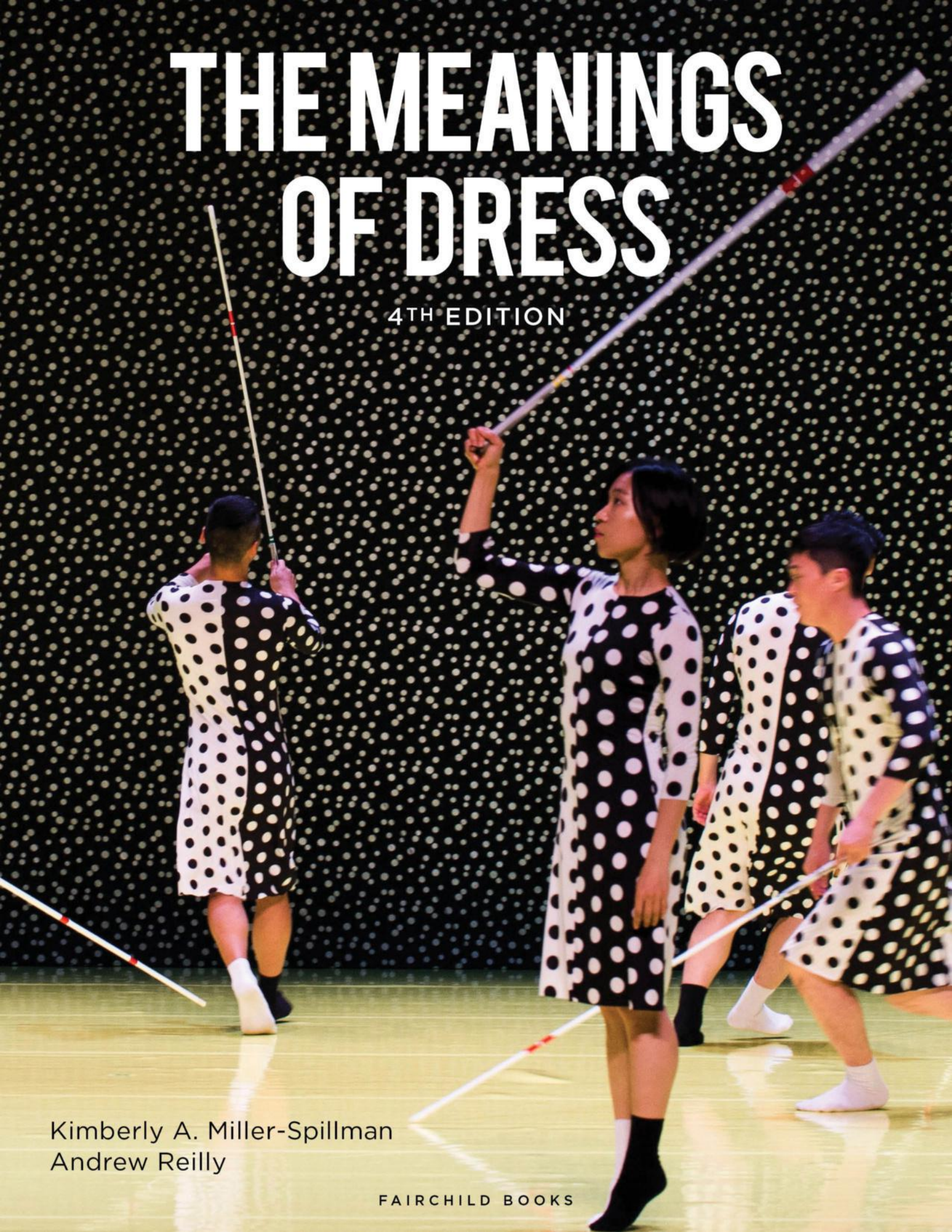
THE MEANINGS OF DRESS

4TH EDITION



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Andrew Reilly

FAIRCHILD BOOKS

THE MEANINGS OF DRESS

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FOURTH EDITION

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PREFACE

Since 2012 we have made several changes for the fourth edition of *The Meanings of Dress*. Kimberly Miller-Spillman and Andrew Reilly both return as co-editors. In an effort to streamline the fourth edition there is one less chapter and fewer readings compared to previous editions. (The third edition had 92 readings whereas the fourth edition has 42.) There are two new chapters, one on gender and one on sexuality; all other chapters have been revised and updated. Thirteen chapters are in the fourth edition, along with the addition of 28 new readings (and 14 readings retained from the third edition). In addition to dress and culture, we have increased information on theory, choosing readings that make the link between theory and practice.

EMPHASIS ON CULTURE AND THEORY

Cultural perspectives are key to the fourth edition. We worked to include as many perspectives as possible. For example, there are readings on the hijab, kente cloth from Ghana, American hip-hop style, African body image, Afghani gender politics, unisex fashion and politics in Sweden circa 1960s, Indian Hijaras, Bolovian Cholas, and Sikhs. The authors of these readings vary in gender, ethnicity, cultural background, age, and work roles. We hear from academics, journalists, business professionals, novelists, and students. They demonstrate how dress is a central factor in most areas of everyday life, such as work, school, sports, rituals and celebrations, fantasy, and play.

The Meanings of Dress also takes an interdisciplinary approach. Articles relate to psychology, sociology, anthropology, material culture, history, communications, semiotics, aesthetics, consumer behavior, marketing, business management, consumer economics, popular culture, gender studies, feminist scholarship, minority studies, and more. Dress is a multifaceted phenomenon; therefore, one viewpoint is just not enough.

PLAN OF THE BOOK

We reorganized the text for easy flow of concepts and topics. Chapter 1 introduces the book while Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical underpinnings of fashion. Chapter 3 discusses the nonverbal aspects of fashion and dress, and Chapter 4 discusses the body in different cultures. Chapters 5 and 6 examine gender and sexuality, while Chapter 7 focuses on race and ethnicity. Chapter 8 examines religious dress and Chapter 9 focuses on dress in the workplace. Chapter 10 looks at media-related issues connected to dress, Chapter 11 at the role of fantasy in dress, Chapter 12 at the role of technology in dress, and we conclude with Chapter 13, which examines ethical issues in dress.

Chapter 1: Introduction to Dress, Culture, and Theory provides definitions of terms and explanations of theories that are fundamental to the text. Connecting theory to dress is another goal of this chapter, allowing the reader to make these connections throughout the text. One objective of this chapter is to challenge students to think about their own culture from another's cultural perspective and we introduce readings on the hijab, clothing etiquette when traveling, the meaning and interpretation of sagging pants, and the history of cargo pants.

Chapter 2: Fashion as a Dynamic Process illustrates how fashion can be explained through theory. It includes a new concept—microtrends—and how they reflect current dress phenomena, how one designer—Heide Slimane—changed the silhouette of menswear in early 20th century, and the role of fashion bloggers in fashion change.

Chapter 3: Dress as Nonverbal Communication considers how messages are conveyed through dress. The first reading looks at the meaning of Kente cloth, while the second reading tackles the issue of clothing theft in 18th-century England and why clothing was important to status. The third reading explores the social strata of expensive "worn" jeans.

Chapter 4: The Body includes a classic reading on the meaning of beauty in different cultures but added to this chapter are readings on the increase in plastic surgery butt lifts in Africa and why popular tattoo locations on the body change.

Chapter 5: Gender now is its own chapter. We retain Patrik Steorn's article on unisex clothing in Sweden, and Katalin Medvedev and Lioba Moshi's analysis of politics and gender in a socialist society. A new article compares and contrasts the India Hijaras and American drag queens.

Chapter 6: Sexuality also now has its own chapter. A returning reading includes the often-discussed topic of tween fashion and modesty. New articles to this chapter include one on dress and lesbians, followed by one on gay men and dress.

Chapter 7: Race and Ethnicity examines how racial and ethnic identity are manifested in dress and then—controversially—adopted into fashion. The first article examines the lack of appropriate shades of makeup for women of color. We follow this with two returning articles—Puerto Rican traditional clothing and ethnic semiotics in college dress. The last article is new and examines the traditional and modern take on the Chola in Bolivia.

Chapter 8: Dress and Religion has been overhauled and considers the ideology of several religions and how ideology affects religious dress. New readings include Amish and Mormon dress, dress in the Middle East, and why Sikhs are mistakenly targeted for hate crimes.

Chapter 9: Dress in the Workplace is updated with all new readings. This chapter examines some of the ways that dressing for work has changed and how it has remained the same. It also looks at some recent controversies related to dress in the workplace and how specific dress in the workplace may identify a person's status or rank. And a reading about the reasons why so many bloggers.

Chapter 10: Dress and Media returns to this edition. This chapter focuses on some of the controversies related to appearance and clothing as discussed in articles from popular magazines, research journals, and newspapers. One new article is included, about the re-occurrence of ads and editorials that mix violence to women with fashion. Two favorites return about the media pressure to sustain a youthful look and how that expectation can affect young girls' body image.

Chapter 11: Fashion and Fantasy returns to this edition. This chapter focuses on the many ways that fashion and fantasy are intertwined through the lens of the public, private, and secret self model. Readings cover Disney princess costumes, costuming the imagination, and a new reading about the difficulty of making historic dress fit contemporary bodies for reenactments.

Chapter 12: Dress and Technology focuses on the relationship between technology, fashion, and culture. New technology trends and how they will transform the fashion industry are included as is the push to interest girls in STEM careers through their interest in fashion. Also included is the irony of efforts to send secondhand clothing to poorer countries while, unintentionally, ruining that country's efforts to create a textile industry of their own. Lastly, the apparel industry in the United States is considered in this chapter, especially regarding how slow the industry has been in adopting methods that promote sustainability.

Chapter 13: Ethics. This chapter proved popular in the prior edition and returns with readings on the ethics of eco-fashion, sweatshops, and "ethical fur."

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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We thank the writers who eagerly allowed us to include their work. They have added critical perspectives to the book. We especially thank the contributors of original manuscripts for their interest in the book and their willingness to comply with our editorial suggestions.

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January 2018
Kimberly A. Miller-Spillman
Andrew Reilly

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO DRESS, CULTURE, AND THEORY

Kimberly A. Miller-Spillman

After reading this chapter you will understand:

- **The definition of basic terms used in the scholarly study of dress**
- **The importance of cultural diversity to our world**
- **How scientific theories can be used to study dress**
- **How global awareness is created through a study of dress**

Dress is often considered simultaneously important and unimportant, resulting in a complex field of study. Dress is a tool that tells individuals how to behave in social situations; it helps us to define gender, age, profession, and interests. All people wear clothes or adorn their bodies and learn from an early age how to "read" the dress of others. From this perspective dressing is unique to humans. However, some people take dress for granted and believe it is not a valid field of scientific inquiry. The goal of this book is to illuminate the vast amount of cultural information communicated through dress every day. For instance, we will examine the daily assumptions and stereotypes that people subconsciously make within seconds of encountering another individual based on his or her appearance.

Another goal of this book is to foster the reader's global awareness through a study of dress and appearance. We will study **culture**: what it means, how it works, and what we can learn about our own culture while studying the culture of others. Our hope is that this book will develop readers' critical thinking skills related to culture instead of teaching the specific dress details of any one particular culture.

Theory is another topic that is central to this text. We have purposefully chosen readings that illustrate the connection between theory and dress. Each chapter includes examples of readings from experts in the field of dress and culture.

DEFINING BASIC CONCEPTS

Dress

Dress is defined as any intentional modifications of the body and/or supplements added to the body (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992). This includes garments worn on the body but also includes spray-on suntans, color contact lenses, makeup, earrings, shoes, tattoos, and diet and exercise that change one's body shape. Other terms used to refer to dress are "fashion," "costume," "clothing," "apparel," and "adornment." For the purposes of this book, we will use the term "dress" to encompass each of these terms and more.

There is evidence that dress has powerful effects in situations of human interaction such as job interviews (Damhorst & Fiore, 1990), first impressions (Rucker, Taber & Harrison, 1981), and experiments (Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973). Research confirms that initial impressions are made within the first five seconds of encountering a stranger; we also know that first impressions affect the outcome of job interviews. First impressions have also been studied when asking a stranger for change or to complete a survey. A few studies have also demonstrated the power of clothing on perceptions, such as in legal cases when the clothing of a rape victim is introduced as evidence in court (Lennon, Lennon, & Johnson, 1992–1993). Dress is powerful because it communicates who one is and who one is not.

A dress experiment carried out by a college student illustrates the power of dress. You can refer to this reading at the end of this chapter. In 2010, Cassidy Herrington decided to conduct a post-9/11 experiment that resulted in unanticipated reactions from those around her. In the reading "'Undercover' in Hijab: Unveiling One Month

Later," Herrington, a reporter for her college newspaper, wore a hijab (head scarf) for one month while continuing her normal routine as a student. She wore the hijab to use her "affiliation with 'white,' non-Muslims to build rapport with the Islamic community." One month after completing the experiment, Herrington spoke to a general education diversity class and reported that her newspaper column resulted in 30,000 emails from 122 nations representing the largest number of responses to any article in the paper's history (Herrington, personal communication, November 17, 2010). Herrington's experiment required personal courage and fortitude.

A similar experiment in 2017 was conducted by high school students (http://peoriapublicradio.org/post/hijab-day-sparks-conversations-richwoods-high-school#stream/0). Given the tension between Muslims and Americans, these experiments illustrate how much dress—such as a simple square of fabric—can affect interactions in daily life (see Figure 1.1).

Given the preceding examples, it is clear that dress is far from inconsequential.

Culture

Another concept that is instrumental to this book is that of culture. **Culture** is studied by many disciplines, including anthropology, psychology, business, and family and consumer sciences. There is no one universally agreed-upon definition of culture. We will use the following definition:

> Culture is defined as a set of human-made objective and subjective elements that in the past have increased the probability of survival and resulted in satisfaction of the participants in an ecological niche, and thus became shared among those who could communicate with each other because they had a common language and lived in the same time and place (Triandis, 1994, p. 22).

This definition distinguishes objective elements of culture (which include tools, buildings, dress, media outlets, etc.) from subjective aspects of culture (which include categorization, associations, norms, roles, and values). The objective elements refer to a culture's artifacts or objects made by humans. Dress is an artifact that throughout history reveals (among other things) different levels of technology used to make fabric and garments. For example, a simple back-strap loom compared to a computerized loom illustrates the range of technology used to make clothing (see Figure 1.2a and b).

The subjective elements of each culture are organized into unique patterns of beliefs, attitudes, norms (shared expectations of behavior), and values. Social stratification is an example of a subjective element of culture in which

Figure 1.1 Diverse Americans interact on a college campus.

Figure 1.2 Cultural tools to create fabric for dress can range from a simple back-strap loom (a) to a computerized loom (b).

humans create categories for people according to age, race, and income level. This also includes social norms, stereotypes, and prejudices.

In addition to defining culture, Triandis identifies four cultural syndromes that apply to all cultures: cultural complexity, cultural tightness, individualism, and collectivism.

Cultural complexity In complex cultures, people make large numbers of distinctions among objects and events in their environment. This means that generally societies that subsist on hunting and gathering tend to be simple; agricultural societies tend to be somewhat complex; industrial societies are more complex; and information societies are the most complex. The contrast between simple and complex cultures is considered the most important factor of cultural variations in social behavior (Chanchani & Theivanathampillai, 2002). In an information society such as the United States, dress is varied. For example, Silicon Valley employees may dress in casual T-shirts, jeans, and tennis shoes because they work on computers and seldom interact face-to-face with customers. Another example would be CEOs of large corporations, who may choose to dress in expensive business suits. Generally speaking, dress choices of complex cultures are far greater than those of simple cultures.

Tight and loose cultures Cultural tightness has clear norms, and deviations within tight cultures are met with sanctions. In tight cultures, if a person does what everyone else is doing, he or she is protected from criticism. Tightness is more likely when norms are clear; this requires a relatively homogenous culture. Loose cultures have unclear norms and tolerate deviance from norms. Cultural heterogeneity, strong influences from other cultures, and crowded conditions can lead to looseness. Urban environments are usually looser than rural ones. Tight cultures would likely frown upon those who do not strictly adhere to dress norms. If you grew up in a small town in the United States, you can probably relate to the tighter constraints on rural dress compared to urban dress.

Individualism and collectivism Individualists place high value on self-reliance, independence, pleasure, affluence, and the pursuit of happiness. The behavior of individualists tends to be friendly but non-intimate (i.e., emotionally detached) toward a wide range of people outside the family. Individualists thrive on individual expression through dress and can be found among those wearing subcultural styles such as piercings, tattoos, Goth, punk, and so on. Adolescent dress in the United States is a good example of individualist dress. Generally,

adolescents are permitted to experiment with dress and "try on" different identities without penalty.

Characteristics of collectivists often (but not always) include organization in a hierarchical manner with a tendency to be concerned about the results of their actions on members within their close-knit groups, sharing of resources with group members, feeling interdependent with group members, and feeling involved in the lives of group members (Hui & Triandis, 1986). Collectivists also feel strongly about the integrity of their groups. Amish dress is a good example of a collectivist culture in the United States where all members are supported by the group and held to certain standards of behavior, including dress (Boynton-Arthur, 1993).

In addition to the preceding information about culture, there are two theoretical concepts that directly connect dress and culture and were developed or adapted by dress scholars. First, dress is a part of the material culture of the society in which it is worn. A **material culture analysis** consists of procedures to examine the artifacts created or utilized in a society or community. Through the material culture of a society, it is possible to explore the nonmaterial aspects of the culture: the values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions present in that society. A material culture process has been developed by dress scholars specifically to study clothing as material culture (Severa & Horswill, 1989). Within this method are three stages. These stages are (1) determining modal type; (2) analyzing material, design and construction, and workmanship; and (3) examining identification, evaluation, cultural analysis, and interpretation.

Elements of the material culture, such as dress, are often related to the nonmaterial culture of a society in complex ways (Tortora, 2010). For example, in some cultures wedding dresses are preserved and worn only once (i.e., sentiment is valued over recycling a dress or conserving space), but other cultures may wear a wedding dress many times after the wedding.

When conducting a material culture analysis on a wedding gown, one must critically examine the styling details of a wedding dress to determine whether or not they match the fashion of the period. If the styling details do not match the fashions for the date of the wedding, it is possible that the dress was repurposed for a later occasion. For instance, a wedding gown bodice from 1892 was embellished with silver-lined beads. The beading was found to be quite elaborate compared to other wedding gowns of that period. Also, the sleeves were short and puffed compared to the more conservative long, fitted sleeves on wedding dresses of the period. The bodice embellishment and the sleeve style indicate that the wearer repurposed the gown at a later date—perhaps for a ball gown (Blackwell, 2012). Even though the owner of the dress married into a wealthy family, she chose to repurpose her dress for another occasion several years after her wedding. The results of this material culture analysis include that this wealthy family valued conservation despite their ability to buy a new gown.

Second, **cultural authentication** is a process of assimilation through which a garment or an accessory external to a culture is adopted and changed. With this change, over time, the artifact becomes a vital, valued part of the adopting culture's dress (Vollmer, 2010). The steps of cultural authentication are (1) selection, (2) characterization, (3) incorporation, and (4) transformation. Cases of cultural authentication have been documented. One study connects Indian madras plaid to the Kalabari in Nigeria (Eicher & Erekosima, 1995). The Kalabari use a cut-thread method to create another design on traditional madras fabric. Another example of cultural authentication is the Hawaiian holoku (Arthur, 1997). The holoku is a loose-fitting dress with no defined waistline. It was fashioned after a muumuu-style dress worn by Western missionaries to Hawaii in 1820. The indigenous Hawaiians adapted the muumuu-style dress into what they now refer to as the holoku. Look for other examples of material culture and cultural authentication throughout this text.

Why Does Culture Matter?

Many universities have created diversity requirements for their students. Although the effort is not always perfect (Miller-Spillman, Michelman, & Huffman, 2012), the general consensus is that American college students will need cultural competencies (see Figure 1.3) in order to navigate a world that is increasingly diverse. Unless you plan to inherit a family-owned business that operates among a narrow, select clientele, chances are you will need interpersonal skills while working with a range of diverse individuals (i.e., cultural competencies). In addition, many people would likely argue that being a global citizen is part of being an educated person.

Travel to other parts of the world can increase one's cultural competencies. Davis (2008) offers this advice:

> It may sound naïve, but when you enter a cross-cultural situation, you are by definition an ambassador

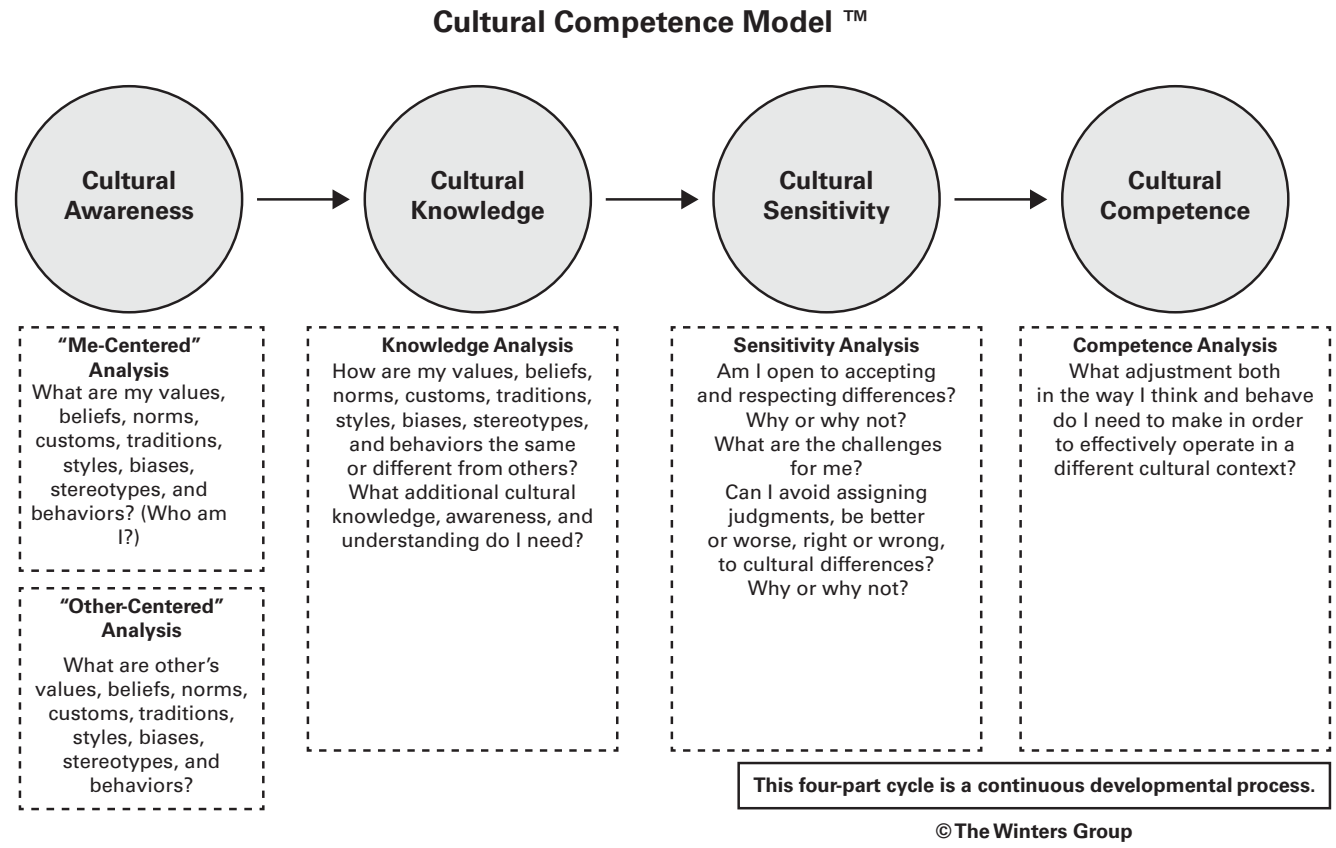

Figure 1.3 Consult the Cultural Competence Model at the beginning and the end of your course to track your progress toward pluralism.

> for your culture. Decency and pride dictate that we present ourselves well, with respect and integrity. . . . Whether we travel as tourists, journalists, or academic anthropologists, it is our comparative wealth that allows us to be in these places, to have these life-affirming interactions. . . . The goal of travel is to return transformed. (pg 21 in MOD 3rd edition)

Cultural insensitivity while traveling can be seen when an American tourist demands American food while refusing to try the local fare. One cannot expect a burger and fries everywhere they travel. Culture is important to everyone and Americans who have chosen to arrive in another country uninformed about the culture they are visiting shouldn't be surprised to be dismissed or ignored by the locals. It is a matter of mutual respect of each other's culture.

Obviously, being culturally sensitive when you travel will be appreciated by the people with whom you interact. Learning a few basic words in their language will be appreciated by the locals even if you don't get the pronunciation exactly correct. Having the ability to converse with locals about their country's history and the current political issues will also be appreciated. Knowledge of their cultural dress is also valuable. One way to blend in is to understand the culture and dress accordingly. For instance, is this a modest culture in which women should cover their hair? Or is this a culture which accepts immodesty in women's dress?

See the reading "Etiquette 101: Dress Codes" (at the end of this chapter) for examples of what type of dress is worn at a meeting, on the street, and at a party in several different countries. Review and consider the dress advice for different countries. Some may surprise you.

THEORY

Theories are helpful to scholars and individuals who wish to explain a particular phenomenon. Dress scholars, for example, may wish to formally explain the emphasis on individual expression through dress in Western cultures versus the emphasis on traditional dress in some non-Western cultures. In addition, an individual encountering

Figure 1.4 Multiple face piercings may cause an observer to theorize about why a person would do that.

a barista at a coffee bar may speculate (or theorize) why a person would want several face and ear piercings (see Figure 1.4).

A variety of scientific theories helps us understand the effect of dress on interpersonal relationships. **Symbolic interaction theory** explains how an individual defines herself or himself through interactions and relationships with others (Mead, 1934). Symbolic interaction theorists contend that to develop a sense of self as a human being, one must interact with other people. Other people respond to an individual (both verbally and nonverbally) about how he or she is doing, what he or she is supposed to be doing, what the value or worth of that individual is, and how the individual is identified (Stone, 1965). Continuous presentation of **programs** of dress (programs could include other types of behavior) and reflection upon others' **reviews** or reactions to dress allow an individual to gain a sense of how others see and assign meaning to him or her (Stone, 1965).

Because dress is a part of our interactions with others, we learn some things about ourselves through the responses others give to our appearance. This is the process of discourse involving the presentation of appearance programs and receiving reviews. In addition, we interact with others on the basis of what their appearance means to us (Shilling, 1993; Stone, 1965). For example, consider this in light of your own behavior with classmates versus authority figures.

Cooley (1902) compared the process of development of self to looking in a mirror. He outlined the general process as follows:

1. Individuals attempt to perceive themselves by imagining how others perceive them or by reflecting on reviews by others.
2. Individuals may reject or accept other people's reflections of the self, but these reflections nevertheless have an impact.

This process of using other people as mirrors to tell us who we are is the **looking glass self** process. So, who we are depends very much on the people with whom we interact, their reactions to us and evaluations of us, and our reflections on these reactions as guides to future behavior, including how to dress. We continually try out new presentations of self through dress or stick to old ways of dressing that we feel are successful or safe. A process of learning who we are through continued reflection and action with others and constant experimentation and exploration is the **self-indication process** (Blumer, 1969). Our reflections on others' responses or how we interpret what other people mean is as crucial to self as is our own behavior and the responses of others. Our interpretations

may not always be accurate; we develop skills throughout life at placing the self in another person's position in order to understand the other or to understand the self from the other's point of view (Mead, 1934). Taking other people's perspectives to understand their responses is called **taking on the role of the other**. Herrington's experiment wearing the hijab is an excellent example of taking on the role of the other, in this case a Muslim woman. (See "'Undercover' in Hijab" at the end of this chapter.) Therefore, seeing the self and the world from another person's perspective is crucial to the looking glass self. An integral part of the self are the roles we take on. **Role theory** helps us to understand the roles we play and how dress is a part of those roles. **Roles** are positions that people occupy in a group or society (Biddle & Thomas, 1966). These positions are defined by social relationships; people take on roles in relation to other persons. Performance of a role is guided by social expectations for the role-player's behavior (including dress), knowledge, and attitudes.

Adults tend to have multiple roles that define different parts of the self. At any one time, a man may be 42 years old (age role); male (gender role); Puerto Rican (ethnic role); a chef and a boss to junior chefs (employment roles); a father, a husband, a brother, a son (family roles); a best friend of another man (social role); and a coach for a girls' soccer team (community leadership role). He may express some of these roles through dress but not all of these roles in any one appearance. These roles are parts of the puzzle that make up the man's **identity**. Other aspects of identity include unique personal traits and interests that are not necessarily role related. The Puerto Rican man might run five miles alone every morning and think of himself as defined in part by running. He, in a sense, has many identities that make up his total self. We would need to examine his total wardrobe to begin to grasp the multiple identities of this man, but some of his identity might never be expressed through dress.

Lastly, one sociologist used a **dramaturgical approach** to study dress and appearances. Goffman (1959) introduced the idea that life is played out on a stage and is similar to the theater in that actors can appear on the front or back stage. Goffman pointed out that individuals behave differently depending on the audience. Front stage behavior includes dress that is planned and controlled, whereas backstage dress is casual and impulsive. An example in retail would be the dress and behavior that sales associates display while on the sales floor with customers. Sales floor decorum may include professional dress or dress items from the retail store along with friendly, helpful behavior such as helping the customer pick out clothes for an upcoming event. Once the sales associate steps backstage into an area labeled "Employees Only," where she is no longer seen by the customer, she may grab a bite to eat, smoke a cigarette, chew gum, complain about customers' demands, and take off a jacket or untuck a shirttail. The dramaturgical approach also has common features to dress and the public, private, and secret self, as described in Chapter 11.

How Theories Help Us to Study and Understand Dress Meanings

Meanings of dress are central to this area of study. Symbolic interactionist Gregory Stone (1965) proposed that meaning can vary from boring (so mundane that no one even notices it) to nonsense (mixing many styles together, making their meaning unintelligible). Typically, individuals use those around them at home and work to gain ideas about dress. More formal avenues are fashion magazines, newspapers, television shows, and movies. More recently, social media (e.g., Facebook and YouTube) are adding to the influences on how we interpret dress (La Ferla, 2011).

Dress scholar Marcia Morgado provides readers with a process for discovering the meanings of dress in the reading "Uncovered Butts & Recovered Rules: Sagging Pants and the Logic of Abductive Inference" at the end of this chapter. Morgado uses the field of **semiotics**, the study of signs, to describe how dress items carry meanings. Morgado frames her work on sagging pants using a theoretical construct known as **abductive inference**. Follow her process of extracting meanings of sagging pants to understand how abductive inference works.

Collective Selection Theory

Often the terms "fashion" and "dress" are used interchangeably but they are two different concepts. Many products, if not all, are affected by fashion, from vehicles to home decor to "fashionable" places to eat and drink. Fashion has a specific meaning and is related to time. If a significant number of consumers decide to adopt the style, it actually becomes a fashion, though only certain segments of consumers may wear the style. The style may take on the added meaning of representing the lifestyles

of people who adopt the new look (see Chapter 2 for more information on the fashion cycle).

Collective selection theory is a theory related to fashion (Blumer, 1969). Americans often believe they are individuals acting upon impulses that are uniquely their own; to some extent that is true. Americans are less likely to acknowledge the collective forces that shape their impulses, such as our clothing choices. Blumer called this collective selection because many individuals' choices are needed to make a dress item a fashion. And our choices are created by similar forces (e.g., what we see in the media and in conversation with others). See more on collective selection in Chapter 11.

Cargo pants were recently featured on *CBS Good Morning* (2016) and other media outlets because of the cargo pants wars that often divide husband and wife (see Figure 1.5). Cargo pants are a good example of **world dress** (Eicher, Evenson & Lutz, 2008) because of their global reach. Similar to blue jeans, you can see cargo pants anywhere in the world. **Transnational style** is another term used to describe the cargo pant style that occurs simultaneously in several worldwide locations (Eicher & Evenson, 2015). See the reading by Joseph Hancock titled "Cargo Pants: The Transnational Rise of the Garment That Started a Fashion War" (at the end of this chapter) as he tracks the interesting historical growth of cargo pants.

Figure 1.5 Transnational style: cargo pants.

What's the Benefit of Being a Global Citizen?

In this book, the authors combine dress and culture while discussing ideas beyond simply what is fashionable. However, people use dress as a vehicle to learn more about our culture as well as other cultures. Fashion is certainly a global phenomenon thanks to the Internet (see "Cargo Pants" section in this chapter). Knowing how to comfortably interact with those from other cultures is a life skill worth cultivating. In this section we consider why it is important to become a **global citizen**.

What's so great about being a global citizen? Does being a global citizen mean that you can no longer appreciate where you grew up? Davis (2008) provides examples of why being an American is not necessarily better than being from another country. He also points out that languages are dying out at an alarming rate because they are no longer being taught to children. Even though we may not feel the impact of a language dying out, eventually if we all speak the same language we will have lost a great amount of richness in diversity.

Americans are often accused of believing that they are the center of the universe and everyone else is looking at Americans for ideas on how to dress, live, and enjoy life—a very ethnocentric view. But how does the rest of the world view the United States? "Etiquette 101: What the World Thinks about Us" by Kachka (2008) features a list of ten common misperceptions about American culture. Compare these stereotypes of Americans to stereotypes that Americans have of people from other cultures.

Ethnocentrism is judging people from other cultures and backgrounds by one's own cultural standards and beliefs. **Pluralism** is the acceptance of differences in others while not necessarily wanting to adopt those differences for the self. In other words, you do not have to turn your back on your upbringing and cultural roots in order to become more pluralistic. However, becoming more pluralistic may help you to succeed in business or any public arena

(such as local government). Moving from an ethnocentric view to a pluralistic one is a goal of this course. Since we see another's dress before we speak, assumptions are made based on dress and appearance alone. We see skin color, hair texture, and items of clothing and—without talking to this person—make assumptions based on stereotypes. In a fast-paced world, we cannot speak to everyone; our judgments of others are made quickly.

Summary

Dress is a complex topic because meanings are based on personal experience as well as cultural rules. This chapter serves as an introduction to basic concepts needed to study dress and culture. In this text we explore the intersections of dress and culture; theory is used to explain dress meanings. Dress, culture, and theory are recurring themes throughout the text that enable the reader to expand his or her knowledge of dress meanings and interpretations. Global awareness and critical thinking about dress and culture are skills necessary to be successful in a world of increasing complexity. Learning how to become a global citizen and following the steps to increase your cultural competencies are skills that will serve you well for the rest of your life.

Key Terms

Abductive inference
Collective selection theory
Cultural authentication
Culture
Dramaturgical approach
Dress
Ethnocentrism
Global citizen
Identity
Looking glass self
Material culture analysis
Pluralism
Programs
Reviews
Roles
Role theory
Self-indication process
Semiotics
Symbolic interaction theory
Taking on the role of the other
Theory
Transnational style
World dress

Learning Activity 1.1

BODY SPACE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CULTURES

Pair off in the classroom with the person sitting either directly in front or in back of you. While standing, face the other person with your toes touching and talk to each other for 60 seconds. After you are seated, share with the class how it felt to participate in this exercise. Most comments will relate how uncomfortable it was to be that close while talking. This can lead to a discussion about body space across cultures. Americans tend to stand an arm's length apart when speaking and have issues with closeness such as bad breath, food in teeth, and body odor. Some cultures have a closer body space. Conversations between two people from different cultures can sometimes result in a humorous "dance" in which one partner is advancing and the other partner is backing up.

Learning Activity 1.2

RESOLVING A CROSS-CULTURAL MISUNDERSTANDING—JOGGING ALONE

Objectives

- To understand that cross-cultural misunderstandings are common occurrences.
- To identify a solution to a cross-cultural misunderstanding.

Procedures

1. Read about the way in which individuals in the Dominican Republic misunderstood an American Peace Corps volunteer who was doing something that in the United States is perfectly normal.

2. Read the Peace Corps volunteer's account titled "Jogging Alone." Think about how you might solve the dilemma as you read. Work in pairs with your classmates to respond to the questions that follow.
3. Offer responses to each question during a class discussion. Allow for differing responses to be considered.

Jogging Alone: An Account of a Peace Corps Volunteer Serving in the Dominican Republic

When I first arrived in my village in the Dominican Republic, I began to have a problem with my morning jogging routine. I used to jog every day when I was at home in the United States, so when I arrived in my village in the Dominican Republic, I set myself a goal to continue jogging two miles every morning. I really liked the peaceful feeling of jogging alone as the sun came up. But this did not last for long. The people in my village simply couldn't understand why someone would want to run alone. Soon people began to appear at their doorways offering me a cup of coffee; others would invite me to stop in for a visit. Sometimes this would happen four or five times as I tried to continue jogging. They even began sending their children to run behind me so I wouldn't be lonely. They were unable to understand the American custom of exercising alone. I was faced with a dilemma. I really enjoyed my early morning runs. However, I soon realized that it's considered impolite in Dominican villages not to accept a cup of coffee or stop and chat when you pass people who are sitting on their front steps. I didn't want to give up jogging. But, at the same time, I wanted to show respect for the customs of the Dominican Republic—and not be viewed as odd or strange.[1]

Endnote

1. This and other classroom activities can be accessed from Building Bridges: A Peace Corps Classroom Guide to Cross-Cultural Understanding Coverdell World Wise Schools, https://files.peacecorps.gov/wws/pdf/BuildingBridges.pdf Peace Corps. (2002). *Building bridges: A Peace Corps classroom guide to cross-cultural understanding*. Washington, DC: Peace Corps Paul D. Coverdell World Wise Schools.

Discussion Questions

1. What was the American's point of view here?
2. What American cultural norm, or custom, did the American think would be viewed as perfectly normal in the Dominican Republic?
3. Describe a way you think that the American could respect the Dominican need to show hospitality to a stranger and, at the same time, not have to give up jogging.
4. What was the Dominicans' point of view here?
5. What was the reason for the Dominicans' point of view? What cultural norm did the Dominicans have that made them view the American's behavior as strange?
6. How might the Dominicans begin to understand and respect American cultural norms and, at the same time, satisfy their own need to show hospitality to strangers?

1. An extended version of this article appears in *Critical Studies in Men's Fashion* 2 (2 & 3), 107–126.

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1.1
‘Undercover’ in Hijab: Unveiling One Month Later

Cassidy Herrington

Hilton Als, an African American writer, says our worldview and sense of “otherness” is created in our mother’s lap.

Mother’s lap is protective and familiar. Leaving this worldview can be uncomfortable, but I can assure you, the rewards are much greater.

Hijab

Last month, I climbed out of my “lap” and wore a hijab, the Muslim headscarf (Figure 1.6). I thought this temporary modification of my appearance would bring me closer to an understanding of the Muslim community, but in retrospect, I learned more about my place in the world.

Simplified, one piece of fabric is all it takes to turn perspectives upside-down.

The hijab is a contested, sacred, and sometimes controversial symbol, but it is just a symbol. It is a symbol of Islam, a misconstrued, misunderstood religion that represents the most diverse population of people in the world—a population of more than one billion people.

I realized the best way to identify with Muslims was to take a walk in their shoes. On Oct. 1, I covered my head with a gauze scarf and grappled with the perceptions of strangers, peers, and even my own family.

Because of perceptions, I even struggled to write this column. My experience with the hijab was personal, but I hope sharing what I saw will open a critical conversation.

My hijab silenced, but simultaneously, my hijab brought unforgettable words.

Idea

In the first column I wrote this semester, I compared college to an alarm clock saying, “we see the face of a clock, but rarely do we see what operates behind it.” At the time, I did not realize how seriously I needed to act on my own words—as a journalist, a woman and a human.

A few weeks after I wrote that piece, a guest columnist addressed Islamophobic sentiments regarding the proposed “ground zero” mosque. The writer was Muslim, and she received a flurry of feedback.

The comments online accumulated like a swarm of mindless pests. The collective opinion equated Islam to violence and terrorism.

In response to her column, one comment said, “[The writer] asks us to trust Islam. Given our collective experience, and given Islam’s history I have to wonder what planet she thinks we are on.”

Although I did not know the voices behind these anonymous posts, I felt involuntarily linked to them—because I am not Muslim. I wanted to connect people, and almost instinctively, I decided that a hijab was necessary. A hijab could help me use my affiliation with “white,” non-Muslims to build rapport with the Islamic community and at the same time, show non-Muslims the truth from an unheard voice. Above all, I wanted to see and feel the standard lifestyle for so many women around the world—because I’m curious, and that’s why I’m a journalist.

Before I took this step, I decided to propose my idea to the women who wear headscarves every day. Little did I know, a room full of strangers would quickly become my

Figure 1.6 Student journalist Cassidy Herrington (a) wore a hijab (b) for one month to better understand the Muslim-American community.

This article originally appeared in *The Kentucky Kernel*, student newspaper of the University of Kentucky. Reprinted with permission.

greatest source of encouragement and would make this project more attainable.

The Handshake

Initially, I worried about how the Muslim community would perceive a non-Muslim in a hijab, so I needed its approval before I would start trying on scarves. On Sept. 16, I went to a Muslim Student Association meeting to introduce myself.

When I opened the door to the meeting room, I was incredibly nervous. To erase any sign of uncertainty, I interjected to a girl seated across the room, "meeting starts at 7, right?" The girl, it turns out, was Heba Suleiman, the MSA president. After I explained my plan, her face lit up.

"That is an amazing idea," she said.

I felt my tension and built-up anxiety melt away. In the minutes following, I introduced myself to the whole group with an "asalaam alaykum," and although I was half-prepared for it, I was alarmed to hear dozens of "wa aylaykum asalam" in response.

Before I left, several girls approached me. I will not forget what one girl said, "this gives me hope." Another girl said, "I'm Muslim, and I couldn't even do that." It did not hit me until then, that this project would be more than covering my hair. I would be representing a community and a faith, and consequentially, I needed to be fully conscious of my actions while in hijab.

First Steps "Undercover"

Two weeks later, I met Heba and her friend Leanna for coffee, and they showed me how to wrap a hijab. The girls were incredibly helpful, more than they probably realized. Although this project was my personal undertaking, I knew I wouldn't be alone—this thought helped me later when I felt like ripping off the hijab and quitting.

Responses to my hijab were subtle or nonexistent. I noticed passing glances diverted to the ground, but overall, everything felt the same. Near the end of the month, a classmate pointed out that a boy had been staring at me, much to my oblivion. The hijab became a part of me, and until I turned my head and felt a gentle tug, I forgot it was there.

For the most part, I carried out life as usual while in hijab. I rode my bike and felt the sensation of wind whipping under my headscarf. I walked past storefront windows, caught a glimpse of a foreign reflection and had to frequently remind myself that the girl was me. Hijab became part of my morning routine, and on one morning I biked to class and turned around because I realized I left without it. At the end of the day, I laughed at my "hijab hair" pressed flat against my scalp.

The hijab sometimes made me uneasy. I went to the grocery store and felt people dodge me in the aisles—or was that just my imagination?

I recognize every exchange I had and every occurrence I report may be an assumption or over analysis because few of my encounters were transparent. The truth is, however, very few of my peers said anything about the hijab. My classmates I've sat next to for more than a year, my professors, and my friends from high school—no one addressed the obvious, and it hurt. I felt separated from the people who know me best—or so I thought.

A gap in the conversation exists, and it's not just surrounding my situation.

Just over a week ago, I turned on the news to see Juan Williams, a former NPR news analyst fired for commentary about Islam. Williams said, "If I see people who are in Muslim garb and I think, you know, they are identifying themselves first and foremost as Muslims, I get worried. I get nervous."

His statement revealed an internalized fear. And I saw this fear when my colleagues dodged the topic. When I went back to ask "why?," several said it was too "touchy" or insensitive to bring up.

A hijab [is] a symbol, like a cross, a star or an American flag. I am still the same Cassidy Herrington—I didn't change my identity, but I was treated like a separate entity.

Talk Is Not Cheap

When someone mentioned my hijab without my provocation, I immediately felt at ease. A barista at my usual coffee stop politely asked, "Are you veiling?" A friend in the newsroom asked, "Are your ears cold?"

My favorite account involves a back-story.

I love Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cuisine, and I garnered an appetite when I was young. My childhood home neighbored my "third grandmother," the most loving second-generation Lebanese woman and exceptional cook (not an exaggeration, she could get me to eat leafy vegetables when I was a child zealot of noodles and cheese). I remember knocking on her back door when I was five, asking for Tupperware brimming with tabouleh.

When King Tut's opened on Limestone, my school year swiftly improved to a fabulously garlicky degree. At least once a week, I stopped by to pick up the tabouleh,

hummus or falafel to medicate my case of the newsroom munchies.

On Oct. 21, the owner, Ashraf Yousef, stopped me before I went inside.

"I heard about your project, and I like it," he said. "And you look beautiful in your hijab." This encounter was by far the best. And it made my shawarma sandwich taste particularly delicious. I went back on my last day to thank him, and Yousef said, "I'm just giving my honest opinion, with the hijab, you look beautiful. It makes your face look better."

Yousef asked if I would wear the hijab to his restaurant when the project was over. I nodded, smiled and took a crunchy mouthful of fattoush.

False Patriotism

I did not receive intentional, flagrant anti-Muslim responses. I did, however, receive an e-mail allegedly "intended" for another reader. The e-mail was titled "My new ringtone." When I opened the audio file, the Muslim prayer to Mecca was abruptly silenced by three gunshots and the U.S. national anthem.

I spoke to the sender of the e-mail, and he said, "It was just a joke." Here lies a problem with phobias and intolerance—joking about it doesn't make it less of an issue. When was it ever okay to joke about hatred and persecution? Was it acceptable when Jews were grotesquely drawn in Nazi cartoons? Or when Emmet Till was brutally murdered?

The e-mail is unfortunate evidence that many people inaccurately perceive Islam as violent or as "the other." A Gallup poll taken last November found 43 percent of Americans feel at least a "little" prejudice against Muslims. And if you need further confirmation that Islamophobia exists, consult Ann Coulter or Newt Gingrich.

Hijab-less

I've been asked, "Will you wear the hijab when it's over?" and initially, I didn't think I would—because I'm not Muslim, I don't personally believe in hijab. Now that I see it hanging on my wall and I am able to reflect on the strength it gave me, I think, yes, when I need the headscarf, I might wear it.

Ashraf said, "A non-Muslim woman who wears a hijab is just wearing a headscarf" (and apparently, my face "looks better"). Appearances aside, when I wore the hijab, I felt confident and focused. I wore the hijab to a news conference for Rand Paul, and although an event coordinator stopped me (just me, except for one elusive blogger) to check my credentials, I felt I accurately represented myself as an intelligent, determined journalist—I was not concerned with how I looked, but rather, I was focused on gathering the story.

So now, I return to my first column of the year. I've asked the questions, and I've reached across the circles. Now, it's your turn. You don't have to wear a hijab for a month to change someone's life or yours. The Masjid Bilial Islamic Center will host a "get to know your neighbors" on November 7, and UK's Muslim Student Association is having "The Hajj" on November 8. These are opportunities for non-Muslims to be better informed and make meaningful connections.

I want to thank Heba for being a friend and a resource for help. Thank you to Ashraf Yousef and King Tut for the delicious food and the inspiration. Finally, I apologize to the individuals who feel I have "lied" to them about my identity or who do not agree with this project. I hope this page clears things up—you have the truth now, and I hope you find use for it.

Why are we so afraid to talk about this? We are not at war with Islam. In fact, Muslim soldiers are defending this country. Making jokes about terrorism is not going to make the situation less serious. Simply "tolerating" someone's presence is not enough.

If you turn on the news, you will inevitably hear the prefix, "extremist," when describing Islam. What you see and hear from the media is fallible—if you want the truth, talk to a Muslim.

Discussion Questions

1. What do you think caused Herrington to make the decision to wear a hijab for a month, and why do you think she stuck to it?
2. Would you take on a Muslim dress code for a month? Why or why not?
3. How instructive do you think this exercise was on a personal level for Herrington, on a university level, and internationally?

1.2
Etiquette 101: Dress Codes

Conde Nast Traveler

Rule 1: Leave the Fanny Pack

What makes an Ugly American ugly? Is it the timbre of our voices? Or the way we travel in herds? Or is it (as we suspect) our love of sweatpants, baseball caps, and yes, fanny packs, no matter the occasion or place? While it can sometimes seem that the world has fallen victim to a sort of sartorial globalization, where jeans are welcome anytime, anywhere, the truth is—of course—more nuanced. What works in surprisingly laid-back Singapore will be greeted with looks of horror on the streets (or in the boardrooms) of Paris. And ladies, while you can (and should) pile on the gold and jewels in Greece, quirky and stripped-down is the way to go in Germany. So here are the rules on looking not just appropriate but actually stylish around the globe, whether you're in a meeting, at a party, or just walking outdoors. Plus: Tips on how to wear a head scarf, what to pack for safari, and how to play European for a day. Ugly American? Fuhgeddaboudit.

Africa/The Middle East

In general, coverage is key. But while merely clothing your collarbone is enough in Jordan, just an inch of shoulder skin could get you arrested in Iran; over in Dubai, you'll need a brand or two to make it big. Men are usually fine in long pants, and women carry shawls for a quick conservative fix, but consider yourself forewarned: Style is a sensitive subject here.

Dubai

At a meeting: Women's pantsuits should be sheeny and glam; men's duds are buffed, black, and paired with slim ties.

On the street: The mall, not the street, is the social arena. Here, girls in T-shirts (their shoulders covered out of respect and as a remedy against the freezing AC blasts) tote the latest Louis Vuittons. Carry a pashmina to cover up in case you find yourself in a traditional souk—although you'll see miniskirts and shorts, they're for people who know the city well enough to avoid ultra-conservative quarters. On men, reflective aviators abound, as do Gucci sandals.

At a party: Go glam to the gills: No Swarovski is too shiny and no Giuseppe Zanotti is too high. Men wear Y3 trainers and tailored blazers over graphic tees.

P.S. Put on clean socks if you're going to a local's house—you'll leave your shoes at the door.

Iran

At a meeting: Men wear crisp Italian suits and shined shoes. A chador (hooded floor-length cloak) is needed for a woman meeting a clerical group, but for most gatherings, she should slip on a black manteau (a loose coatlike garment), low closed-toe pumps, and an Iranian hijab. Locally bought products drape best and look contextually refined.

On the street: Special police enforce the Islamic dress code, which requires women (non-Muslims included) to be covered from head to toe. The working classes wear full-length black chadors, but a manteau over jeans is an acceptable alternative. Hijabs are often patterned or pinned with pretty brooches. Makeup should be minimal, and while bright lipstick isn't allowed, flawless eyebrows are an absolute must.

At a party: Wear whatever you want under your outer cloak; the young remove their voluminous robes to show off tight jeans and strappy stilettos at friends' informal gatherings. Older intellectuals conceal elegant suits under their cloaks.

P.S. They're credited with creating the first perfume, so it's no surprise that the Iranians are scent savvy: Although women might be cloaked, they're often doused in glam, sexy fragrances like Azzaro's vetiver and pimento tonics.

Jordan

At a meeting: Suits and shoes should be simple, and dresses work for women provided they're shin-length and sleeved. Big hair is not for the Jordanian boardroom: Tie

long locks into chignons and keep short dos neat. The "Hillary Clinton look" is a woman's best bet, according to John Shoup, author of *Culture and Customs of Jordan*.

On the street: Rich red embroidery is popular, so Western women can don detailed tunics over loose trousers (many local women wear pants) or black cotton dresses embellished with traditional needlework. Men wear khakis and collared shirts.

At a party: King Abdullah II is a sartorial guide; he's almost always dressed in navy suits for nighttime (gray for daytime) and a light-colored silk tie. Queen Rania set a haute new tone by sporting Lanvin, Dior, and Elie Saab to evening affairs, but the first lady covers her shoulders and legs (with couture) when she's out in Amman.

P.S. The veil's a release of sorts for trendy young women, who can show a little more skin as long as the head is covered.

What to Wear on Safari

Conjure "safari style" and you'll likely envision a smart pocketed Proenza Schouler ensemble or Cavalli's sheeniest leopard-print dress—but show up wearing either in an actual African wildlife reserve and you'll spend the week banished to the back of your camp's SUV.The safari-bound have plenty of things to avoid: The color red spells danger to lions; military fatigues look fraudulent; perfumes, hair gels, and aftershaves bother the animals; and shiny baubles might catch a leopard's roving eye. In the bush, form usually takes a backseat to function.

These issues notwithstanding, weight is your biggest concern. Hippo Creek Safaris, for example, limits baggage to 35 pounds, and Premier Tours' camping safaris allow you only 26. For successful stalking style, pack a Kelty duffle (which measures 30 inches but weighs only one pound) with basic pieces that are both snappy and sound: a Polartec fleece and long pants for chilly morning game drives, a pair of khaki pants or shorts (or pants that zip into shorts—though these we won't sartorially condone), and for women, a tank top to layer under a muted Ralph Lauren linen button-down. "I roll it to the elbow in the morning, unbutton it all the way if I'm really hot, and wear it at night with a nice piece of jewelry," says Nina Wennersten, a travel specialist with Hippo Creek Safaris. Teva sandals will work for every stroll through the African bush, so leave the heavy hiking boots at home.

Come evening, "nobody wants to sit down to dinner and feel schleppy next to the perfect Italian tourists at camp," Wennersten says. Channel Romans on holiday in black slacks (no skirts, since malaria-ridden mosquitoes come out after dark), driving shoes, your trusty linen button-down, and a silver necklace or silk scarf. Don't worry about re-wearing: Laundry's taken away in the morning and returned by sundown every day.

How to Wear a Hijab

A head scarf is a head scarf is a head scarf—right? Not really. You can actually tell a lot about a woman by the way she wears her scarf. Here, we show you how to wear your hijab no matter the occasion—and, of course, what not to do as well.

Start by pinning your hair back securely, then tie it in a bun at the nape of your neck. A high bun whose outline can be clearly seen through the hijab is viewed as provocative.

At a Gathering

Although women are traditionally expected to wear a black scarf tightly secured so as to show only the oval of the face, today's young Iranian women push the envelope by pulling a printed colored scarf loosely around the head and leaving an inch or two of the hairline daringly exposed.

At a Bazaar

In the throng of a crowded market, a loosely tossed scarf isn't fashionable; it's troubleome. Women tired of worrying about crooked head coverings instead float a large scarf over the crown and clip it below the chin (special clasps are made for this particular purpose, but safety pins work too), then throw each of the long ends over the opposite shoulder.

At an Informal Meeting

Large kerchiefs worn babushka-style work for informal meetings with nonsecular colleagues. To get the look, fold a square scarf into a triangle and rest the base of the triangle at the top of the forehead, then tie the ends below the chin. Make sure the back tip of the triangle covers the nape of your neck.

At Official Places

The most classic hijab, and the most universally acceptable, is the Al-Amira style—essentially a hood that reaches past the bust, with a hole for the oval of the face. It comes in cotton, silk, rayon, and a myriad of prints, from florals to fleur-de-lis.

At Religious Places

Forget the hijab; it's time to break out the big guns: the chador. A mark of piety and the easiest way to go unnoticed in the most religious areas of Kuwait and Iran, the full-length, cloaklike chador is thrown over the hair and held closed in the front.

At a Young, Liberal Party

Flashing a hint of hair in Iran is like showing a little leg in the United States, so girls keep their bangs pinned back and their scarves opaque unless they're headed somewhere young and free. At such parties and private gatherings, it's coquettish to have bangs peeking out from under a sheer scarf.

Headbands = Nerdy

Layering a stretchy headband under a tight-fitting hijab screams "dork" to trendy young Iranians. The same hijab sans headband is socially acceptable.

Asia

You'll need a myriad of outfit options for a transcontinental Asian trek. Miniskirts and monochrome black are safe bets from Jakarta to Japan, but women in India and Pakistan cover their legs and sport vibrant, rich hues. In fact, very few styles would work in every country: Flip-flops, for instance, are trendy in Singapore, verboten in China, and, in Indonesia, acceptable only for shower wear. Here's how to prep before you pack.

Japan

At a meeting: "The Japanese word for dress shirt, wai shatsu, comes from the English for 'white shirt,' which gives you an idea of the range of colors worn at work," says Dan Rosen, professor at Tokyo's Chuo Law School, who recommends basic black suits. In 2005, the government launched a Cool Biz initiative meant to lower AC costs by encouraging lighter work attire; it's been met with fierce resistance by the jacket-and-tie-loving Japanese working class.

On the street: For Tokyo youth, nothing's too studied or over-the-top, so the laissez-faire American norm is seen as slovenly. Women should wear heels, makeup, and a dose of frills, and men must be clean shaven and must spend time on their hair.

At a party: Agnès B. and Louis Vuitton are the easiest icebreakers, since the Japanese love labels—along with the stylish shapes by local designers like Yohji Yamamoto. No sweat suits, please!

P.S. Planning to shop here? Note that Japanese sizes run significantly smaller than those in the States. If you wear a medium in the United States, a Japanese XL might be a squeeze.

Singapore

At a meeting: You wouldn't think so, given Singapore's rules-happy reputation, but business meetings are actually super casual here (well, dresswise at least). Jackets aren't required, ties are rare, and both sexes wear oxfords and slacks. For women, trendy peg-leg pants are often permissible.

On the street: Those in their 20s and 30s strut in tank tops, hot pants (board shorts for boys), and flip-flops. A polo shirt by Fred Perry or Ralph Lauren is a popular option, as well as anything from casual mass-market stores.

At a party: "A Marni dress with Giuseppe Zanotti sandals for house parties," says Aun Koh, director of Singapore-based Ate Consulting. Brands are important to upper-class dames, who competitively collect Hermès bags. Men wear designer jeans from the likes of G–Star Raw and Dr. Denim.

P.S. Hems are worn high at every age—get your gams ready.

Europe

If there's one hard and fast sartorial rule in Europe, it's this: Shabby is never chic. And no one, whether in London or Leipzig, likes the American travel-comfort gear of clunky sneakers and shapeless skirts. That having been said, style varies wildly from country to country. The mullets that will make you a star in Moscow won't fly in peg-leg-trousers-crazed London or sleek Paris. So how should you dress? Just stay simple, look to the locals, and follow a few basic rules.

France

At a meeting: Dark, tailored, unflashy suits by Dior Homme or Jil Sander for both women and men (who need not wear ties).

On the street: Avoid bright colors—even kids' clothes come mainly in cream, navy, gray, and brown—and take care to shun the plethora of other offenses: pleated chinos, walking shorts, sport sandals, baseball caps, golf attire, loud logos, sneakers, T-shirts, and sexy clothes. "In France, it's always best to keep things simple, neutral, and classic rather than too trendy," says Miles Socha, European editor for *Women's Wear Daily*.

At a party: On a normal night out, overdressing's okay, but if it's black-tie, underdress: Men should wear business suits sans ties, women should slip on cocktail dresses, and

for a normal night out, femmes should keep it simple, silky, and black.

P.S. "One's shoes and belt should always match," advises François Delahaye, former general manager at Paris's legendary Plaza Athénée. But, he adds, a man's tie should never mirror his silk pocket square.

Turkey

At a meeting: Neither men nor women should go without manicures, since Turks are known for being perfectly groomed. Hair should be trimmed, suits fitted (jackets and pants need not match), button-downs left open and worn without undershirts peeking through. Tailoring is a primary indicator of class, so no matter how cheap the suit, it should fit well.

On the street: "I once heard that a woman had trouble getting a tea-man to serve her because she dressed like a frumpy housewife," says White. So dressing down is not an option. Men and women cultivate a studied casual look in designer jeans, Tod's loafers, and ironed high-end T-shirts (like James Perse)—never shorts.

At a party: Visible brand names are seen as cheap and low-class. Truly chic women wear Matthew Williamson florals rather than triangle-stamped Prada, and accessorize with one large statement bauble, like a giant cocktail ring by Turkish born Sevan Biçakçi. Hair is tightly pulled back. Men wear open shirts under light jackets with dark pants (or vice versa).

P.S. "Never wear a long raincoat," White says. "Even when it's pouring, a secular Turk will wear a short coat so as not to be mistaken for a conservative Islamist."

United Kingdom

At a meeting: The downtown banking-and-newspaper bustle calls for a suit and tie (no tie on Fridays), but you'll be laughed out of Soho or Kensington ad agencies in the same getup: There, cool execs don a uniform of the newest Nikes and skinny jeans.

On the street: Quirky Kate Moss inspired London girls throw on a high-low mix of Top Shop and Temperley; they're freer and less polished than other city style–setters. Men wear peg-leg trousers in primary colors with plaid shirts or tees. Don't opt for chinos and polos—the preppy look won't fly in London.

At a party: Skinny jeans take a girl or boy from meetings to a cutesy mews (switch from heels to Chuck Taylors) to a Shoreditch pub crawl (back to heels).

P.S. Wellies might be as British as it gets, but they're really country wear. Do take them off if you're lounging indoors.

A Tale of Two Cities

Can anyone really not call Paris and Milan the fashion capitals of the world? After all, one is home to Chanel and Dior, the other to Prada and Armani. But how can you tell your Milanese hipster from your Parisian sylph? We asked Scott Schuman, the mastermind behind the popular fashion blog The Sartorialist, for some clues (his book, *The Sartorialist*, was released in August).

Milan

Hair should be up.

"The Milanese girl wears whatever's on trend in a sexy, overt way. She doesn't do anything vintage or sporty."

Must be a colorful print.

"The overall effect is resilient and formal. She's not one to mess around."

"Milanese girls' style is set: all Italian, all big brands, all off the runway. She loves D&G. Prada's too intellectual, Marni's too quirky."

Skin should be tanned.

"Shoes must be high to show off her legs."

Paris

Hair must be mussed.

"Unlike the Milanese girl, she's not brand obsessed: The Parisian will mix vintage with French brands like Isabel Marant and Vanessa Bruno, and throw in some cheap stuff from A.P.C."

Oversized white tee falling off her shoulder.

"There's a come-hither kind of sexiness to a Parisian girl: She's covered up but seems somehow barer, more fragile. She's more precious than your Milanese young thing: The Parisian girl is like a gift, with a sultry quality that's underlying but never plain."

These are her boyfriend's.

Her shoes are Balmain.

Discussion Questions

1. Which countries' dress code surprised you the most? Why?
2. Where do your assumptions about dress come from?
3. Were you aware how most non-Americans view the American habit of wearing a fanny pack?

1.3
Uncovered Butts & Recovered Rules: Sagging Pants and the Logic of Abductive Inference

Marcia A. Morgado

Sagging is the contemporary label for a subculture dress form typically associated with black boys, young black men and hip-hop culture (Figure 1.7). It is characterized by trousers worn low or below the hips with underwear, covered butt cheeks, and sometimes butt cracks conspicuously exposed. Although the name is new, early versions of sagging have been evident for nearly 30 years. Throughout this time the style has variously, and often simultaneously, functioned as an identity marker in youth subcultures; a contemporary mode of urban street dress; a designer runway fashion, the trappings of hip-hop celebrities; and a global youth style. The origins of sagging, popularly attributed to the ill-fitting, beltless garb of prison inmates and as a sign devised by prisoners to signal sexual availability, likely contribute to both the appeal and the offensiveness of the style. But issues of race and racism, public decency, and ethnic pride contribute, as well. Since inception, the dress form has ignited controversy, outrage, and fear.

Like other subculture appearance forms, characteristics associated with sagging evolved over time. In its original form, salient elements included oversized jeans turned back to front, with hemlines that dragged the ground, crotches extended to the knees, and dramatically lowered waistlines. Peculiar accessories, such as athletic shoes with unusual or untied lacings were common. A swaggering or penguin-like gait and the wearer's ethnicity—assumed to be African American—were also salient signs of the appearance form. White youngsters and young white men who identified with and adopted the style self-identified and were referred to as *wiggers*. Wiggers were typically accused of co-opting a black, inner-city dress form, and the wigger appellation served as a direct reference to the epithet *nigger*. Over time, the baggy trousers slimmed down, the dropped waistlines were further lowered—often below the butt cheeks—and the visibility of the underwear (necessarily boxers) and underwear label (necessarily 'designer') increased in importance. Meanwhile, the significance of the swaggering gait and assumptions about the ethnicity of wearers remained intact, with the term '*saggin*' understood as a reverse spelling of the *niggas* epithet.

Sagging is a peculiar dress form. It is peculiar in terms of its obvious rupture with conventional dress, although much contemporary fashion is predicated on challenges to convention. Sagging, however, is peculiar in terms of the public reaction it ignites. Concerns are raised over physical health issues such as hip, joint and nerve damage

Figure 1.7 Sagging is a controversial dress form that serves as an identity marker in youth subcultures; a contemporary mode of urban street dress; a designer runway fashion, the trappings of hip-hop celebrities; and a global youth style.

Adapted from an article that originally appeared in *Critical Studies in Men's Fashion*.

that are proposed to result from the requisite swaggering gait; crusades are initiated to encourage young men to 'Pull Your Pants Up', . . . public figures wage campaigns against sagging as an 'insidious spectacle of imposed ridicule,' and ordinances designed to criminalize sagging are not uncommon.

In this paper I suggest that the controversy surrounding sagging enhances opportunities to examine the structure of meanings that are attributed to, interpreted as, or otherwise presumed to inhere in contentious dress forms. My work is framed on *abductive inference*, a theoretical construct proposed in the work of the American logician, mathematician, philosopher, and semiotician Charles S. Peirce (1931/1958). Peirce postulates abduction as a natural, instinctive mode of reasoning that is hard wired into human cognition and expressed though 'spontaneous conjectures' that provisionally explain unusual observations. It is the process that results in what we sometimes describe as having an "ah ha!" experience or an act of insight. As an example, Peirce invites us to imagine the following situation:

> *Suppose I enter a room and there find a number of bags containing different kinds of beans. On the table there is a handful of white beans; and, after some searching I find one of the bags contains white beans only. I at once infer as a probability, or as a fair guess, that this handful was taken out of that bag (2:623).*

This inference is an abduction. Abductive arguments are diagramed in a format similar to that used in presenting formal deductive and inductive logic arguments: The observation is positioned as a *Result*. The rule connecting the result to a conclusion is recorded as a *Rule*. The inference or conclusion derived from the *Rule* is identified as a probable or likely *Case*. Peirce's abduction regarding the source of the white beans is diagrammed like this:

Result: These beans are white. *Rule*: All the beans from this bag are white. *Case*: These beans are from this bag (probably).

Peirce describes abduction as the means through which we interpret peculiar circumstances. But contemporary scholars describe it as the primary mechanism through which we comprehend much of the phenomena of everyday life, and as the principle method of reasoning in interpretations of virtually all visual and verbal phenomena. The implication is that interpretations of dress-related phenomena likely occur through abductive inference. Most contemporary dress, however, is interpreted in terms of rules or codes that are relatively stable and somewhat commonly acknowledged. For example, there is a good deal of agreement as to the features that constitute appropriate dress for business professionals; we generally understand and similarly interpret business dress codes. But new and/or unfamiliar dress forms are often more difficult to interpret, as the rules or codes governing these may be unclear or yet-to-be established.

The highly transgressive nature of sagging and the extraordinary level of controversy it aroused led me to wonder at the nature of rules that might be engaged to infer meaning to the dress form at its inception as a youth subculture style. In the absence of pre-established codes for interpreting the style, what rules were engaged against which to assess its meaning? Peirce's description of the inferential process suggests the possibility that one's abductive inferences can be consciously reconstructed, and this implication is evident in the works of others who write on abductive inference, as well (e.g., Mick, 1986). To explore this possibility I examined my own inferences in response to arguments that occurred in the context of natural discourse during the early rise stage of the sagging pants phenomena. The arguments were captured in the live airing and written transcript of a televised *Oprah Winfrey Show* titled *What is a Wigger?* (Harpo, 1993). My examination was based on the following assumptions: (a) that contentious dress exemplifies what semiotician Umberto Eco (1968) calls an "open message" or "under-coded condition" (p. 165, cited in Noth, 1995, p. 427): a situation wherein pre-established rules for assessing meaning are largely absent; (b) that, in the absence of convention, we generate our own rules in order to link dress with meaning; in other words, we generate fresh abductions; (c) that arguments surrounding contentious dress enhance opportunities to examine the structure of abductive inferences; and that (d) abductive inferences can be consciously reconstructed.

I watched and took notes on the original airing of the televised show, and subsequently studied the official transcript which I obtained from Burrelles Information Services. The examination was conducted as follows: Where an argument led me to interpret statements as inferring meaning to the style, I recorded the statements as the "Result." I recorded the inference I drew from the

statement as the probable "Case." In each instance, I then asked how I derived the inference: what rule might have led me to connect a result with a case? And I reflected on how my personal circumstances might account for the inferences and rules I generated.

At the outset, I anticipated that the transgressive nature of the style, its empty, open, or otherwise under coded condition, and the unique interpretive frame I brought to the study would lead to peculiar and highly idiosyncratic rules. The results were surprising. Here are examples of the abductive inferences I generated:

Example #1

Winfrey says: *Ok, you obviously white guys sitting here. So you wear these saggy clothes because what?* Teenager #4 responds: *We wear the clothes because this is what we want to wear* (Harpo, 1993, p. 3). My abduction is as follows:

Result: They wear baggy clothes because they want to. *Rule*: It's a free country.

Case: The clothes are a sign of freedom of expression (probably).

Discussion. My mother, a Latvian immigrant who typically espoused American values with considerably more energy and enthusiasm than did her American-born friends, often justified her unconventional behaviors with the dictum 'Vell, it's a frree cuntree. I can do anysing I vant' (*sic*). It is likely I interpreted the youngster's statement in terms of free expression because my family history is rich in the 'free country' platitude.

Example #2

A white youth is drawn into a discussion of the intended message conveyed by the peculiar lacing of his athletic shoes. It has been suggested that the youngster is aping a black appearance style and that the behavior is offensive. Winfrey says: *So—what do you want this to say about you?* Teenager #6 responds: *When I went to buy these shoes, they didn't tell me that I had to be black to buy these shoes. They just told me how much they were. You know, and I bought the shoes. You know?* And Winfrey responds: *Good point. Good point* (pp. 3–4).

Result: Some people believe only black people buy this type of shoe. The white youngster bought the shoes. *Rule*: People can buy what they can pay for.

Case: The shoes signify as an ordinary commodity (probably).

Discussion. The youngster elides Winfrey's question. Rather than address what the laces says about him, he identifies a false rule: only blacks buy this type of shoe. He then offers an ostensibly objective assessment of the conditions under which the shoes were purchased, providing the shoes with meaning anchored in conventions governing ordinary marketplace exchange.

Example #3

Winfrey engages the mother of a white, baggy-clad youngster in a discussion of parental concern over the dress form. She says: *What is a parent to do when a child starts wearing clothes 12 sizes too big? First up is Peggy Harman and her nine-year-old son Tim. . . . So this looks pretty, OK, though? This isn't too big*. Ms. Harman replies: *I think it's nice*. Winfrey: *You think it's ok*. Ms. Harman: *I think it's big. I think it's wonderful. I'm into hip-hop*. Winfrey: *You're into hip – who would have thought it?* (p. 4).

Result: Ms. Harman thinks baggy clothes on youngsters are wonderful. *Rule*: Fashion is fun.

Case: Baggy clothes signify as a cute youth fashion (probably).

Discussion. The saggy style that originated in an urban subculture was quickly appropriated by mainstream designers and marketed as Big! Fun! Fashion! I read Ms. Harman from the perspective of a fashion marketer, and interpreted her comments on the garb as the response of a particular market segment: white, suburban, mass-fashion-conscious mom.

Example #4

Black woman #3 shifts the focus of discussion to significant issues of racism and stereotyping: *I just think it's one more way that—that whites are capitalizing on this. I mean, if I were, you know, a young person and I'm walking down the street with your large clothes on and everything else, I'm considered to be a hoodlum, I'm considered to be a gun-toting, rap singing, whatever, grabbing my crotch and everything else. But if you wear it, you end up on the cover of Vogue magazine. I mean, look at Marky Mark, look at Kate Moss and all these people walking around and they're swinging and everything else. And they're embraced by the rest of the white society because you're white. But you can take off your clothes and you can still be white and walk into any situation. Where, I speak well, I'm a normal person, I'm from the suburbs and . . .* (pp. 8–9).

Result: Ethnicity governs perceptions of social role and character traits. *Rule*: The ethnicity of the wearer contributes to the meanings of dress.

Case: Baggy clothes on white people signify trendsetter; on black people the saggy clothes signify hoodlum (probably).

Discussion. Here, the result and case appeared connected through a rule that represents common knowledge among apparel scholars: visible indicators of social status and ethnicity are elements of the contexts in which the meanings of dress are interpreted.

Example #5

Black woman #5 expresses frustration over the direction of the dialogue: *There's not a point of – problem with them dressing like that, but they come into our neighborhoods and they see how we're dressing. And then they take it to the stores and overprice it. Then when we try to go in, we can't even get what we already started* (p. 12).

Result: The fashion industry draws on black dress forms for inspiration, but markets the styles at prices beyond the reach of the black community. *Rule*: Mainstream (white) commerce rips off black culture.

Case: The baggy style signifies fashion industry appropriation of black culture (probably).

Discussion. Initially, I was inclined to read woman #5's comments as I suspect she intended: commentary on the high prices attached to fashion-forward clothes. However, my readings in Marxist critique subsequently led me to feel more satisfied with an interpretation based on capitalist culture's appropriation of the creative products of marginalized subcultures.

In initiating this study I assumed that the rules I inferred would be highly idiosyncratic; that they'd reflect the exaggerated features of the dress form, its transgressive nature, and my unique interpretive frame. But this was not the case. None of my hypothesized rules were peculiar or even marginally original. Rather, the rules represented a common cliché: it's a free country. They reiterated principles identified in scholarly works on the social psychology of dress: the ethnicity of the wearer contributes to the meanings of dress; designers draw inspiration from street fashion and subculture styles. And they spoke to common marketplace wisdom: people can buy what they can pay for; fashion is fun. Berger writes that 'culture must cover as much of a given person's world of experience as it can' (1984, p. 168), and my study supported this, in that the abductions I generated drew on ready-made cultural rules that enabled me to correlate comments about a highly unconventional dress form with very conventional meanings. Thus, the assumption that my abductions would reveal idiosyncratic rules was not supported. However, the results of the study did support the assumption that I could consciously reconstruct my inferences, in that I was able to identify rules that appear to link my observations with likely, or possible, conclusions.

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Discussion Questions

1. How do you view 'sagging'? What is your opinion of sagging? Describe the possible origin(s) of your opinion (influenced by authority figures or a previous personal experience, etc.).
2. Have you ever adopted the fashion of sagging? Or know someone who did? If so, what were the reactions from friends, family members, teachers, etc.?
3. Since sagging has been around for nearly 30 years, what reasons can you give for the persistence of sagging?

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1.4
Cargo Pants: The Transnational Rise of the Garment That Started a Fashion War

Joseph H. Hancock, II

The Summer War of 2016

On 1 August 2016, the Wall Street Journal printed a story discussing how Ashleigh Hanson, the wife of Dane Hanson, had been systematically throwing out her husband's collection of cargo shorts (Hong 2016). The article went on to discuss that relationships (mostly of a heterosexual nature) across the United States were being threatened by the inability of men to stop wearing these shorts. Transversely, many upscale golf courses have banned cargo shorts and do not allow them on their greens. In 2012, Michael Jordan was refused entry onto a course in Miami while wearing the said shorts (Hong 2012).

However, despite being bullied by women for men to stop wearing these garments, the cargo industry (pants and shorts) still accounts for over USD700 million worth of revenue for retailers in the United States, according to market research firm NPD Group (CBS This Morning 2016). Also, the industry database, Worth Global Style Network (WGSN), in 2015 reported that cargo shorts made up over 15 percent of new short styles sold, up from 11 percent in 2014 (Bhasin 2016). Additionally, there is an assumption that this garment has a much higher market share globally—being continually worn in countries such as Australia where they have over twenty-four different types of shorts (Lonnborn 9 October 2016 Interview).

Because of this controversy, and as the scholar who wrote his dissertation on cargo pants (Hancock 2007), I recently became the center of the cargo shorts debate and was featured on many radio and talk shows discussing the rise of cargo pants as a garment of twentieth century fashion that has now become somewhat despised by some women. But the media hype, or what I am calling *cargo-mania*, has risen without much discussion of the actual evolution of the actual garment and its origins.

I was elated when *CBS This Morning* was actually interested in an interview for their story. Off-camera, we discussed how after the barrage of media was over perhaps I needed to reiterate the cargo pants/shorts story for the academy in a new publication. Also, I agreed after being bullied myself by many female scholars from around the globe who found the fact I did my dissertation on cargo pants completely idiotic. One such email was from a professor of criminal justice who found the topic ridiculous, to which I simply replied, "Have you noticed what some police officers wear for pants?" She did not reply.

I have not written about cargo pants since 2010 in the *Australasian Journal of Popular Culture* (Hancock & Augustyn) but I feel it is time to tell the story again. Furthermore with the new propaganda hype concerning this transglobal garment it was important that the misnomer be replaced with facts and that the actual fashion story of the pants be told. During the late 1930s or early 1940s, cargo pants were designed, manufactured and developed as a utility garment for use in the military. During the last century, these pants have gone from being a traditional military uniform to a popular casual pant worn by almost every segment in the global consumer market. Despite their fashionable rising popularity and a large market share of retail dollars, little has been written about these pants. While they are visually prevalent in popular culture, and at times, dominate fashion trends (especially menswear), much about cargo pants still remains a mystery.

Since the 1970s, when hippies wore army surplus vintage styles as a sign of protesting against the Vietnam War until today, cargo pants have undergone a considerable transformation, changing both in fabrications and form. They are a part of the basic core of casual garments that has grown and developed over the last forty years. With casual dress having secured its place in the workplace today, in

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addition to changes in consumers' active lifestyles, and a growing awareness and development of global brands and mass fashions, cargo pants no longer relate to their original use as just a functional utility work garment.

These pants have become part of styles that Eicher, Evenson and Lutz refer to as **world dress** (2008: 52). Like jeans, cargo pants have become a **transnational style** worn in both Western and Eastern cultures as everyday fashion and defined as a "quickly shifting style of dress worn simultaneously in many worldwide locations" (Eicher, Evenson and Lutz: 54). From retailers such as Abercrombie & Fitch in the United States, to similar styles found at Uniqlo in Japan, they are sold globally. This chapter will present the origins, histories and myths surrounding the development of cargo pants as a military garment. It will also highlight the induction of cargo pants into mass culture through various popular culture intermediaries such as the military, subcultural style, film, media, retail and merchandising; demonstrating how this garment has become part of world dress and **transnational mass fashion**, as well as an icon found in many global popular culture narratives.

The History, Origins and Myths of Cargo Pants

Where did cargo pants come from? Was there a design genius that suddenly created the pants? Or did they evolve over time developing from other military garments? This investigation began with the intention of discovering where cargo pants originated and what division of the military developed these pants. However, cargo pants do not have a single history, but multiple histories, among various regimes of global military divisions that have incorporated various styles of these types of pants into their regimes. This creates a conflicting dialogue as to the exact originator of this particular garment and to whom the credit should be given. History and research reveals that cargo pants were inspired by other garments already in existence in the military and were most probably developed because of utilitarian necessity.

Cargo pants do not seem to have come from one specific country, although evidence does suggest that they evolved across the military regimes of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States almost simultaneously. More than likely, various countries influenced each other's uniforms and dress in a similar fashion that today's designers are influenced by one another (Hanson 5 October 2006 Interview). Since the design process of military uniforms during this time required a lead time of about a year, it is quite possible that various armed services discussed future designs with each other, or that the manufacturers of these uniforms were the same across these regimes, much like fashion companies today produce divisions of garments under one roof. This is the case with the American designer Ralph Lauren, who manufactures most of the garments for his men's divisions such as Polo Ralph Lauren, Ralph Lauren Black Label, Ralph Lauren Double RL, Rugby, Ralph Lauren Home, Ralph Lauren Outlet, and the new Ralph Lauren Denim & Supply under the same manufacturers (Crawford 7 July 2010 interview).

With one leader, Ralph Lauren, the structural format of information dissemination and design ideas, across various boundaries and divisions, is somewhat inevitable and signifies the global branding process. Although each division services a specific male consumer lifestyle market, and they represent a specific division of the company, it is most likely, that each of these divisions influence one another. This may explain why the various divisional lines may look similar or appear to mimic each other because Ralph Lauren apparel is developed under the same guise of fashion trends, styles and aesthetics. For example, during the Spring 2011 season, Ralph Lauren Double RL featured a Grand Canyon Ripstop Cargo Pant for USD225.00, Polo Ralph Lauren featured a similar pant Authentic Army Parachute Pant for USD145.00, while Rugby their Patrol Cargo Pant for USD118.00. This divisional aesthetic of functional fashion is quite similar to the divisions of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines that are all housed under the purview of the United States Government, each operating under different leadership, but having one Presidential Commander-in-Chief.

Military Beginnings and Original Cargo Pant Identities

In the United States, the word "cargo pants" originated from the military battle dress pant known as *fatigues*. Sometimes they are referred to as Two-pocket, Six-pocket, Seven-pocket, Eight-pocket etc. . .depending on the number of pockets on the garment. Like most military garments, each pant was assigned a numerical identity for instant recognition and for the assemblage of entire uniforms for soldiers. Ralph Lauren, Levis Dockers, Abercrombie & Fitch, as well as other designers, have adopted these same numeric identifiers in order to give the garment a sense of authenticity for consumers. For example the contemporary D-2 cargo pant is what most

a

b

Figure 1.8a and b Abercrombie & Fitch-2003 D-2 Cargo Pants. The viewer will notice the two-side "cargo" pockets, two front pockets off the waistband, and the two back pockets off the waistband. This pant is sometimes referred to as a Six-Pocket Cargo Pant (a: front view; b: back view).

people associate as the standard cargo pant (Figures 8a and b). D-2 cargo pants can also be referred to as an 8-pocket because it has 2-cargo pockets on the side legs, 2-front pockets off the waistband, and 2-back pockets off the waistband. This type of pant is called a field pant because of its use primarily as battle dress and not for formal and ceremonial military regime. Cargo pants are usually produced from fabric such as wool, cotton, polyester, silk, and nylon and in fabrications and weaves such as plain, twill, herringbone and brushed flannel.

Chris McNab writes in *Modern Military Uniforms*, that the leg pocket on military uniforms was not present prior to the late 1930s and seems to have been designed during World War II (2000: 6–13). McNab credits the Air Force for developing leg pockets on the front of flight pants as the first sign of cargo-like styles. Since the cockpit of many fighter planes are so narrow, Air Force pilots required pockets on the front of their flight uniforms, allowing them access to supplies during flights. This allowed the pilots to feel more comfortable while being cramped in the plane's cockpit. McNab's theory is reinforced through such military uniforms as the Airman Bomber Command Royal Air Force England 1939 uniform (2000: 221), the US Marine Corps Bougainville 1943 uniform (McNab 2000: 263), and the Bomber Crewman 8th Army Air Force England 1945 uniform (McNabe 2000: 275).

Luther Hanson, curator of the military museum in Fort Lee Virginia for the past twenty-five years and a national military uniforms expert, claims that global retailers and designers visit the large collection of military uniforms for inspiration in creating the latest military looks. According to Hanson, versions of American field cargo pants did not appear until 1942. The concept for fatigues came from the Paratrooper Jump Coat Model #1 during World War II. He suggests that the design for cargo pants would have come from a Quarter Master Sergeant. Also during World War II, the Quarter Master regime designed uniforms at a rapid pace sending orders to various manufacturers who worked as a team specifically tailoring uniforms to each of the battle units. During these world wars, military uniforms became a method for identifying specific units. There was a functional design and the mass production of uniforms for both world wars and many specifications required rapid production alterations when the original planned design did not work.

Specifically with regards to cargo pants, it was Major William P. Yarborough who helped design the pant for field soldiers in 1942 (Amazing Stories: 2010: 72). Yarborough, also known as the "Father of the Modern Green Berets," was given the military assignment to design paratrooper's boots, uniforms and qualification badges (Bernstein 2005). At Fort Benning in Georgia, with the help of the quartermaster regime, Yarborough probably developed what would eventually be called the four-pocket cargo,

which contained two deep side pockets that hung below the thigh and two back pockets.

Terry Sullivan credits the British for inventing cargo style pants (2003: 44). He suggests that British soldiers and paratroopers used these pants prior to the Americans. His article identifies that the major reason for cargo pockets was for soldiers to carry ammunition when they were climbing or hiding in high places. He believes the pockets cushioned and reduced noise where utility belts did not. Sullivan's theory reflects the uniforms worn by British Soldiers during this time such as the uniforms worn during World War II by the No. 1 Commando Unit at St. Nazaire (McNab 2002: 232).

Ironically, during this time, many of the United States' military webbing for uniforms was being produced in the United Kingdom, while many of the British uniform garments were produced in American manufacturing facilities. This was due to the United States having more space and not being considered a major battle zone. Since the manufacturing of British battle dress began in January 1943 from specifications drawn up in autumn 1942, it would have been quite simple for the United States to borrow design elements from the British and vice versa suggesting that each country was influenced by the others military uniforms and therefore design of cargo pants (in conversation with Hanson).

The Spanish Generalissimo Francisco Franco has also been credited for the design and manufacturing of cargo pants, or what he called 'Franco Pants' (Ziegler 1986: 92–93). During the Spanish Civil War from 1930–39, Franco would become enraged when he viewed his soldiers placing their hands in their front pant-pockets. To remedy this problem, the Fascist general had the pockets of the pants moved to below the upper thigh. His new pants were very similar to the 2-pocket fatigue pants (Figure 1.8), with back pockets as well. Franco was also recognized for developing the reinforced bulls-eye patterned patch that appears on the seat between and surrounding the buttocks that you see, even today, on contemporary styles of cargo pants. Whether the invention of the Generalissimo Francisco Franco, Great Britain, Major William Yarborough, the Air Force, the Army, the Navy or even Marines, there is a general consensus that cargo pants did not appear in military uniforms until the late 1930s. It can be safe to assume that the origins of cargo pants definitely relate to military uniform traditions and their original use was based upon function and not fashion.

With the military continuing to reinvent cargo styles during the 1940s and into the 1950s, unique styles of cargo pants that were designed and manufactured include the wool khaki battledress pants of 1951, the F-1 sage nylon air force pants of 1955, and a green polyamide hot weather fire resistant cargo pant in 1979 (Hanson). Each of these styles represents the evolution of cargo pants during the early to mid-twentieth century.

While there were many styles of cargo pants developed by the military, as previously stated, most individuals associate the D-2 style as the true cargo style (Figure 1.8). This pant seems to have become the iconic style most commonly replicated not only by the military, but designers and retailers too (Hanson). Even today, cargo style pants have been, and continue to be, worn by military troops across almost all countries. The traditional forms of 2-pocket, 6-pocket, and fatigue styles of cargo pants continue to be copied and reinvented in almost every country making cargo pants a true transnational garment and world dress (Eicher, Evenson, & Lutz 2008: 52).

Cargo Pants in Popular Culture

The connotation of cargo pants changes with each decade and is influenced by mainstream popular culture. During the 1950s and 1960s, cargo styles are still mainly associated with military themes. But, they were soon adopted by Hollywood, not only for movies related to war, but for movie themes exploring exotic travel and safari. Who can forget Red Buttons (1919–2006) as Pockets in the *Hitari!* (1961). In this film, John Wayne leads a group of highly qualified professional game hunters in the wilds of Africa. His group sets out to capture animals for zoos and circus attractions. Red Buttons plays his assistant Pockets, usually seen wearing green herringbone 2-pocket cargo pants similar to those in Figure 1.8. Throughout the entire film, Pockets keeps valuable items needed for the safari in his cargo pockets. In the movie, Wayne and other characters refer to the distinction of cargo pant pockets differentiating them from regular, traditional pants pockets. This movie marks a direct reference to cargo pockets that still remains unique in film history.

Another major popular cultural event occurred in 1958 when Che Guevera (1928–1967) was photographed wearing cargo pants while playing baseball (Amazing Stories 2010: 70). During the 1960s and early 1970s, cargo pants took on a new connation while becoming incorporated into protests and the Hippie movement. In protests against Western consumer culture and the

Vietnam War, much of the Hippie style clothing was self-made. Personalized and embroidered garments such as old military fatigues become part of anti-fashion outfits worn during this time. By re-stylizing traditional military dress, the hippie movement illustrated its counterculture attitudes toward the assimilation and strict codes of soldier dress (Baldwin et al: 1999: 340–341).

In his book, *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel*, Shaun Cole identifies garments such as military fatigues and cargo pants as part of sub-cultural dress in the mid-to-late 1970s. Gay men who wanted to identify as extremely masculine and butch became obsessed with clothing that symbolized ruggedness (Cole 2000: 93–106). Cargo pants were one of these items since they had originally been associated with signifying the military and the combat soldier. Music bands such as the Village People reinforced these style notions. The group referenced hyper-masculine stereotypes such as Alex Briley, the army soldier, (in addition to other looks such as the construction worker, the cowboy, the Indian, and the leather daddy), giving him a "homo-stylized" look for singing such songs as *In the Navy* and of course, *Macho Man*.

Since cargo pants are a part of military dress and represent an aspect of traditional American culture, it was not surprising that during the 1980s these pants became associated with the high social status of the *preppy look*. With designers such as Ralph Lauren, Izod, Liz Claiborne, and Calvin Klein, and retailers such as L.L. Bean, Eddie Bauer, Lands' End, The Gap, and Banana Republic leading the *preppy fashions* of the 1980s, cargo pants became a part of the conservative style (Birnach: 1980).

With the media exposure of movies such as, *Sixteen Candles* (1984), cargo pants were visually represented to both the teen and *preppy* markets. As a preppy teenager in high school, heartthrob Jake drives a Porsche, has very successful parents, lives in a mansion, has lots of money, is the most popular senior, and dresses in conservative, yet hip fashions. Jake appears on the cover of the current DVD and in the motion pictures main poster wearing a plaid woven shirt, cargo pants, and deck shoes.

During the 1980s, and into the early 1990s, cargo pants were adopted by the new countercultures such as mainstream punk, new wavers, rappers, grunge and various other Music Television (MTV) generation icons. Inexpensive military surplus stores became the major suppliers of garments for music groups such as, The Clash, Bananarama, The Belle Stars, Thompson Twins, Sex Pistols, Nirvana, Beastie Boys, Run DMC, and The Fat Boys who influenced mass fashion by wearing garments such as cargo pants on stage in their music video clips (Amazing Stories 2010:70). In response, teenagers flocked to similar military surplus stores hoping to find garments and styles worn by their favourite music videos performers.

In the United States, retailers such as The Gap, County Seat and manufacturers such as Bugle Boy gained popularity by copying MTV looks and selling their products in the teen market. During the 1991 Super Bowl, Bugle Boy debuted their television ad that featured the 1980s iconic band, The Go-Go's, to sell their cargo pants (Bugle Boy 1991). In the middle of *We Got the Beat* Belinda Carlisle of the band stops the music to ask a male audience member 'Excuse me. . .are those Bugle Boys you are wearing?' While Internet searches and bloggers suggest this ad is for jeans, it is actually for the line of cargo utility pants that the company was producing at the time as the company expanded into this apparel. By producing trendy fashionable styles of cargo pants, retailers such as The Limited and Express gained popularity with their cargo pant brands such as *Outback Red* and *Forenza* for women.

During 1998–99, Limited Brand's Structure (now Express) decided to investigate how many companies actually carried cargo pants in their assortment. The company wanted to decide if producing mass quantities of the pants would prove profitable. The American retailer discovered that cargo pants were being sold at almost every specialty store retailer in the nation. Specialty retailers, from high-end to low-end, had the pants well represented on their sales floors. The company also discovered that, not only did these retailers carry the pant, most had as many as five or six styles on their selling floors. Cargo pants had become a basic part of every mass fashion retailers' basic assortment. According to Leslie Wexner, C.E.O. of Limited Brands, the retailer Abercrombie & Fitch was leading the resurgence of cargo pants (Structure).

Abercrombie & Fitch had gained the attention of the public with their controversial advertising campaign that featured half-naked American college graduates (coeds), with photographer Bruce Weber as the creative genius behind the company's advertising campaign. Consequently, sales at Abercrombie & Fitch soared.

Twenty-First Century "Fashionable" Cargo Pants

Target, the U.S.'s second top retailing big box retailing giant, featured cargo pants during their 'Get A Jump on

School. . .Go Cargo,' 17 August, 2003 weekly newspaper circular demonstrating the significant monetary market share that these pants have when it comes to consumer spending in their stores. At the same time, this advertisement reveals how cargo pants have reached market saturation in their popularity, or lack of it. The advertisement below not only features cargo styles for men and women, but also gives evidence of how cargo pants have influenced contemporary fashion styles such as shorts and skirts in various consumer markets.

Target continued to merchandise and brand cargo pant styles through its new designer line by former British singer and songwriter Keanan Duffty. Graduating from St. Martin's College, University of the Arts, London he has displayed his designs on runways in Italy, London, and the United States, becoming one of Britain's high-end designers specializing in clothing that resembles garments from other fashion designers such as Vivienne Westwood. Duffty not only designs high-end runway garments, he also produces and directs music videos and his aim is to build a brand that is heavily influenced by both music and fashion.

Gentlemen's Quarterly recognized cargo pants as a successful and "wonderful addition to the mass fashion business" (Sullivan 2003: 44). Even the Cotton Incorporated's Lifestyle Monitor (2003: 2) section of the fashion wear industry's leading newspaper *Women's Wear Daily*, noted what they called 'The New Cargo Pants' coming from such fashion houses as Prada and Jil Sander in luxury fabrics. Similarly, the British men's magazine *Fantastic Man* published the article 'The Fashion Test Cargo Pants' that conducted an experiment to see which style of premium priced cargo pants were the best and incorporated garments from Thom Browne, G-Star, Dolce & Gabbana, and Ralph Lauren Black Label (Jonkers 2010: 33–34).

The proliferation of cargo pants continues with fashion styles from retailers such as Uniqlo's (RE)cargo for USD39.90, J.Crew's Stanton urban slim fit cargo for USD79.50, Country Road Australia's Engineered cargo pant for AUD119.00, all the way up to Ralph Lauren's Double RL rugged versions ranging from USD225 to USD328.00 make it clear that these pants are a fashion icon in popular culture. In addition, the recent rise and focus of most retailers in the area of men's fashion have some male consumers infatuated with finding the perfect pair of cargo pants.

Style editor of the *New York Times Magazine*, Carrie Donavon (1928–2001), was featured in an advertisement for American fashion label Old Navy stating, "I love these pants, they're so fab, and they have pockets!" Old Navy gained an increase in market share in this pant Old Navy's 2010 Back-to-School in-store presentation of cargo pants reveals that even in the twenty-first century, it considers it to be a basic style at USD29.50. The retailer merchandises and dedicates an entire wall to cargo pants housing it among other styles such as pleated and plain-front pants. This large item-impact display signifies the importance of cargo pants in merchandise assortments (especially at a large volume, mass discount retailer like Old Navy) during this time period (Hancock and Augustyn 2011).

The mass merchandising and rebranding of cargo pant has shifted people's perception of this garment. Their high price points and fashionable silhouettes have changed the perception of some consumers who now see these pants as quite stylish even when offered at expensive price points (Figure 1.9). In her *New York Times* column, Lily Burana (2006) suggests that consumers love the appeal and style of military fatigues and find them sexy. They have a quality that makes women (and men) feel like they are wearing a part of cultural heritage and style. There is something special about them that will never go away. And commentators who have issue with this garment need to reassess its cultural significance because they no longer represent the same thing as they did in past. Having been significantly reinvented, re-appropriated and restyled their transglobal heritage will endure.

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Figure 1.9 The author wearing Fall 2016 Ralph Lauren Double RRL priced at USD390.00. Photo Courtesy of Dan McQuade.

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Discussion Questions

1. Do you currently, or have you in the past, owned cargo pants? For what occasion did you buy them? To go camping? Hiking? As a fashion statement or to fit in?
2. Explain to someone the concept of World Dress using cargo pants as an example. Do you believe that cargo pants have surpassed blue jeans as a transnational fashion?
3. What new information about cargo pants did you learn from this reading? Its nebulous origin? Its decade by decade dissemination? Its availability at many price points? Google cargo pants to see how many hits you get in return.

CHAPTER 2

FASHION AS A DYNAMIC PROCESS

Andrew Reilly

After you have read this chapter, you will understand:

- **Why fashion is a social process that continually changes and evolves**
- **The complex interaction of cultural, industrial, group, and individual factors that fuels fashion change**
- **That many theories are useful for explaining the fashion change process**

FASHION LIFE CYCLE

Fashion is a social process that encompasses many different groups of people who meet at different junctures, each with their own particular function. Fashion is created and influenced by one's culture, one's social organization, and one's psyche. Though each is necessary for the dissemination of fashion, they are not mutually exclusive for they support and interact with each other. And interlaced through culture, society, and one's psyche is the fashion system, which strives to serve the needs of each.

It is virtually impossible to trace the origin of a fashion trend. Fashion, by definition, is what is popular, and popularity is required for something to be observed and documented as a trend. Who was the first to wear or invent a style before it became a trend is often unknown, though fashion designers are often cited as contributing to the consumption of a style. For example, although Chanel did not invent the little black dress and Mary Quant did not invent the miniskirt they were influential in popularizing them.

What can be traced and understood with more certainty is the life cycle of a fashion trend, which mimics a bell curve (see Figure 2.1). A life cycle can last for a few months or even years. The process of fashion diffusion begins when fashion innovators wear a new article of clothing or devise a new way of wearing an existing piece. **Fashion innovators** are people who create a new style; they can be fashion designers or individuals with an artistic, unique sense of style. Some innovators, like designers, have changed the way people dress with a drastic change to the status quo. Christian Dior revolutionized women's wear with his *New Look* (more below) and Gianni Versace completely changed the fashion landscape by offering in-you-face-sexuality for men and women. In his article "Hedi Slimane and the reinvention of menswear", Jay McCauley Bowstead recounts the dramatic change in men's clothing and style in the early 21st century. Whereas men's clothing was once cut for the muscular physique, Slimane's designs were made for a slim physique and cut appropriately so. This was so unique and so different that is revolutionized the menswear industry and altered the way fashionable men have dressed for the past 20 years.

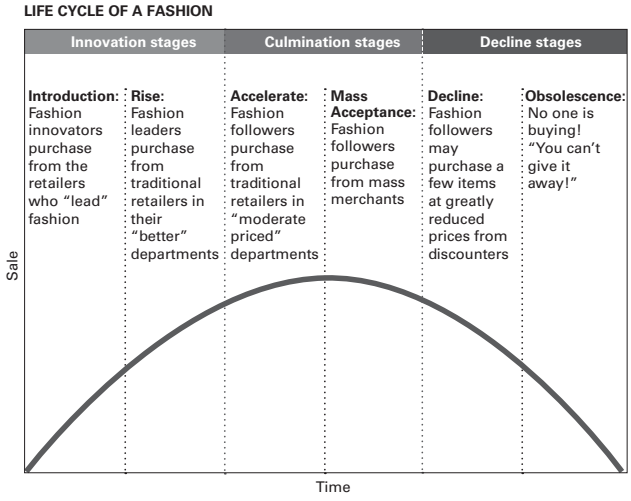

Figure 2.1 The fashion curve illustrates the life cycle of a fashion, from inception to obsolescence.

Fashion leaders are people who are seen as authorities on clothing matters and are sought out for their opinions. Fashion leaders pick up on the new style and adopt it, increasing the number of people who see the trend. Examples of fashion leaders include celebrities such as A$AP Rocky and Kylie Jenner or business professionals such as Anna Wintour.

Some of the most influential fashion leaders today are bloggers who discuss, feature, and disseminate styles and trends through social media platforms like Instagram and personal websites. For example, fashion bloggers like Chiara Ferragni (The Blonde Salad), Leandra Medine (Man Repeller), Gabi Fresh, and Lisa Burg (Lala Faux Bois; see Figure 2.2) spend countless hours researching, creating, and contemplating posts and images to reach millions of followers with their thoughts on fashion and style.

In the article "Style and Substance: The Information Seeking Behavior of Fashion Bloggers," Kimberly Detterbeck, Nicole LaMoreaux, and Marie Sciangula look at what resources bloggers need in order to produce quality content. They also raise important issues like image citations and the need for authenticity.

By virtue of fashion leaders wearing a new style it is exposed to **early adopters** who increase the visibility of the style. By this point the trend has reached maximum exposure and starts to decline. **Late adopters** are the next category of consumers to adopt the style. They are people who do not feel comfortable wearing a new style until it has been established as a trend. Finally, **fashion followers** adopt the trend during the tail end when the style is nearing obsolescence. Some people argue that late adopters and fashion followers are people who cannot afford to wear the latest styles; this position may be accurate in some cases, but with the proliferation of fashion styles reaching all price points and markets nearly simultaneously, it is not an absolute.

The life of a fashion trend, however, is different from a fashion classic or fashion fad. A **classic** rarely changes drastically (a few stylish details might be altered); the overall concept remains recognizable from season to season. Blue blazers and white cotton shirts are often considered fashion classics. Their lives are long and strong, remaining fairly constant over time. The flipside of a classic is a **fad**, which has a short, energetic life. It appears on the fashion scene quickly, is adopted by many, and then dies soon after. Fads are easily forgotten and are remembered with horror (and laughter) when reviewing old photographs or yearbooks. Slatted sunglasses were a fashion fad in the 1980s and have made sporadic faddish returns for short periods since then.

A fashion classic can sometimes have trendy or faddish styling. For example, Converse shoes are considered a classic—their shape does not change from season to season, but their color can change to match the latest trend. The little black dress is considered a classic, but its particular rendering—the length of the hemline, the silhouette, the neckline, the fabric—can change (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.2 Fashion blogger Lisa Burg is an example of a fashion leader via her blog Lala Faux Bois.

Figure 2.3 The little black dress is a classic that can be styled to be fashionable.

Fashion is a complex process that cannot be explained by a single theory. Different theories examine different phases and sections of the fashion process. In order to understand the process, we use a continuum developed by Jean Hamilton (1997), who organizes fashion from the macro (or group) level to the micro (or individual) level. Hamilton's continuum argues that the cultural system influences the fashion system, which influences social groups, which influences individual choices. Further, these four levels of the continuum are interconnected and work together simultaneously.

Cultural System

The culture of a society determines whether a fashion system exists. Style change is found most frequently in cultures that value technological progress, individual expression, and capitalistic free-market exchange (Sproles & Burns, 1994; Kaiser, Nagasawa, & Hutton, 1995). Cultures that allow youthful experimentation and search for identity are also conducive to rapid changes in styles. An economic situation in which a significant portion of the population has discretionary income to spend on nonessentials is also necessary, as fashion change requires expenditure on new styles before clothing is completely worn out. Fashion has a difficult time existing—or must exist underground—in cultures where there is reverence for tradition or there is little freedom of individual expression. Native American and Japanese cultures value tradition and their traditional styles of clothing have remained relatively unchanged for generations. Cultures such as Communist China value the state over the individual, and fashion shows or fashion expression are often risky undertakings that could be met with punishment.

A new style is likely to be adopted when it fits with the **zeitgeist** (Blumer, 1969). *Zeitgeist* is a German word meaning "time" (*zeit*) and "ghost" (*geist*), translated as "spirit of the times," and fashion is a material reflection of the times. Nystrom (1928) identified five areas that comprise the zeitgeist: dominating events, dominating ideals, dominating social groups, dominating attitudes, and dominating technology. By examining these areas, one can see how they influence and affect fashion choices. The New Look exemplifies the relationship between fashion and the zeitgeist.

The New Look. When World War II ended, a young man named Christian Dior wanted to open his own fashion house. He had worked for other designers and had the knowledge and talent to design, but he did not have the financial capital. He asked a man named Marcel Boussac to fund his business. Boussac was an entrepreneur who owned many textile companies and agreed to finance Christian Dior's business, providing he used lots of fabric and purchased the fabric from Boussac's companies. Dior agreed. He then had to figure out how to design beautiful clothes using lots of fabric. Fortunately, an exhibition of the Belle Epoch was held in Paris at the time; Dior used this era of excess in fashion as his inspiration. And although Dior could design beautiful clothing, he could not be certain that women would wear his clothes. By the time World War II ended women had been dressing in masculine, tubular, close-fitting dresses for nearly a decade due to shortages of fabric, and they were ready for a change. When Dior unveiled his first collection for the House of Dior in 1947—full of voluminous skirts, wide collars, pleats, and a definite feminine flair—women were excited. Carmel Snow, then editor in chief of *Harper's Bazaar*, called it a "new look" for women. The New Look is an example of the zeitgeist because it combines economics, business, history, aesthetics, and the general attitudes of the day (see Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4 Dior's New Look revolutionized women's fashion in 1947 and embodied the zeitgeist of the era.

Today's zeitgeist is the combination of social media, desire for instant gratification, and the fashion industry's desire to meet that demand. The result is a fashion system in hyperdrive, continually churning out new styles that are soon replaced by even newer styles and consumed promptly. Andrew Reilly and Jana Hawley term this "Attention Deficit Fashion" and provide a framework to understand current practices in the industry.

Fashion System

The fashion system works simultaneously with the cultural system. It is a globally based set of business establishments, small entrepreneurs, industry and government institutions, trade unions, and other agencies that have an impact on what products the consumer has to choose from in the marketplace. Economic interests drive most fashion system decisions, though government interests such as a trade agreement with, or boycott of, a nation, can also affect choices. George Sproles (1985) refers to this as the **market infrastructure theory**. Not everything is available at any given time; rather, the fashion system has pared down from the untold thousands of options and variations that its leaders believe the consumer wants. While some researchers have argued that is the consumer who has the power in the industry (Kaiser, Nagasawa, & Hutton, 1995), others, like Kean (1997), argue that consumer choice is dramatically limited by the industry because the industry makes many fashion and style decisions based on such matters as cost, production feasibility, government import quotas, and gut-level guesses about what will sell to the mass market, market segments, and niche markets.

Gatekeepers are people who make choices for consumers. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, at the height of couture, fashion was a top-down business, meaning decisions made by designers such as Charles Worth and Cristobal Balenciaga were deemed infallible; they set the trends in fashion. However, fashion is a different sort of business today, with trends coming from a number of other sources such as cultural niches, political movements, or celebrities. These numerous, varied potential fashion influences make it difficult for one person to predict the next big trend. Fashion forecasters are a type of gatekeeper who help designers, marketers, and buyers make decisions about what will sell in the future. Fashion forecasting services help other fashion businesses by researching the current influences on fashion and organizing the material in books that provide guidance. The books offer "styles" and "looks" that are predicted to become popular. Fashion forecasting services can be very lucrative—providing, of course, that their predictions are accurate.

Designers, marketers, and buyers use the style guides offered by forecasters when making their decisions. This creates an interesting theoretical conundrum: those who use forecasting services know their competition does too and know their competition is looking at the same or similar guides. Therefore, they have a good idea of what their competition will offer and know they need to offer similar products so they do not lose their own consumers. This is one reason why a trend, such as the military trend in the early 2000s, appears simultaneously in many designers' collections and retail stores—everyone is looking at the same sources of information. Of course, not all businesses can afford forecasting services, and some must rely on their own instinct, observation, and skill at assessing society's current and future climate.

Social System

Regardless of how much power gatekeepers have and what they decide to offer consumers, it is ultimately the consumers who make a style fashionable. A number of theories have been proposed and studied in an attempt to understand why styles are adopted and discarded. These theories come from disciplines such as psychology, economics, sociology, marketing, politics, and art.

One of the earliest theories of fashion change is known as the **trickle-down theory** (Simmel, 1904; Veblen, 1912). This theory is based on the idea of social class emulation. High society introduces new styles, which are seen and copied by the middle class. Once the middle class has adopted the style, the lower class adopts it. When the upper class sees their style adopted by the lower classes, they discard that particular style in favor of a new one, and the cycle begins again. This theory is relevant in cultures that have distinct social strata, such as Edwardian England, but today it is difficult to find styles that begin in the upper class. Each social class in the United States may have its own aesthetic and may not necessarily want to look like their social "superiors." A variation of this theory is known as the **trickle-across theory** (King, 1963). King argues that a style can appear simultaneously in all

class strata, just at different price points. This is due to designers and merchandisers with a keen understanding of fashion forecasting and with multiple lines for different markets (e.g., Giorgio Armani Privé, Giorgio Armani, Armani Collezioni, Emporio Armani, EA7, Armani Exchange, Armani Jeans, and Armani Junior; or Polo Ralph Lauren, Double RL, Ralph Lauren Collection, Ralph Lauren Purple Label, Ralph Lauren Black Label, Ralph Lauren Blue Label, Ralph by Ralph Lauren, Chaps, Polo Sport, RLX, Pink Pony, Polo Lauren Children, Denim & Supply Ralph Lauren, and Lauren) and retail giants offering similar trends at different price points in order to capture a larger market share. Another social-class theory is the **trickle-up theory** (Hebdige, 1979; Sproles, 1985), where fashion begins in the lower classes and is copied by a society's higher classes. An example of this theory is denim jeans. Originally intended as work wear for miners during the California gold rush of 1849, denim jeans were eventually worn by artists, rebellious teenagers, and the mass population (see Figure 2.5).

Sociologist and researcher Herbert Blumer (1969), however, had other ideas about fashion change. He argued that it was not class imitation and differentiation that drove fashion but rather any group that captures the zeitgeist. As long as their dress reflected the attitudes and desires of the time, they were likely to inspire fashion trends, as people outside the group found those attitudes and desires relatable. In the 1970s, hippies had an impact on driving fashion, in the 1980s, yuppies (Figure 2.4) and punks, and in the 1990s, grunge and rap musicians all influenced the fashion scene to some degree. Blumer called his theory **collective selection** and sometimes it is referred to as the **subcultural leadership model** (Sproles, 1985).

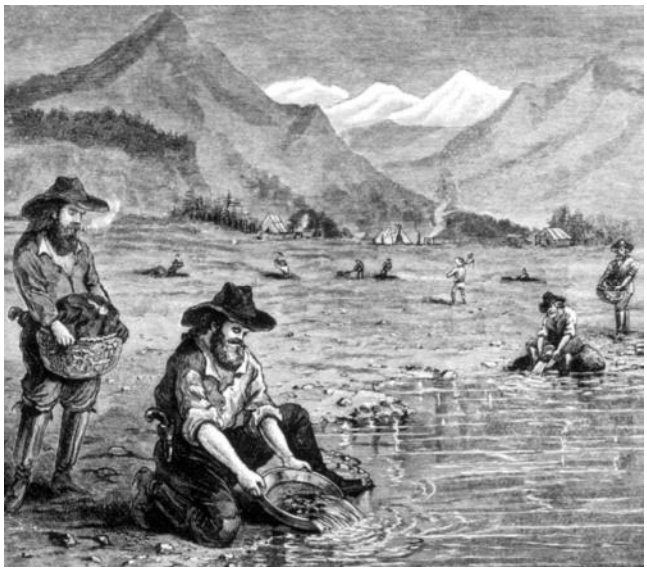

Figure 2.5 Jeans are an example of the trickle-up theory because they originally were worn by working class miners but eventually adopted by the middle and upper classes.

Closely related to this is **social identity theory** (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). According to this theory, people strive to either align with or distance themselves from specific categories of people. One way to achieve this is through clothing. As people dress to align themselves with their race or sexual orientation or political views or economic aspirations, and so on, the group's style might become noticed by fashion innovators as something unique. Goths, punks, gamers, gay men, and lesbians are just some examples of groups whose distinct style illustrates these concepts.

THE INDIVIDUAL

The theories discussed so far examined fashion at the macro (group) level. Now we will examine fashion at the micro level. Whereas the macro level is about negotiations with culture or society or the fashion system, the micro level is about negotiations with the self. The macro level will offer and guide fashion selections, but the individual's unique tastes will also shape the adoption of new styles. Economic, political, sexual, and psychological circumstances can largely determine what consumers can afford and are willing to use. Each individual has his or her own speed at becoming accustomed to and accepting (or rejecting) new aesthetic combinations and forms (Sproles, 1985).

Symbolic interaction theory (Kaiser, Nagasawa, & Hutton, 1995) strives to explain the relationship between the macro level and the micro level. Contrary to other theories that argue that fashion starts at the social or cultural level, this theory argues that fashion starts at the individual level. In short, the theory proposes the idea that people experience ambivalence when they feel conflicted or pulled in different directions. The marketplace is simultaneously offering new, appearance-modifying commodities to express such ambivalence; appearances created using these products also convey ambivalence. The meaning of these ambivalent creations is negotiated in social settings; styles that prove meaningful are adopted.

If the style does not resolve ambivalence then it will be continually modified until it does. For example, a new shirt can be worn different ways—tucked in, untucked, partially tucked, collar up, collar down, sleeves cuffed, and so on—until it is deemed "right" or "appropriate" or "cool."

One could also argue that fashion at the macro level is about conformity and the desire to look like others. Fashion at the micro level can support this desire by adopting what is currently in fashion or it can disrupt the progress by not conforming. The desire to be different is addressed by the **uniqueness theory**, which argues that fashion trends begin when people adopt a style that is exclusive or distinctive to current modes.

Interestingly—and ironically—is that once the unique style is adopted by enough people to be considered "fashion," it loses its impact as something innovative, and people striving to be different must find something new to wear that expresses their individuality. At this point we can see the relationship between uniqueness and fashion innovators, for fashion innovators are usually people willing to take a risk to look unique or different from others. Thus, the fashion cycle begins anew.

Summary

Macro-level and micro-level factors and influences help shape individual choices about dress. We look to others, to industry offerings, and to cultural themes and trends to help in deciding what to wear. Fashion systems require social interaction. Individuals who are innovative, as well as consumers who are conforming, are both necessary for the process of fashion diffusion. Industry marketers or famous designers alone cannot make fashion trends happen without consumer acceptance and adoption of styles.

The process of fashion change and individual adoption or rejection is complex and involves all levels of society. Characteristics of culture are reflected in the fashion trends of a society. Trends in the arts, technology, and popular culture shape style trends. Large population groups sometimes shape fashion trends because of their vast market potential. Smaller groups—such as segments of the upper class, punk rockers, or rappers—may inspire fashion trends if they capture the zeitgeist. But rejection of the status quo can also inspire fashion change.

Key Terms

Classic
Collective selection
Early adopters
Fad
Fashion followers
Fashion innovators
Fashion leaders
Late adopters
Market infrastructure theory
Social identity theory
Subcultural leadership model
Symbolic interaction theory
Trickle-across theory
Trickle-down theory
Trickle-up theory
Uniqueness theory
Zeitgeist

Learning Activity 2.1

THE LITTLE BLACK DRESS

Find images of the little black dress throughout the 20th century. What elements of this garment make it a classic? What were some trend influences of the time that were incorporated into it? Illustrate or draw how you would reinterpret the little black dress for the next fashion season. What classic elements would you keep? What trendy elements would you incorporate?

Learning Activity 2.2

BRAND MARKETS

Find images of a trend that appear in all lines of a brand (e.g., Giorgio Armani, Armani Collezioni, Emporio Armani, Armani Exchange; or Polo, Polo Purple Label, Polo Black Label, Polo Blue Label, Chaps, Polo Sport, RLX, and Lauren). List how the trend is reinterpreted for the different markets and discuss your list with your classmates.

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2.1
Hedi Slimane and the Reinvention of Menswear

Jay McCauley Bowstead

Foreword

In 2001 I spent six months in Paris working in a health-food shop and living in a small, un-plumbed bedsit in the eaves of a nineteenth-century apartment block. I was ecstatically happy: Paris seemed to be a city alive with possibility, and I spent hours wandering the Marais, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, around the Beaubourg and the – then slightly edgy – area of Oberkampf and Canal St Martin where many French designers had their studios. The nascent changes to menswear of the late 1990s and early 2000s had not entirely eluded me, an avid consumer of *Dazed and Confused* and *Sleaze Nation*. But it was in that year that I noticed that people's responses to me changed: my stringy form and androgynous appearance had suddenly come into fashion. A photographer at the École des Beaux Arts asked to take some pictures of me, I now think, trying to capture some of my youthful uncertainty; it was the look at the time.

In this context, the changes to fashion and to representations of masculinity that Hedi Slimane introduced in the early 2000s, had a particularly strong and positive impact on me. The dominant models of masculinity of the 1990s had seemed unobtainable – I was never going to ripple with muscles or achieve a deep tan – nor did the mainstream gay scene of the late 1990s contest this model, as much in thrall to hegemonic masculinity as the straight world. Rather, the smallish indie scene represented by club nights like Trash at The End – with more than its fair share of queer youth – offered a true alternative in which more diverse modes of masculinity could be explored. As I will go on to suggest, in some ways indie subculture in the 1990s acted as the progenitor or at least as the guardian of the elements of Slimane's style, for which the 1970s 'underground' remained a particularly important reference.

At art school between 2002 and 2006, I saw myself as part of the vanguard of this new menswear, to which many of our lecturers were highly ambivalent. This was the period in which Shoreditch and Brick Lane were becoming increasingly well known, as a new scene of dressed-up dandyism emerged amongst an arty crowd of clubbers, musicians, interns and struggling designers. Nights like Anti-Social and Boombox in Shoreditch as well as music venues including the George Tavern and the Rhythm Factory in Whitechapel became important places to dance, dress-up and be seen. This fashionable East London style was characterized by many of the features, including the very slim silhouette, that Slimane was pioneering at the time.

In 2005 I undertook work-experience for a large casual-wear firm based in Northern Italy, who remained singularly unconvinced that skinny jeans were a trend likely to take off in any big way. I and my student colleagues, immersed to various extents in an arty milieu, saw the company's less than rapturous response to our designs as both provincial, and lacking in foresight: but it was indicative both of the pace and the uncertainty of shifts in menswear at that point. It is important to remember that the fashionable scenes of cities including London, Paris and Berlin – while influential – were at some remove from the broader culture and even the mainstream fashion industry (see Figures 2.6 and 2.7).

Introduction

In the following I hope to locate Slimane's intervention in men's fashion and masculinity within a specific historical and disciplinary framework; to establish how and why Slimane's work enjoyed critical and commercial success; and to suggest how this success related to changing models of gender in the early to mid-2000s. My intention is to produce an account bringing together an analysis of fashion both as a creative discipline and as a producer of multiple masculinities. To this end, I have engaged closely with a range of materials, particularly documentation of

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Figures 2.6 and 2.7 Design by Jay McCauley Bowstead (2005), drawings showing the clear influence of Slimane.

Hedi Slimane's collections for Dior Homme from 2001 to 2007 and, as far as possible, with his preceding collections for Yves Saint Laurent Rive Gauche.

In the past three decades a rich body of literature has emerged to reveal the links between fashion and broader social and cultural processes (Hebdige 1979; Wilson 1985; Barnard 1996; McRobbie 1998; Kaiser 2012). Drawing on sociology, psychology, semiotics, structuralist and post-structuralist thought, authors have sought to describe the manner in which fashion reflects the preoccupations of a particular society while acting variously to reproduce or challenge dominant cultural and economic relationships. But though these analyses have done much to provoke more serious and engaged discourses surrounding fashion, they have tended to underplay the significance of fashion as an *authored text* in which the designer – in particular – may consciously employ dress not only to reflect upon but to actively intervene in culture. In the following, I hope to demonstrate how Hedi Slimane's innovations in men's fashion during the 2000s were designed to disrupt dominant representations of fashionable masculinity while assessing the reach, success and potential limitations of his approach.

As I have described, my own experience of this new model of masculinity pioneered by Hedi Slimane – was one of some emotional and creative investment. And while I am no longer so directly engaged in fashion design practice, nor to the same extent in the 'construction' of my identity, it would clearly be disingenuous to attempt to absent myself and my subjectivity from this analysis. I hope that my experiences of men's fashion, subculture and design inform my account, at the same time as maintaining an awareness of the specificity of my subject position, and the possibility of other interpretations. As writers and thinkers from both feminist and queer theory perspectives have described, personal experience is often a useful point of departure from which to consider broader questions of culture, society and politics, not as an avoidance of a rigorous or theoretically informed analysis, but rather as a way of accounting for the complexity and specificity of experiences that may not fit into existing accounts and orthodox models (Hanisch 1970).

Hedi Slimane and the Reinvention of Menswear

> *Seductive style to take your breath away, the like of which the world of menswear has rarely dared to imagine. (Cabasset 2001: 70)*

From the middle of the 1990s to the end of that decade, scholarship focused upon masculinity and fashion enjoyed a sudden, and ostensibly unexpected, flowering. A range of new texts from a variety of perspectives explored the ways in which men constructed their identities through an interaction with fashion and consumer culture, for example: *The Hidden Consumer*, Christopher Breward (1999); *Men in The Mirror*, Tim Edwards (1997); *Hard looks*, Sean Nixon (1996); and *Cultures of Consumption*, Frank Mort (1996). These studies broke new ground in the analysis of an area that had been historically marginalized, and indeed, the foundational work of these authors has been crucial references in establishing the parameters of this article. While this is not the forum to rehearse this set of discourses in detail it would be fair to characterize Nixon, Edwards and Mort as suggesting that the emergence of a more sophisticated market in men's fashion – along with the lifestyle journalism, advertising and photography which surrounded it – had opened up sites for a newly commodified performance of masculinity. Indeed, in a chapter entitled 'New men and new markets' Frank Mort (1996: 15–27) explicitly links economic change in the 1980s, new models of masculinity associated more with consumption than production, and the development of a new menswear market. Somewhat divergently, Christopher Breward's *The Hidden Consumer* (1999) with its focus on men's fashion of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, sought to locate menswear

consumption in these periods as a locus of spectacular display linked to an emergent consumer culture. But despite the apparent divergent nature of Breward's writing in terms of its historical scope, all of these studies seem to point towards a scholarly engagement in men's fashion reaching a point of amplification in the final years of the twentieth-century.

It is intriguing and paradoxical, nevertheless, that this wealth of academic work engaging in men's fashion took place at a time when menswear as a design practice was anything but fecund. The late 1990s was a period in which arid and lifeless ideas were recycled on a seemingly endless loop: unstructured tailoring, workwear, sportswear, with the occasional bare muscled torso to add some semblance of vivacity. While, of course, some original and creative practitioners did prevail in this singularly inhospitable environment – Raf Simons, Helmut Lang and Tom Ford at Gucci spring to mind – there was a strong feeling amongst those engaged in men's fashion, strangely anticipated by the scholarly works to which I have alluded, that change in menswear had to come. To this end Adrian Clark of *The Guardian* asked: 'Does menswear really have to be so boring? What it has lacked for over a decade, is some drive, some guts and a wider choice' (1999a).

At the turn of the millennium a feeling pervaded the press, industry and academy that the representation of a greater diversity of masculinities had to be possible through the medium of menswear. Hedi Slimane, designer for Yves Saint Laurent Rive Gauche from 1997 to 2000, was cited as an increasingly important influence by those in the know during the late 1990s, combining a new radically slim silhouette with precise tailoring and 'edgy' play with form and fabrication (Clark 1999a). But it was Slimane's 2001 launch of a new label Dior Homme that acted as his decisive critical intervention in menswear, pointing towards the formal and aesthetic approaches that would go on to characterize the practice of men's fashion in the coming decade. The claims made for Slimane at the time evoked messianic imagery: 'It was on the last day of the presentations, however, that Paris was saved, by Hedi Slimane' (Clark 1999b). With the eyes of the world upon him, Slimane proposed a vision of menswear that seemed, at that moment, entirely new, fresh and exhilarating. In the words of Charlie Porter in *The Guardian:*

> *Nothing exciting is meant to happen in men's fashion. Yet in Paris right now, the talk is all of Hedi Slimane, the designer whose work at the newly established Dior Homme is provoking a radical rethink in the stagnating ateliers of menswear. (2001)*

In Slimane's inaugural collection for Dior, and in his final collection for Yves Saint Laurent, some of the core semantic and formal elements that went on to define his practice in the 2000s are already observable. First, there is a renewed emphasis on tailoring, as evidenced in Richard Avedon's iconic campaign photograph of Eric Van Nostrand for Autumn/Winter 2001/2002, in which the jacket has simultaneously regained its structured form – darted through the waist and padded and rolled at the shoulder – while losing the carapace-like excess of canvas that frequently characterizes traditional tailoring (Avedon 2001). The prioritization of elements of formal and evening wear, though the pieces were rarely worn as conventional suits, reflects a dandyish, nostalgic aspect to many of Slimane's collections. This should be read as a reaction to the dominance of sportswear in the 1990s, and to the oversized structureless silhouette introduced by Armani – both of which, ironically, rendered the hyper-traditionalist elegance of men's evening wear a subversive pose. Lest the implicit subversiveness of these two collections be too weakly felt, Slimane introduced an abstracting approach, shearing away at garments to reveal their pure forms. For Yves Saint Laurent Autumn/Winter 2000/2001 shirts were finished without buttons or, more dramatically, reinterpreted as a bolt of silk suspended from the neck, animated as the model progressed along the catwalk (Slimane 2000). In this outfit, in particular, a knowledge and respect for the core sartorial forms of menswear is joined by a willingness to challenge and radically subvert them. Moreover, the bared skin and more especially the sensuousness of the drape introduced an eroticism to the catwalk that would have been much less strongly felt had the model simply been shirtless. This sense of ambiguous eroticism was also seen in Slimane's contrast of monochrome against deep necklines and sheer fabrics, creating a graphic juxtaposition between the white of the models' chests and the black of their garments. Nods to Young Americans era Bowie and Roxy Music – in the form of tipped fedoras, leather and gold lamé trousers – appeared throughout the collection, but the exuberance of these gestures was always balanced against the coolness and minimalism of the styling. Similarly, in Solitaire for Dior Homme Autumn/Winter 2001/2002, the cleanness of the stripped back tailoring was complimented by subtle elements of decoration. The fabric corsage attached to

the lapel of the tailored jacket in the celebrated Richard Avedon photograph was made using haute couture womenswear techniques for which Dior are well known, but these potentially conflicting elements of precision and decoration were balanced with a measured restraint (Avedon 2001). The impression we are left with, reflected in the fashion journalism of the time, is both of the audacity of the work, and simultaneously its strong and determined sense of purpose.

Return to the Demi-monde

In his desire to reconfigure and reform menswear Slimane turned to the past, to a period preceding the baggy sportswear inspired styles and glistening musculatures that had dominated the 1990s catwalk. In the advertising campaign for Autumn/Winter 2005, a model lounges in a moodily lit but chic 1970s interior. His black fedora, glossy black-leather trench-coat, drain-pipe trousers and gold Cuban heels evoke a set of overlapping 1970s underground scenes: pre-Berlin Bowie, the New York Dolls, The Factory, and early Robert Mapplethorpe. The period in which proto-punk and glam interacted was also the point at which a flirtation with queer signifiers was at its apogee. Drag queens interacted with beat poets; boys and girls wore gold trousers, black leather jackets and bore their chests (O'Brien et al. 2005). The iconography of a queer coolness, of aw 'mash-up' collaged approach to butch and femme, soft and hard becomes the visual language of rebellion in the 1970s. It is not by mistake, therefore, that Slimane returns again and again to this milieu paying homage to its images and icons.

In Slimane's Spring 2002 campaign for Dior Homme, again photographed by Richard Avedon the fine, sensuous features of model Tiago Gass are picked out by stark directional lighting: hair brushed dramatically over his face he looks directly into the camera, at once challenging and seductive. The model's shirt – shorn of its sleeves in a quiet nod to punk – is preternaturally crisp, its narrow collar finished with the closest of edge-stiches (Avedon 2002). A slim black tie bifurcates Gass' torso. But the controlled minimalism of the scene is interrupted by a dramatic stain to the left side of the model's chest, a splotch complete with dark droplets which on closer inspection reveals itself to be a motif of hand-embroidered sequins. The image certainly possesses a cool beauty, but suddenly, looking through Roberta Bayley's photographs of punk pioneers I realize that the advertisement is a direct quote. It references a series of pictures of former New York Doll Johnny Thunders and his band The Heartbreakers whose blood-stained shirts evidence a (clearly staged) shot to the heart (Bayley [1976] 2005: 96–97). The figure on the centre right of Bayley's image, the obvious prototype for Avedon's 2002 photograph, is the seminal proto-punk Richard Hell whose carefully calculated style went on to be highly influential, providing a bridge between the glamour of the early 1970s and the nihilism that characterized the later part of the decade. The seductive, if not quite effortless cool of New York's 1970s demi-monde is certainly a rich source of inspiration for Slimane, we can see its influence particularly strongly felt in his Autumn–Winter 2005/2006 collection at Dior Homme, and already in his Autumn–Winter 2000/2001 collection for Yves Saint Laurent with its early Robert Maplethorpe styling, in Spring–Summer 2007 in a more punkish incarnation, and inflecting various of Slimane's collections with their emphasis on metallics, high sheen leathers and the eroticization of the chest.

A New Man?

For Slimane, the 1970s underground exercised a fascination linked to the ambiguous and provocative model of masculinity embodied by figures like Richard Hell (Name & O'Brien 2005). However, the power of these subversive references can be more strongly felt when contrasted against the fashionable masculinities that preceded Slimane's intervention in fashion. Dominant media representations of masculinity, from the mid-1980s and throughout the 1990s, privileged archetypes typified by a muscular eroticism inspired by neo-classicism and World War II propaganda of various hues. Workwear and military garments were particularly important references, while a highly muscular gym-honed body was reflected in menswear shoots that nodded to Greco-Roman statuary, socialist–realist imagery and images of early twentieth century industrial workers. Models were often shot shirtless, or in underwear, in a manner that combined a frank eroticization of the male form with the suggestion of a powerful, highly physical and active masculinity. Photographer Bruce Weber's iconic images for Calvin Klein, including his 1982 campaign featuring pole-vaulter Tom Hintnaus, anticipated the tone of the decade, by 1987 his Obsession For Men campaign, seemingly channelling Leni Riefenstahl, reflected a recognizable archetype of fashionable masculinity (Weber 1982). Accompanying this prioritization of a muscular physique, sportswear, casual wear and elements of workwear increasingly

dominated popular men's fashions of the late 1980s, nor was this a passing trend (Anon 1988; Anon 1994a).

Indeed, the continued traction of über-masculine modes of self-presentation is still apparent in the Spring/Summer 1994 edition of *Arena Homme+*. A story entitled 'Military precision' features models in a variety of rumpled pseudo-utility garments, the editorial adding:

> *This year's action man is primarily a creature of the desert, with shades of sand, gunmetal and stone [. . .] Combat trousers are a particular favourite, with chunky thigh pockets [. . .] in which to stash those all-important maps, secret codes and poison pellets. (Anon. 1994b: 64)*

This reliance upon a highly conservative notion of maleness, celebrating explicitly military imagery perhaps reflects a retrenchment in cultures of masculinity. In a US context, the Culture Wars of the 1980s had seen gender become a highly fraught and polarizing issue. In Western Europe the 1980s and 1990s saw many of the certainties of the progressive post-war consensus challenged, along with economic uncertainty gender and sexuality were also increasingly contested. But whether primarily as a response to gender-politics, or to economic uncertainty, masculinity of the early late 1980s and 1990s was located as a crisis-ridden space, a notion reflected in the discourses around the new-man, yuppie and new-lad by writers including Sean Nixon, Tim Edwards and Frank Mort.

Tim Edwards in his text of 1997 *Men in the Mirror* eloquently evokes the ambivalence and contradiction that underpinned the figure of the new-man, whom he describes as having emerged from 'the crystallization of consequences in economics, marketing, political ideology, demography and, most widely consumer society in the 1980s (1997: 39–40). As Edwards recounts, the new-man occupied an ambiguous position: located in media discourses both in relation to second-wave feminism and to an increasingly acquisitive model of capitalism: overtly commercialized and sexualized, while simultaneously reliant upon a curiously conventional image of masculinity. Despite the associations of the new-man with contestation and change, Edwards suggests, the explosion of new-man imagery in the 1980s was strangely safe and repetitive:

> *Yet despite this apparent plethora, the content of these representations remains quite extraordinarily fixed. The men in question are always young, usually white, particularly muscular, critically strong jawed, clean shaven (often all over), healthy, sporty, successful, virile and ultimately sexy. (Edwards 1997: 41)*

He goes on to characterize fashionable masculinity of the period as centred around the dominant archetypes of the expensively suited businessman and of the sporty, often scantily clad 'outdoor casual'. So while the imagery of the new-man of the 1980s emphasized fashionable consumption, grooming and desirability, it did so in a manner, as we have seen, that reinforced existing dominant modes masculinity privileging the physical strength of the athlete and the economic prowess of the businessman.

In this sense, fashions of this period reflect anxieties pervading the performance of masculinity within a still strongly heterosexist society experiencing rapid social change. The eroticization of the male body – which took place to an increasing extent in the late 1980s and 1990s – used hyper-masculinity as a way of displacing the unease which went along with the objectification of the male body. In this way, advertisers, designers and image-makers had their cake and ate it: giving themselves the permission to commodify male bodies, while employing the symbols of male power to neutralize the subversiveness of the act:

> *In effect the bodybuilder was the fleshy representation of the New Right's regressive revolution: in tune with developments of popular culture but deploying them for a right wing agenda. (Simpson 1994a: 24)*

For Nixon, Edwards and Mort the increased commodification of the male body and incitement to the homospectatorial gaze (Fuss 1992) are linked to the figure of the new-man, as male consumers are exposed to increasingly diverse ways of 'consuming their masculinities'.[1] However, the notion of the new-man, with its progressive connotations, sits uneasily with images which, as I have described, present a somewhat antediluvian model of masculinity. Indeed, writers such as Mark Simpson and Niall Richardson (2010: 37–38) draw attention to the relationship between bodybuilding and the rightward shift in American politics of the 1980s and early 1990s, particularly as manifested in homophobia and in the fear of effeminacy. In this way, the aesthetic nature and semantic content of these commodified and eroticized images are not coincidental, but point to the ambivalence and anxieties that surrounded the commodification of

1. A similar association is heard in Mark Simpson's coinage of the term 'metrosexual' (1994).

masculinity in the 1980s and 1990s and which, in the context of resurgent right-wing economic and social politics, relied on distinctly conservative masculine iconographies.

Beyond the Homospectorial Gaze

The centrality of gay identities to the recent history of men's fashion is one that until very recently was elided and ignored. Shaun Cole has undertaken valuable work in revealing the significance of gay men as innovators of twentieth-century menswear introducing styles that came to be associated with Teddy Boys and Mods. As he explains, the first menswear shop on Carnaby Street in the early 1960s, catered at first to a predominantly gay clientele:

> *[It is] clear that the dress choices of gay men were influential on mainstream men's fashion: 'Vince sold clothes that once would have been worn by no one but queers and extremely blatant ones at that'. (Cohn 1971 cited in Cole 2000: 74)*

Similarly, Frank Mort (1996: 16) makes a case for early gay lifestyle magazines in the late 1960s, post decriminalization, as having acted as precursors for later mainstream men's publishing. But I would argue that the figure of the gay man has occupied a more central role at the level of symbol in men's fashion, style and in fashionable images of men than is widely acknowledged.

Central to the subversiveness of Mod, Carnaby Street, and later Glam and New Romantic/Blitz Kid styles, for both gay and straight participants, was their flirtation with queer signifiers. Something we see reflected explicitly in Slimane's preoccupation with historical and contemporary subculture. The symbolic power of transgressing acceptable heterosexual dress remained both a site of anxiety for purveyors of 'mainstream' men's fashion and a source of fascination and excitement for subcultures. In this sense, fashionable images of men from the 1960s onwards have often operated as the site of negotiated, complex and contested masculinities in which the spectre and augur of homosexuality have been an important part of the mix.

In *Hard looks* Sean Nixon (1996: 180–85) explores how influential style-magazine *The Face* explored a range of what he terms 'hard' and 'soft' signifiers in shoots styled by Ray Petri. My own research has brought me to similar conclusions. For example, in the October 1985 edition of *The Face* (Petri and Morgan 1985: 66–71) Petri's styling features a range of disparate but iconic masculine signifiers: military and naval accessories, workwear, sportswear, flags and the hard musculature of the models. Against these masculine cues, elements of eclectic 'ethnic' and specifically Native American decorative elements serve to add a complexity to the images that elevates them from mere Tom of Finland camp. As Nixon puts it: 'the choice of model and some of the elements of clothing . . . have a strong intertextuality with certain traditions of representation of masculinity aimed at and taken up by gay men' (1996: 185). But to what end are these references to gay strategies of self-presentation employed? I would argue that the implicit aim of Petri's quotation of gay masculinities is more significant than a semi-coded nod to knowing viewers. Crucially, the creative intention of Petri and *The Face* was to produce innovative images imbued with an exotic, ambiguous and subversive energy.

For fashion designer Jean Paul Gaultier, the 'queering' of hegemonic models of masculinity through the application of camp was a key aspect of his aesthetic. His 1984 collection L'Homme Objet applied irony to normative masculinity through the application of gay clichés with muscle-bound models in cropped and backless T-shirts and miscellaneous naval accessories. In a more sophisticated mode, a famous publicity image from his Autumn/Winter 1985 collection shows a muscular black model, coded masculine by his developed physique, beard and shaven-head, wearing a full quilted satin skirt which he ruches in a clenched fist (Roversi 1985). Gaultier, like Petri, adopts elements of camp to expose the inherent performance of gender. But while his designs problematize hegemonic masculinity, they also reinforce the dominance of the 'virile' muscular, male figure as a locus of desire and identification. For both Petri and Gaultier, masculine, clone-like modes of self-presentation originating in the 1970s were still strongly felt. And while this look is ironized and aestheticized – in the mid-1980s at a time of homophobic media hysteria in the United Kingdom and a worsening AIDS crisis – the representation of a queer identity embodied through physical strength and resilience had particular resonance.

In contrast, Hedi Slimane's designs for Yves Saint Laurent and from 2001 for Dior Homme are neither ironic in intention, nor do they celebrate masculinity as conventionally conceived. Moreover, while Slimane frequently quotes from subcultural scenes that feature elements of camp, his own designs maintain a certain

restraint and seriousness, that resist the label camp. This seriousness can be heard in Slimane's interview with Patrick Cabasset for L'Officiel:

> *A men's collection can be creative, desirable, enlivened [. . .] Menswear can become fashion too. I don't think this should be forbidden for men. I'm looking for a way through. I want to create something with a closeness, a sense of intimacy, a directness. (2001: 70)*

Mark Simpson in his book *Male Impersonators* explains the issue of homophobia by evoking the fundamental fragility of masculinity: 'the problem of de-segregating homosexuality from a private ghetto into a heterosexual world that depends on homosexuality remaining invisible, encapsulates the problem faced everywhere in popular culture today by this frail phenomenon we call masculinity' (1994a: 6). Yet more strongly, from a psycho-social perspective, David Plummer makes the case for homophobia operating as a structuring agent in masculinity: 'In men's spheres, the yardstick for what is acceptable is hegemonic masculinity and what is unacceptable is marked by homophobia and enforced by homophobia' (1999: 289). The 'queering' strategies of Jean Paul Gaultier find their echoes in Simpson's writing that seeks to expose the performed or 'impersonated' nature of masculinity. However, by the approach of the millennium, there was a sense in which strategies of this sort were beginning to exhaust their usefulness. Homophobia that had acted as a structuring agent for hegemonic masculinity, while providing much of the sense of transgression and taboo for subcultural masculinities, had by the late 1990s ceased to be such a dominant force. In this context, Hedi Slimane made his intervention not only in men's fashion, but also in the symbolic language of masculinity.

> *There is a psychology to the masculine: we're told don't touch it; it's ritual, sacred, taboo. It's difficult but I'm making headway, I'm trying to find a new approach. (Slimane 2001 cited by Cabasset 2001: 70)*

Slimane's collections for Dior Homme, as we have seen, acted as an explicit challenge to dominant representations of masculinity. But it was an intervention not content to sit at the peripheries of visual culture. Hedi Slimane may have drawn his inspiration, substantially, from niche and subcultural art and music scenes, but Maison Christian Dior, a multi-million euro company and one of the world's most famous fashion brands, was certainly not subcultural. To send explicitly androgynous figures down a menswear catwalk was not in 2001 totally without precedent[2], but to do so with the backing of a goliath company, with the eyes of the world upon him, and with an equally unequivocal advertising campaign was indeed radical.

A Transformation of Menswear

A comparison of two collection reviews from the menswear industry journal *Collezioni Uomo* prove instructive in assessing Slimanes impact on Maison Christian Dior. Separated by just ten years, the autumn/winter 1997 collection for 'Dior Monsieur' and the spring/summer 2007 collection for its successor label Dior Homme embody starkly divergent aesthetics: here, the changes wrought by Hedi Slimane on Christian Dior's menswear offering are overtly apparent. The boxy plaid jacket of autumn 1997 – three buttoned, broad lapelled, with a high break-point – has been replaced in spring 2007 by a draped, tropical-weight wool jacket, narrow peaked lapel, low break-point, tying – peignoir like – just below the waist. The model's vivid orange shirt of 1997, has been reworked in fine white poplin, and elsewhere replaced by translucent gossamer-like T-shirts with asymmetric draped appendages and geometric cut-outs. Sage-green corduroy trousers are superseded by fitted leather jeans, while a cool palette of reflective greys, tints of sand and glossy black takeover from a rural theme of terracotta, sage, textured browns, charcoal and blues. While Dior Monsieur imagines his man wandering through the countryside, Dior Homme evokes an urban milieu with eveningwear references – sequins, bare chests and shoulders and plays on 'le smoking' – contrasted against military styling in cotton twill and black nappa.

It is hard to understand at whom exactly the 1997 offering of Christian Dior Monsieur is aimed. In a collection undistinguished by any original design features, one wonders why a customer would not prefer to patronize a traditional men's outfitters. But in Slimane's own words 'At the end of the day, the men running the companies wanted the clothes to look like the kind of clothes they would wear, and they didn't really see a world beyond that' (Slimane 2001 cited in Porter 2001). As for Dior, so for

2. Raf Simons had presented androgynous menswear collections in the 1990s including A/W 1996 We Only Come Out at Night and S/S 1997 How to Talk to Your Teen but this influence was predominantly felt within a niche, experimental, fashion literate crowd. Tom Ford also pioneered a closer fit in his Gucci menswear collections during the 1990s. Though both designers were significant, they do not attract the claims of paradigm shift made by various journalists about Slimane.