per Second.* Two enormous floor to ceiling screens faced each other, showing footage of the Red and Black Bloc. Positioned in the entrance of the cavernous foyer of Carriageworks, these images were asynchronous, each revealing different temporal points in the game. Unlike the single frontal shot of the previous work, *Organised Confusion* is comprised of oblique camera angles. In both works, the football supporters follow a roughly choreographed routine led by muscular, athletic men using loud speakers to lead the collective chants, arm gestures and clapping. Sound is an important component to both works, as chants envelop the spectator as they roll in waves through the space of the installation. Like *Wonderland*, the crowd is tightly framed by the camera, allowing the visitor to concentrate on the individual movements and actions of the fans.

While both works focus on the behaviour and movement of the crowd, *Organised Confusion* included crucial additional elements: a series of monitors and an Indonesian mask were installed to create a square, or enclosure, for the spectator. The monitors showed a dance performed by Javanese dancer, Agung Gunawan wearing a wooden mask. The spectator is forced to oscillate between two poles, as Sabsabi creates a cross-cultural dialogue through juxtaposition. The first is the collective, secular clamour of the Wanderers' supporters, assembling in the stadium to support their team. The second is a singular, spiritual dance undertaken by Agung Gunawan. His movements are carefully choreographed, evoking a highly spiritual, ethereal trance-like state. Sabsabi creates a series of strong dichotomies: public and private, collective and individual, secular and religious. The power of multiple voices chanting and singing is in stark contrast to the quiet, delicate stillness of the Javanese dancer.

The past decade has firmly established Sabsabi's reputation as a political artist, with his works concentrating on documenting life in Sydney's western suburbs. Sabsabi came with his family to Australia in 1978 to escape the civil war in Lebanon. Winner of the 2011 Blake Prize with the work *Naqshbandi Greenacre Engagement* (2011), Sabsabi examined the religious ritual of the Naqshbandi Sufi Muslim community in the suburb of Greenacre. The three channel video work was a portrayal of spirituality and religion grounded in everyday life. It is therefore, perhaps, only a matter of time before Sabsabi was to turn his gaze towards the theme of sport to explore his ongoing interest in migration, cultural displacement and the diverse range of communities that constitute Sydney's west.

The power of *Wonderland* and *Organised Confusion* resides in Sabsabi's unapologetic rendering of the sporting crowd. Sport has always played a significant role in the history of the construction of Australian national identity.[2] In this narrative, however, soccer has occupied a marginal position compared to the other football codes. Soccer in Australia has long been associated as a game played by immigrants. To trace this history uncovers a rich story of exclusion from Anglo-Australian communities. Closely entwined with post-Second World War migration, soccer, or "football" as it has now been rebranded by Football Federation Australia, has been underrepresented by mainstream media, further entrenching its marginalised position. Since 2003, football in Australia has witnessed enormous structural changes, with its careful reorganisation and rebranding. If football has historically been stigmatised as a migrant game, the need to 'de-ethnicise' soccer, expand its fan base and move progressively into the mainstream were the motivations driving the creation of the A-League.[3] A-League clubs are now distributed across Australia, organised along geographical, rather than ethnic lines.[4] Hence, the birth of the Western Sydney Wanderers and its supporter group, the Red and Black Bloc.

Sabsabi seeks to navigate this fault line of competing constructions of identity. By focusing on the historically marginalised football code of soccer and portraying its supporters, he simultaneously undermines conventional images of Australian sporting identity, as well as delivering a timely reminder that the people of Western Sydney continue to remain visibly absent. Sabsabi's title, *Wonderland*, is an ironic rebuke to Western Sydney's invisibility. As Director of Sydney's Carriageworks Lisa Havilah has forcefully argued, this "is the face of the potential future of Australia and what we will all become within the next decade."[5] Sabsabi's project gains urgency as a growing Islamophobia has grown in Australia in the wake of global events, such as '9/11', the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the growth of and violence perpetuated by Islamic State. Locally, there have occurred the 2005 Cronulla (suburban Sydney) race riots between Lebanese and white populations, the December 2014 'Sydney siege' (viewed at the time as a terrorist attack by a lone gunman radicalised by Islamic State), and a bipartisan party political hard-line approach to the offshore detention of asylum seekers, contributing to rising xenophobia that is threatening to undermine a multicultural discourse committed to inclusivity and diversity. By taking the subject of sport as a loaded symbol of Anglo-Australian national identity, Sabsabi subverts identity constructions that remain doggedly white, as well as gives representation to the multi-ethnic and multi-religious plurality that characterises the geographic imaginary "Other" of Sydney's west.

The scale of *Wonderland* and *Organised Confusion* evoke European history painting. One of the defining characteristics of history painting is that it calls its public into existence, making claims on its behalf to represent it.[6] This also signals Sabsabi's revisionist intent. By electing to represent people, 'regular' people, Sabsabi highlights the direct challenge crowds present for art's history. As Jacques Rancière describes it; "Long ago, in the days of history painting, people painted images of the great and their deeds. Of course the hordes and humble people could be in the picture, too. It would be hard to conceive of a general without troops or a king without subjects. Occasionally, the hero would address them."[7]

Images influence what can be seen, and what is visible. American author Judith Butler has described these normative processes in terms of frames of recognition. Butler pointedly asks, "What new norms are possible, and how are they wrought? What might be done to produce a more egalitarian set of conditions for recognisability?"[8] Images are made possible through frameworks of recognition, according to which, images of football crowds sit outside the normalised framework of intelligibility.

Images of crowds, particularly football crowds, traditionally sit outside normative media frameworks, usually only receiving the occasional cursory nod in Australian mainstream media in response to "poor behaviour". Champion Australian footballer Johnny Warren argued in 2002, "…the rare moment that there is any sort of crowd disturbance the cameras are there to capture the action and lead the news for that night."[9]

Against football crowds' historical absence in the Australian media, the Red and Black Bloc has achieved notoriety in recent years, as tension with Football Federation Australia (FFA) has steadily increased. This was exacerbated by local print media to "name and shame" one hundred and ninety eight supporters who received stadium bans in 2015, as well as notorious radio 'shock jock' commentators making comparisons with the then recent Bataclan Theatre, Paris terrorist attacks in 2015.[10] *Wonderland* and *Organised Confusion* were created before relations between FFA and the Red and Black Bloc deteriorated in 2015. Nevertheless, it is impossible to decouple the works from these events. Despite its enormous population base and its multi-racial diversity, the geographical area of Western Sydney is often portrayed as a geographical abstraction by mainstream media. Sabsabi's installations are designed to rub against the grain of the normative, homogenising frameworks Butler speaks of. Contrary to the hooliganism assigned by the media to the Red and Black Bloc, Sabsabi explores the shared, ritualised experience of the community.

"The people" and "representation" are two concepts that do necessarily cohabit easily. In recent years, French philosopher and art historian, Georges Didi-Huberman has extended Butler's notion of normative framing, by bringing representations of "the people" firmly into his line of enquiry into the nature and behaviour of images. In his recent book *Peuples exposés, peuples figurants* (2012), Didi-Huberman examines the paradox at the heart of contemporary media culture: despite the unprecedented saturation and penetration of the media, people, 'regular' people, have disappeared. He argues, "The people are always *exposed to disappear*."[11] Far from enjoying increasing visibility, images of 'regular' people do not exist, rendered invisible by the media's rigid perpetuation of stereotypes. Images of "the people" are strongly policed; plurality and diversity erased. Didi-Huberman writes, "In only showing only celebrities, our media effectively censors all legitimate representation and all *visibility of the people*. In using the word *image* to speak for 'brand image' and 'self-image' our contemporaries effectively succeed in emptying the word of its fundamental significance."[12] What's at stake here is the systematic erasure of the image of the Other.

Didi-Huberman's contribution to this area of scholarship draws deeply on a Marxist strain of aesthetic theory, especially in relation to Walter Benjamin, and establishes its ongoing relevance for discussing the relation between images, history and politics. Throughout his writing, Benjamin exhibited an intense interest in the marginal. In 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', Benjamin poignantly wrote, "In every era the attempt must be made anew to wrest tradition away from a conformism that is about to overpower it."[13] Benjamin sets two modes of history in dialectical opposition. The first is a cumulative history narrated by history's "victors". The second is oppositional and disruptive. "The past", Benjamin writes, "can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the instant."[14] Didi-Huberman's concern with effacement is anticipated by Benjamin: "For every image of the past that is not recognised by the present as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably."[15] History becomes readable and therefore knowable when singularities appear, not engulfed in the homogenising structures of the vast universalism of orthodox materialism. Didi-Huberman seeks to restore immanence to the people, refusing, as Benjamin did before him, to reduce the people to an abstraction. Against the totalising tendencies of orthodox Marxism, he writes, "That is why we can say the people, quite

simply—'the people' as a unity, identity, totality, or generality—that it quite simply does not exist."[16] It is therefore necessary to disrupt. A representation of the peoples becomes possible, Didi-Huberman argues, when the visible is dialecticised, and the past can be grasped as a fragment.

In his two works, Sabsabi is documenting the secular ritualised practice of a diverse community group coming together in opposition to the homogenising practices of mainstream media practices. To do this, Sabsabi demands a complex viewing position from the spectator. Conventional images of crowds tend to be blurred due to the camera's rapid sweeping movement across long distances. In contrast to this, the steady gaze of the camera is unwavering, and the spectator is unable to passively observe and seek refuge in the game. Instead, Sabsabi forces the spectator to engage, and take an active, participatory role. The camera is located close enough to the crowd so the movements of individual fans can be followed by the spectator. Akin to Didi-Huberman's resistance to neutralising the people through homogenisation, it is impossible to reduce the Wanderers' fans to an abstraction. Sabsabi's images reveal the crowd in all of its heterogeneous complexity. Far from a faceless, nameless collective, Sabsabi carves out space for the individual, reminding us how certain strains of multiculturalism are privileged and represented, at the expense of others.

The notion of "the crowd" has a long and pejorative history. The term has tended to denote an urban collective whose participants are united through violence. Early attempts to theorise crowd behaviour were typically unflattering in the face of bourgeois dissolution of power. A survey of late nineteenth century crowd theory reveals a deep distrust and suspicion. For French social psychologist, Gustave Le Bon, crowds were irrational, unconscious and primal. In *The Crowd*, Le Bon defined modernity as the "era of crowds", arguing, "While all our ancient beliefs are tottering and disappearing, while the old pillars of society are giving way one by one, the power of the crowd is the only force that nothing menaces".[17] Writing in 1896, in the aftermath of the Paris Commune and the upheavals of the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, Le Bon's crowds were understood in pathological terms. His central thesis posited that, "In the collective mind the intellectual aptitudes of the individuals, and in consequence their individuality, are weakened. The heterogenesous is swamped by the homogeneous, and the unconscious qualities obtain the upper hand."[18] This loss of individualism was framed in overwhelmingly negative terms. Le Bon continued, "Isolated, he may be a cultivated individual; in a crowd, he is a barbarian —that is, a creature acting by instinct."[19] Le Bon's description of the crowd was elitist and hierarchical and based on the premise that individual intelligence was reduced in the collective.

Today, the idea of "the crowd" is frequently dismissed as belonging to a previous era, a redundant anachronism no longer relevant for understanding the contemporary. In his discussion of Andy Warhol's *Crowd* (1963), American academic Jeffrey Schnapp writes, "Warhol was only a decade away from what may perhaps rightly be viewed as the beginning of the end of Le Bon's era of crowds."[20] Warhol's silkscreen is a reproduction of a newspaper image, repeated four times. Rendered from a distance, in aerial perspective, the crowd is portrayed as a singular homogenised entity, made up of indistinct individuals that constitute the mass. Closely cropped and extracted from its original context, Warhol's image supports Le Bon's argument that individuals become anonymous within the crowd. Or else consider Chicago academic William Mazzerella's historical distinction between the crowd and contemporary preference for the multitude: "It is as if, even now, speaking of crowds means speaking of something crude and stupid."[21] Le Bon's crowd has been replaced by the Deleuzian multitude. Working in opposition to this sentiment, Sabsabi draws on the crowd's rich historical legacy, with its stereotypes and anxieties, and leverages it as a critical tool against the normative framing practices of Australian cultural and racial identity.

Images of crowds present specific challenges for representation. To reach back in art's history reveals *a caesura* in representation of "the people". By making the crowd his subject, Sabsabi mines a long history of deep ambivalence and even fear directed towards them. Edouard Manet's *La musique aux Tuileries* (1862) is helpful here. As one of the canonical images for modernist art history, the painting is paradoxically "unmodern". If one of the hallmark symbols of modernity was the nefarious intermingling of gender and class, Manet's great crowd scene is one of the upper class engaged in a ritualised study of manners. It is a homogenised and sanitised portrayal of bourgeois recreation. The figures are carefully organised in strong horizontal bands in the fore and middle ground. As British art historian T.J. Clark puts it, "it is hardly a picture of modernity at all", but indeed a description of "society's resilience in the face of empire".[22] Painted on the precipice of the enormous social changes driven by industrialisation, rapid urbanisation and the rise of the new *petits bourgeois, La musique* remained safely within the confines of acceptable encoded class structures, and posed no particular threat to the spectator. Fast-forward fifty years, and a very different image of "the crowd" has begun to emerge. Crowds were significant in the Futurists' embrace of modernity. As Italian academic Christine Poggi has shown, the Futurists' fascination with the crowd was deeply contradictory.[23] Simultaneously seductive and degenerate, utterly modern, yet somehow primitive, Futurist crowds were no longer akin to Manet's well mannered and ordered rendering of the upper classes. In Umberto Boccioni's painting, *Riot in the Galleria* (1910), the crowd is contextualised in its very modern environment, Milan's famous arcade, the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele. Boccioni has sought to capture the energy created by a mass of people assembled together. Manet's considered study of mid-century Parisian social hierarchies has given way to a swirling vortex of energy, descending into an angry mob, degenerate and dangerous. This slippage from crowd to mob marked a deeply incongruous attitude. If the crowd was a symbol of Italian nationalism, Boccioni's crowd is paradoxically faceless, anonymous, and violent. Unlike Manet's painting of his contemporaries, it is impossible to clearly identify the individuals, as they have been abstracted to the most rudimentary of gestures on the canvas.

The spatial segregation of Sydney's west that Sabsabi seeks to represent has an important cinematic precedent in the 1990s *cinéma de banlieue*. The term was coined by French film critics as a way of defining a genre of independent, low budget films set in the housing estates on the peripheries of France's major cities. One of the most important films, Mattieu Kassovitz's *La Haine* (*The Hate*, 1995) is acknowledged as a crucial study of the multi-ethnic violence between the young residents of the *banlieue* and the police. *La Haine* commences in the wake of riot. A youth has been injured, and the residents have rioted throughout the night, protesting against police brutality and causing widespread property damage. The opening sequence commences with a montage of archival news footage of crowds protesting. The tension increases, as a calm demonstration escalates to a violent and uneven encounter with the police. Ironically, while generally considered a sympathetic portrayal of the problems facing the disenfranchised youth of the *banlieue*, Kassovitz's rioting crowd is rendered unpredictable and irrational in the scene's temporal shift from day to night.

If Le Bon was one of the first psychologists to formulate a theory of crowds, contradictory attitudes directed towards the crowd, however, may be detected much earlier, in Charles Baudelaire's writings of the 1850s. As is well known, crowds formed the backdrop of modern Parisian life for Baudelaire's *flâneur*. In his essay, 'The Painter of Modern Life', Baudelaire famously described the *flâneur*'s relationship to the crowd: "The crowd is his element, as the air is that of birds and water of fishes."[24] The crowd was a neutral, homogeneous backdrop against the individualism of the *flâneur*. Baudelaire stood both together and apart from the masses. As *flâneur*, his role was to interpret

and observe, without succumbing to the crowd's collectivism. In a short prose poem 'Crowds', Charles Baudelaire describes the experience of participating in a crowd from the perspective of the poet. He observes, "Not everyone is capable of taking a bath of multitude: enjoying crowds is an art."[25] For Baudelaire, participation in a crowd was a carefully cultivated skill, an art form perfected by the *flâneur* as he moved alone throughout the streets of modern Paris: "Multitude, solitude: equal and interchangeable terms for the active and fertile poet. He who does not know how to populate his solitude, does not know either how to be alone in a busy crowd."[26] Baudelaire maintains a paradoxical distance from the crowd; the *flâneur* simultaneously mimics the crowd, as well as maintaining a careful solitary distance. Baudelaire's *flâneur* is both part of, and separate to the crowd. He "enjoys the incomparable privilege of being able, at will, to be himself and another."[27] Baudelaire slips between the poles of the multiple of the crowd and the solitude of the *flâneur* who has perfected his skills of moving in an out of the crowd. This oscillation points to a deeper ambivalence in his writing concerning the crowd, which is rendered as an anonymous mass, the ideal backdrop or foil to the poet's individualism.

Later, Walter Benjamin continued Baudelaire's rendering of 'the crowd' as an invisible foil. In his essay 'On Some Motifs in Baudelaire', Benjamin writes, "The masses had become so much a part of Baudelaire that it is rare to find a description of them in his works. His most important subjects are hardly ever encountered in descriptive form."[28] The crowd, despite being crucially important in modernity's imaginary, remains neutralised by its invisibility. On Baudelaire's so-called love of crowds, Jean-Paul Sartre acutely observed a deep tension in his writing, arguing, "Baudelaire, the man of crowds, was also the man who had the greatest fear of crowds." Sartre acutely observed that Baudelaire's

quintessentially visual mode of crowd participation was unidirectional and scopophilic: "The pleasure which he did find in the spectacle of a great throng of people was merely the pleasure of *looking*."[29]

Sartre's emphasis on the scopophilic pleasure of looking resonates with internationally recognised Australian photographer Bill Henson's series of crowds from the early 1980s. If Warhol's crowds are distant and anonymous, Henson's images of pedestrians are intimate studies of individual subjectivity. The photographs are tightly framed close-ups, allowing the spectator to linger in the details. Unlike the collective solidarity enjoyed by the Red and Black Bloc, Henson's people are isolated and alone. Closer in spirit to Baudelaire than Le Bon, Henson moves like a *flâneur* through the urban environment, both separate and apart to the crowds he is documenting. Henson's images of crowds are unapologetically voyeuristic. Despite his physical proximity to his subject, Henson remains unobserved, quietly eliding detection.

Sartre, however, acknowledged that the gaze can shift, becoming bi-directional, arguing, "And the person who looks, as we all know from experience, forgets that people may look at him."[30] Sartre's description of the threat of the bi-directional gaze is pertinent in considering Sabsabi's images of sporting crowds. Sabsabi does not allow the spectator to assume a scopophilic or voyeuristic viewing position, for fear of being seen. Elias Canetti, writing in the early 1960s described this conflicting attitude of aversion and attraction in haptic terms: "There is nothing than man fears more than the touch of the unknown… All the distances which men create round themselves are dictated by this fear."[31] Canetti describes an isolated individual, separated from the crowd for fear of being touched. This fear, however, is paradoxically placated by total immersion into the crowd. Canetti continues, "It is only in a crowd that man can become free of this fear of being touched."[32] It is this critical ambivalence that traverses the history of crowd representation and discourse that Sabsabi explores. The scale of the installation deliberately envelopes the spectator into its logic. Enfolded between the two large-scale projections, the spectator is confronted with the dual threat of being seen and touched, conjoined with the desire to be assimilated in the density of the crowd.

I have contended that Khaled Sabsabi's images of football crowds undermine narrative frameworks perpetuating homogenised notions of national and cultural identity. Sabsabi's communities reveal the structures of exclusion that are carefully managed by mainstream media. Far from being an outmoded relic of modernity, he demonstrates that crowds still count as a powerful disruptive force. As both *Wonderland* and *Organised Confusion* reveal, crowds mark a breach or rupture in the economy of normative representation. Sabsabi forces the spectator to confront the ongoing construction and stereotyping of Australian identity, and the role sport plays in supporting this process. Sabsabi harnesses the deep sense of unease that crowds have the ability to generate, and turns this into a strategic intervention. He does this with care, so as to not abstract or reify the communities he seeks to represent.

Notes

[1] Charles Baudelaire, 'Crowds', in *The Parisian Prowler: Le Spleen de Paris*, Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1989, p. 21

[2] For a history of sport and its role in Australian identity construction, see Tony Ward, *Sport in Australian National Identity*, London: Routledge, 2010

[3] Daniel Lock, 'Fan perspectives of change in the A-League', *Soccer & Society* 10:1, 2009

[4] For accounts of soccer's marginalisation in Australian sporting history, see James Skinner, Dwight H. Zakus and Allan Edwards, 'Coming in from the margins: ethnicity, community support and the rebranding of Australian soccer', *Soccer & Society* 9:3, 2008

[5] Lisa Havilah, 'The true life of Khaled Sabsabi', *Contemporary Visual Art+Culture Broadsheet* 38.3, 2009, p. 188

[6] Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth Century Paris*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985

[7] Jacques Rancière, *Figures of History*, Julie Rose trans., Cambridge: Polity, 2014, pp. 10-11

[8] Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?*, London and New York: Verso, 2009, p. 6

[9] Johnny Warren, *Sheilas, Wogs & Poofters: an incomplete biography of Johnny Warren and soccer in Australia*, Sydney: Random House, 2002, xiv

[10] For an overview, see Dominic Bossi, 'FFA to introduce appeals process for banned fans in face of supporter fury', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 November, 2015

[11] Georges Didi-Huberman, *Peuples exposés, peuples figurants, L'Œil de l'histoire 4*, Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 2012, p. 11. My translation

[12] Ibid., p. 20. My translation

[13] Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History,' in *Illuminations*, Hannah Arendt (ed.), New York: Schocken Books, 2007, p. 255

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Georges Didi-Huberman, 'To Render Sensible,' in *What is a People?*, A. Badiou (ed.) *et al.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2016, p. 66

[17] Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popual Mind*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896, p. 15

[18] Ibid., p. 32

[19] Ibid., p. 36

[20] Jeffrey Schnapp, 'Mob Porn', in *Crowds*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006, p. 42

[21] William Mazzarella, 'The Myth of the Multitude, or, Who's Afraid of the Crowd?', *Critical Inquiry* 36:4, 2010, p. 697

[22] T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1999, p. 64

[23] Christine Poggi, 'Folla/Follia: Futurism and the Crowd', *Critical Inquiry* 28:3, 2002

[24] Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life ' in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, London: Phaidon, 1964, p. 9

[25] Charles Baudelaire, 'Crowds', op cit, p. 21

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Benjamin, 'On Some Motifs in Baudelaire', in *Illuminations*, op cit., p. 167

[29] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Baudelaire*, trans. Martin Turnell, New York: New Directions Publishing, 1950, p. 149

[30] Ibid.

[31] Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, London: Gollancz, 1962, p. 15

[32] Ibid.