FASHION: ID

Manchester Metropolitan University

IFFTI

8–12 April 2019

FASHION: ID

Edited by Dr Melanie Miller
Introduction by Anthony Bednall

Manchester Metropolitan University

IFFTI
8–12 April 2019

Edited by Dr Melanie Miller

Manchester Metropolitan University
All Saints Building
All Saints
Manchester
M15 6BH

FASHION: ID
Graphic design by Jake Beddow

ISBN: 978-1-910029-44-2

Introduction

Fashion; the very word itself conjures up a plethora of notions, descriptors and definitions. Certainly, it is taken for granted that fashion is real and material and therefore finds it form through the transactional activities of tangible products. The design, manufacture, retailing and consumption of these products is at the core of a global industry with a trillion-dollar plus annual turnover that relies predominantly on visual myths, powerful selling strategies and an acceptance that product acquisition is a persuasive cultural phenomenon, fueling peer acceptance and acting as a scaffold and barometer for self-esteem. In a highly developed contemporary context, the functionality of adorning the human form as a practical exercise has long been removed and broader concepts implying that the product, or clothing, has wider implications which are not only part of a reciprocal process in our search for meaning, belonging, and recognition, but contain sociological and psychological elements representing transient identities and inclusion or exclusion from a set of recognized or pre-determined visual codes and tribes.

The fact that fashion is at the same time an idea (concept) and an object (product) means that fashion's eco-system is extremely complex. It is not only an important part of the current global economic system but impacts on time, geography and culture, and acts as a signifier of self within the modern world. Fashion at Manchester Metropolitan University aims to investigate, challenge, redefine and act as provocateur for the future existential questions facing the fashion industry and fashion education. As the host of the 2019 IFFTI Conference the overarching theme of Fashion: ID and the consequent sub themes of Personal ID, Community ID and Global ID, was designed to facilitate a variety of platforms to engage the wider academic community as contributors to this ethos, through academic, visual and performative experiences. Both personally and Institutionally we believe we met these aims, curating a conference that successfully provided a range of activities that inspired, informed and in many cases challenged existing paradigms.

Anthony Bednall
Associate Head

Section one
Education and sustainability

12 No 1 Fiona Hackney, Katie Hill, Clare Saunders
Jack's Jumper: designing a sensibility for sustainable clothing communities

24 No 28 Alexandra de Raeve et al
Multi-stage yield and quality improvement of hemp fibres for clothing applications - prerequisite for revival of hemp cultivation

36 No 32 Hsu Feng-Yu, Grace Hsieh
Reflection on an experiential learning platform: concept to retail at Praxes Studio

46 No 48 Jacqueline Shorrocks, Anthony Kent
Towards a creative ID in fashion business education

58 No 132 Noel Palomo-Lovinski, Steven Faerm
The future of the fashion designer: changing concepts of the designer and consumer relationship in the age of sustainable practice

68 No 134 Catherine Geib
The changing values of millennials and Gen Z adults on fast fashion, social media and the sustainability of their clothing purchases

78 No 136 Carolyn Hardaker, Buddy Penfold
Diversity in Fashion and Textile Design education

90 No 138 Jo Jenkinson, Kelly Joseph
'I wear what I want to wear': Youth, style and identity at the Fashion and Business Saturday Club

104 No 155 Linda Watson
Everything is connected: the influences and inspirations of global icon and radical fashion philosopher, Vivienne Westwood

114 No 180 Shalini Gupta, Varun Goel
A waste to value proposition: 'unspecified outcome' driven learning

Section two
Manufacturing and retail

128 No 13 Maulshree Sinha
An assay of the Indian craft communities - an integral part of the Indian fashion industry

140 No 60 Behnoosh Farashahi, Katherine Annett-Hitchcock
Challenges faced by apparel and textile entrepreneurs seeking US production and sourcing – a study of Startup Survey Data

150 No 68 Amy V. Benstead, Linda C. Hendry
The invisible worker: who's stitching your shoes?

158 No 83 Sushil Raturi
Impact of experiential marketing on customer purchase intention: a study of the Indian apparel retail industry

168 No 85 Joseph F. Wong, Kylie K. L. Tam
Spatial identity of fashion brands: the visibility network in complex shopping malls

186 No 87 Carly Wraeg, Ruth Sanderson
The Bag Charge: good for the global environment, detrimental to the fashion retail environment?

Section three
The design process

202 No 3 Kundlata Mishra, Ela Dedhia
A rising community of workers wearing protective clothing

212 No 15 Ou Na
Reflection on the identity of Chinese fashion designers and their stardom and vulnerability

220 No 35 Sayaka Kamakura
The pursuit of nothingness in Japanese aesthetics: application to fashion design

230 No 71 Abu Sadat Muhammad Sayem
Virtual fashion ID: A reality check

240 No 76 Caroline McMillan
The aesthetics of data for IoT wearables

252 No 78 Kenneth Wilkinson
Asian cultural appropriation: a search for evidence

266 No 119 Lily Lei Ye
Not just 'the look': identity, new materialism and affective clothing

274 No 163 Dinu Bodiciu
Shadowear: a new way of re-(a)dressing the body

284 No 168 Karen Cross
Comfort in clothing: fashion actors and victims

298 No 176 Amy Chen, Jeanne Tan, Xiaoming Tao, Philip Henry
Style before technology: rethinking the design process for E-textiles garments

Section four
Place, social media and identity

310 No 20 Paramita Sarkar, Nilanjana Bairagi
Clothing preference of the 21st Century Tribal Women: a study of the transformation in the costume of tribal women of Tripura, India

320 No 59 Alice Dallabona
Be Italian! Aesthetic employees and the embodiment of national traits in luxury fashion flagship hotels

328 No 93 Christina Stewart
Made in Scotland: country of origin branding in the Scottish textile industry

340 No 147 Mohd Zaimmudin Mohd Zain, Patsy Perry, Liz Barnes
Navigating the fashion-faith landscape in Malaysia: the influence of fashion bloggers on Generation Y Malay females' fashion consumption

350 No 151 Madeleine Marcella-Hood
Scottish style: the construction of national identity and place amongst Scottish fashion influencers on Instagram

362 No 172 Li Xin, He Yang
Designers, producers, and users: minority women's three identities in their costume culture

Section five
Self identity and subcultures

378 No 10 Constantin-Felix von Maltzahn
Totem on the timeline: consumer tribes, subcultures and the space in between

388 No 26 Neha Dimri, Parag Goswami
Invisible to visible: social media and its role in establishing identity of LGBTQ in India

400 No 47 Kirsty Smith
Blood, sweat and tears: how did skateboarding's Thrasher T-shirt become the fashionista's 'off duty' look?

410 No 55 Nicolas Adam Cambridge
Supreme: Super-mutant or Keystone Species of a Sartorial Ecology?

424 No 120 Anthony Kent, Iryna Kuksa, Tom Fisher, Michael Skinner
Personalisation and identity in fashion

434 No 164 Courtney Nicole Chrimes, Rosy Boardman, Helen McCormick, Gianpaolo Vignali
The dress and the self: how dress styles express identities

446 No 171 Evelina Galli Poghosyan
'Biofeedback' in developing fashion identity

EDUCATION AND SUSTAINABILITY

Unsurprisingly, education was a much-visited theme within the abstract submissions, looking at a range of aspects including diversity, and experiential learning. Sustainability was another subject area that drew a large number of papers, from how to increase the yield and quality of hemp production, to an account of Vivienne Westwood's approach to the environment. Some papers covered both these themes, considering how the next generation of designers can embed sustainability into their design process.

No 1 Fiona Hackney, Katie Hill, Clare Saunders
Jack's Jumper: designing a sensibility for sustainable clothing communities

No 28 Alexandra de Raeve et al
Multi-stage yield and quality improvement of hemp fibres for clothing applications - prerequisite for revival of hemp cultivation

No 32 Hsu Feng-Yu, Grace Hsieh
Reflection on an experiential learning platform: concept to retail at Praxes Studio

No 48 Jacqueline Shorrocks, Anthony Kent
Towards a creative ID in fashion business education

No 132 Noel Palomo-Lovinski, Steven Faerm
The future of the fashion designer: changing concepts of the designer and consumer relationship in the age of sustainable practice

No 134 Catherine Geib
The changing values of millennials and Gen Z adults on fast fashion, social media and the sustainability of their clothing purchases

No 136 Carolyn Hardaker, Buddy Penfold
Diversity in Fashion and Textile Design education

No 138 Jo Jenkinson, Kelly Joseph
'I wear what I want to wear': Youth, style and identity at the Fashion and Business Saturday Club

No 155 Linda Watson
Everything is connected: the influences and inspirations of global icon and radical fashion philosopher, Vivienne Westwood

No 180 Shalini Gupta, Varun Goel
A waste to value proposition: 'unspecified outcome' driven learning

1 JACK'S JUMPER: DESIGNING A SENSIBILITY FOR SUSTAINABLE CLOTHING COMMUNITIES

Authors
Fiona Hackney
Katie Hill
University of Wolverhampton, UK
Clare Saunders
University of Exeter, UK

Corresponding author
F.Hackney@wlv.ac.uk

Keywords
sustainable fashion
social design
community film
behaviour change
affect

Abstract

Jack's Jumper is a short film co-produced by an emergent community of participant researchers and film-makers R&A Collaborations, as part of S4S Designing a Sensibility for Sustainable Clothing, an Arts and Humanities Research Council funded research project. The need to improve the sustainability of fashion has been widely noted by academics, activist campaigns, and policy makers.

In this project the authors combine arts and social science methods, including film making, to develop a methodology for pro-environmental behaviour change and sustainable fashion through, literally and metaphorically, making a new relationship with clothes. The paper outlines the aims and purpose of the project and its methods, which include fashion design workshops designed to mimic phases of the lifecycle of clothing (making fibre and fabric, pattern cutting, mending, modifying, repurposing and clothes), films, wardrobe audits, clothing diaries and surveys. It focuses on the series of over twenty short films, including *Jack's Jumper*, to consider how they might function not only as reflective devices for those involved in the project and emotional prompts for future action, but also as an affective means of building and developing a sustainable fashion sensibility among wider audiences, and the role of aesthetics and emotion in this. As such, we argue that creative participatory fashion design practices are potentially an important tool for generating a sensibility of sustainability and therefore for informing policy on behaviour change.

Introduction

The dangers of 'fast fashion': a 'buy now, throw away tomorrow' culture (Birtwhistle et al., 2003; Michon et al., 2015) are increasingly known. High street and online retailers, motivated by economic drivers, provide low cost garments often designed to be worn only a few times. Clothes are manufactured to a lower quality than even in the recent past; garments are rarely thrown away because they are unfashionable rather than because they are worn out. Young women in particular prefer to buy several cheap disposable fashion items to one durable piece, while low costs discourage consumers from repairing worn out clothes (Morgan and Birtwhistle, 2009; Binotto and Payne, 2017). The need to improve clothing sustainability has long been recognised by fashion academics, in particular Professor Dilys Williams and her colleagues at London College of Fashion (LCF) (Black, 2012; Fletcher, 2012). More recently, fashion sustainability has been the focus of important activist campaigns: Greenpeace, Fashion Revolution, and the work of policy makers: All Party Parliamentary Group on Ethics and Sustainability in Fashion, DEFRA's Sustainable Clothing Roadmap (DEFRA 2011), and the Environmental Audit Committee's current investigation into the Sustainability of the Fashion Industry. The latter's interim report concludes that the 'current exploitative and environmentally damaging model for fashion must change' (HoC, 2019).

To date relatively little research has been done on how changes in consumer/user behaviour might address this situation. While there have been creative attempts to provoke sustainable fashion (Fletcher, 2016), few studies have explored how engaging in community groups that upcycle 'waste' fabric, repurpose, modify and make clothing might not only raise consciousness about the appalling effects of the fast fashion industry, but also help to change every day behaviour through affectual engagement with dress and textiles communities and processes, skills, materials and methods. This is the aim of the Arts & Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funded project Designing a Sensibility for Sustainable

Clothing (S4S), the subject of this paper which focuses on the role of film as a research method and device. The term 'sensibility' is of central importance. Defined in the Cambridge Dictionary as 'an understanding of or ability to decide about what is good or valuable, especially in connection with artistic or social activities' and in the Oxford Dictionary as the 'quality of being able to appreciate and respond to complex emotional or aesthetic influences', in the context of sustainable fashion it suggests the ability to identify and respond to a new set of clothing values, qualities, and practices as a cultural and social activity. Thinking about 'sensibility, moreover, acknowledges the importance of emotion as a driver of change in making sustainable fashion choices, as Otto Von Busch argued in his recent keynote at the Global Fashion conference, LCF, 2018. Finally the notion of forging a new 'sensibility' is valuable because, as in Jane Austen's novel Sense and Sensibility, it comprises change both in our outer 'sensible' lives - from physical sensations to sociability – and our inner thoughts, subjectivities and imaginaries.

The shock effect of films such as *The True Cost* (Morgan, 2015) and Stacey Dooley's documentary *Fashion's Dirty Secrets* (2018) is important, raising awareness about problems in the industry. They are less helpful in providing strategies for change. Extant research reveals the difficulty of reversing fast-fashion. Even those aware of fashion's externalities can get caught in a value-behaviour gap since quality fast-fashion items are more readily available in the market place and out-compete eco-fashion (Moon et al., 2015; D'Souza, 2015). To effect change we have to locate clothing behaviour within wider formations of identify, attachment, socially constructed values and psychological drives. Part of the answer lies not only in our intellectual but also in our affectual relationship with fashion, its deep connections with individual identities that are themselves rooted in socio-cultural attachments (Cassidy and Bennett, 2012; Kaiser, 2012). Fashion is not solely the preserve of global corporations, it is also about 'individual experience', something, as Dilys Williams recently observed on a radio programme about the environment, that makes 'climate change human in scale because each day each of us makes a decision about what we buy, what we wear, how we value it, how we care for it' (Fidgen, 2019). Furthermore, we know that buying things does not increase happiness. Speaking on the same programme, psychologist Lorraine Whitmarsh instead identifies three fundamental psychological human needs: 1) Autonomy, linked to experiencing an element of freedom of choice, 2) Competence, which comes from feeling good about doing something, and 3) Relatedness, which fulfils our need for social bonds with people. Interestingly, all three feature strongly as needs that are addressed in the S4S project.

Methodology

S4S is an interdisciplinary collaboration between researchers in the social sciences and the humanities: politics academics at University of Exeter and arts research practitioners at the University of Wolverhampton. The project also involves external partners: community organisations in Cornwall and the West Midlands, sustainable fashion designers Antiform, the campaign and advocacy group Fashion Revolution, and a group of specialist design, fashion, and environmental advisors. Concurrent linked launch events in Cornwall and the West Midlands attracted over a hundred people to listen to sustainable fashion experts, participate in maker workshops and help shape project research questions and themes. The forty people who elected to become involved in the project proper went on to attend between five and twenty workshops, keep clothing diaries, contribute to project films and discussion, and fill in questionnaires. Twelve participants attended all twenty workshops in Cornwall while twenty-eight took part in at least five, and in some cases all twenty workshops held in the West Midlands. All workshops lasted for a full day and they ran over a period of nine months in total. Around twenty people engaged in wardrobe audits, counting, logging and talking about items they own (Fletcher and Grimstad Klepp, 2017).

The project draws from three main strands of research. First, it extends work on social design, co-design, and the relationship between crafts and material affect (Armstrong et al., 2014; Hackney et al., 2016a and 2016b; Twigger Holroyd, 2017). Second, it contributes to the field of sustainable fashion and design (Fletcher 2016). Third, it contributes to research on behaviour change. Dominant approaches to behaviour change, which focus on information and fiscal incentives, have limited efficacy due to the value-behaviour gap.

A novel aspect of the project is its use of the concept of 'affect', which refers to how socio-political contexts and emotional responses shape how people learn and behave. Affect is particularly relevant to fashion and consumerism, since the current economic system 'mines affect for value' by generating emotional responses to sell products and make profit (Clough, 2008). This is most notable in celebrity culture (Morgan and Birtwhistle, 2009), but it also pervades self-identification with clothing (Guy and Banim, 2000) in relation to peer approval (Roper and La Neice, 2009). Clothes generate culturally resonant affective markers of popular aesthetics and symbolic meanings that determine how individuals communicate their identities to others (Schofield and Schmidt, 2005). Integral to understanding 'affect' is recognition that emotions can be seen as sticky markers which attach to things and ideas, shaping how they are absorbed into identities. Understanding how to encourage a sensibility for sustainable clothing choices thus requires us to unpick the layers of emotional attachments that underpin human responses to what might otherwise seem to be 'rational' choices and transfer them to more sustainable behaviours.

Figure 1. Upcycling old shirts into aprons,
Vintage Pattern Cutting Workshops,
Black Country Living Museum

In order to explore this the team developed a range of research methods and tools, including experiential workshops, questionnaires, in-depth wardrobe audits, clothing diaries, interviews and short reflexive films, to replace standard notions of production and consumption with material, sensory and emotional practices generated within communities (Clay and Bradley Foster, 2007). A conceptual framework around thinking, feeling and doing: 'think, feel, act' was devised an embedded in mini-questionnaires and longer interviews to help participants identify and reflect on and their response processes throughout the project. The workshops were designed to mimic phases of the fashion system and lifecycle of clothing (making fibre and fabric, purchasing, mending, modifying and making clothes and dealing with waste fabric) (Figure 1) enabling participants to rethink their relationship with it (Barthes, 1990/1967/; Kaiser, 2012). They were conceptualised as spaces 'in between' the flow of fast fashion, short-circuiting it to some extent by emphasising quality, skill, labour and environmental impacts conventionally hidden in mainstream discourse. Skype conversations, film viewings, social media, and the exchange of collaboratively produced items at the end of each set of workshops enabled groups in different regions to communicate and learn from one another.

Film/making: message and aesthetic

Film-makers: Nina Constable *www.ninaconstable.co.uk* in Cornwall and R & A Collaborations in the West Midlands *www.racollaborations.co.uk* have established reputations in relevant fields: Constable is a documentary film-maker specialising in environmental issues and R&A, whose style of stop-motion photography playfully captures the temporality of arts processes, focus on craft. From the start film-making was envisaged as integral to research activities, and the film-makers operated as co-researchers. Films were made iteratively throughout the workshops, with film-makers often participating in discussion and making activities. The films worked discursively to help participants' reflect on their and others' experience, to what extent and how ideas about sustainable fashion were developing or changing. Twenty seven two to five minute films have been completed to date and are available through the S4S Youtube channel, with more in process (S4S, 2019).

Academic work on film as a research and community resource is growing (Malik et al, 2017). Rethinking cultural diversity in the UK film sector). S4S builds on earlier research and community engagement undertaken by the team (AHRC-funded project Co-Producing CARE: Community Asset-based Research & Enterprise (Hackney, 2014); Mah Rana's film *One Day When We Were Young* (2016) (Rana and Hackney, 2018) which employed film as a reflexive device to examine the wider social value and health benefits of craft and creative making for community groups. One outcome was the identification of a filmic craft aesthetic that emphasises colour, texture, decoration, rhythm, pattern and detail. A visual rhetoric composed of close-up shots of making activities interspersed with stills of everyday objects in a shallow depth of field, and overlaid with a sound track composed of personal narrative, conversational dialogue, and ordinary sounds; conventions that convey a sense of 'specificity, value, excitement and intimacy' in an everyday environment (Hackney, 2013b: 30). The S4S films evidence a similar aesthetic. At first concerned with documenting workshop activities and capturing participant reflections on the high levels of time, skills and expertise involved to making everyday garments, (see *Fluff to Fibre: Spinning*, *Weaving*, *Dyeing* films, S4S, 2018), the film-makers gradually saw themes emerge as the project progressed. Detailing components of a sustainable fashion sensibility, these themes increasingly began to shape films that focused on: identity *(Jack's Jumper)*, changing values *(Value)*, time *(The Gift of Time)*, economy *(Being Thrifty)*, affective connection *(The Ripple Effect)*, community and communication *(Group Chats)*, science and environment *(Detergent Test)*, family *(Family Influences)*, abilities and asset-building *(Hidden Potential)*, media *(Unravel: The True Cost)*, heritage *(Reclaiming the 1940s)*, facilitation and learning *(Hanny's Workshops)*, and skill-building *(Upcycle)*, material practice *(Make Do and Mend)*.

Each film extrapolates a sensibility. In *Group Chats* for instance, participants reflect on their appreciation of the particular qualities of interaction that occur when making together. One West Midlands' participant comments on the value of incidental interactions: 'lots of little bits of knowledge you pick up' makes the experience 'come to life'. Another notes the benefits of 'conversation' as 'the thoughts and ideas kind of travel and develop'. While a third observes the importance of intimacy for building trust and communication, and the benefits of the 'making workshop' as a distinct form of learning:

> It's not just a formal, structured learning opportunity, it's a workshop in which you get involved with people from every angle. When you are talking to somebody that you are working with conversations can be much more intimate, can be about what you do, or can be about something totally different. But they tend to be a lot more personal and I think you reflect a lot more in intimate discussion … You find out what people want and need and they become shared experiences.
>
> West Midlands' participant,
> Group Chats, 2018

Value shows how participants' understanding of value is inflected through their own personal experience and lives. One, for instance, who trained in fashion and worked in the industry in the West Midlands before it moved to China, reflects on how the project has encouraged her to revisit and enhance her design and making skills, locating them in an ethical discourse; she has pledged not to buy any new clothes for a year, making, reusing and refashioning garments she already owns. Another participant, who came to Wolverhampton from Morocco and is highly skilled in crafts, talks about how the workshops gave her permission to make mistakes, be creative and play, something that had been impossible when she was younger and the emphasis was always on getting stitches right. The playful, risky aspects of making have emotional significance for her helping, as she puts it, 'what is on the inside to come out'. One of the male participants, who described dressmaking as engineering, emphasises the value of rethinking clothing in another context: 'thinking about clothes in terms of material rather than about clothes in terms of, do they fit? In other words, what can I get out of that? What can I make with it? How can I change it? What can I do with it?' A lot of decisions and that's challenging but also fun'.

Fashion and textiles are generally perceived as gendered activities, despite the long history of male designers and tailors. The association of dressmaking, knitting and repair with domestic crafts and, therefore, the domain of women is largely responsible (Parker 2010/1984). As an area that cuts across the realms of professional design and amateur practice, initiatives such as S4S, which support new forms of sustainable fashion thinking, might arguably create more gender neutral spaces, and male role models are helpful here. While the S4S participants were principally women, some men did get involved including Jack who works for project partner the Hive, an arts centre in Shrewsbury. The film Jack's Jumper focuses as much on Jack himself, with his distinctive looks, long hair and softly spoken voice, as on the amazing jumper he made. It operates as a form of mini-portrait linking Jack's repurposing activities to his identity as he remakes an old grey jumper that was 'always in the cupboard but never came out'. The jumper was made during the 'Deconstructive/Reconstructive' knit workshops facilitated by Pat Dillon that develop methods introduced by designer researcher Amy Twigger Holroyd at the S4S West Midlands launch. Pat taught the group a range of stitches including Swiss darning and chain stitch, how to 'cardiganise' a garment (Twigger Holroyd, 2019), unpick stitches to add sections, and add pockets. She showed participants how the task was as much about design as technical knowledge. As a keen crafter who teaches crafts courses, the workshops enabled Jack to think about how these skills might be developed for sustainable fashion. On the film he talks us through his thought processes, how his ideas shifted and changed and the flexibility one can have with knitwear when armed with a little confidence and some skills. Having realised that his original idea to rework the jumper with an all-over pattern was unfeasible due to time constraints, Jack focused on the front and sleeves, removing a section he had added and reworking it as pockets. The striking result with geometric pattern in yellow and black – coincidentally the colours of Wolverhampton Wanderers FC – is bold, complex, eye-catching and distinctive (Figure 2).

Foregrounding themes of identity, value, quality, intimacy, trust, connection, community, media, critical thinking, creative making, asset-building, skill, reimagining heritage, playfulness, and risk, among others, the films help map out the many components involved in forging a sustainable fashion sensibility. Communicated through making activities and participant reflection, this sensibility is also manifest in the films' visual rhetoric, which helps communicate affectual qualities and emotions, something that emerged in participant discussion when the films were screened.

Figure 2. Jack wearing his jumper, (De)Constructive/(Re)Constructive Knitting workshop, The Hive, West Midlands

Feeling film: findings

Screening workshops were held for participants in Penryn and Shrewsbury to gather feedback about how the films might disseminate a sensibility for sustainable fashion and help change clothing behaviour. One of the most interesting findings was the degree to which participants in both groups identified the emotional 'feeling' qualities of the films as an important means to communicate project ideas, while also prompting themselves into future action. Feeling, it seems, is the emotional glue connecting sustainable thinking to action. Cornwall participants noted the emotional qualities of the film narratives, which they considered true to their experience of the project, making the films a powerful means for engendering a broader awareness of and sensibility for sustainable fashion in wider communities. West Midlands' participants observed how watching the films rekindled the collaborative ethos and experience of the workshops: 'the feeling … from doing the workshops together and then the feeling can come back through the films'.

Discussion included responses that link to the psychological needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness Whitmarsh identified in terms of personal fulfilment, skill and community. In the Midlands the films prompted group discussion about the social and environmental impacts of fast fashion, but framed within a context of personal achievement and new aspirations. This included observations about clothes shopping, concerns about the loss of textiles skills in the workforce, and from the school curriculum. Many have restricted clothes shopping buying principally from charity shops or swapping, repairing and upcycling, reporting that buying new clothes just didn't 'feel right', while some want to work with schools and/or start their own sustainable fashion business. Echoing Williams' thinking, one participant observed that the workshops made change seem achievable because 'they weren't about saving the world, they were about darning'. Some people were drawn into the project principally because of their interests in making and textiles, their awareness of sustainable fashion emerging as the workshops progressed. Creativity, as such, operated as a form of 'soft power' or quiet activism, influencing thinking through repetitive creative acts and collaborative 'making' (Hackney, 2013a).

The community ethos that developed through the course of the workshops was considered by both groups to be central to the project's appeal and effectiveness, and the value of comradeship, shared purpose and belonging was reiterated by participants on screen. One Midlands contributor commented on how much she enjoyed 'Just watching how the groups really bonded, and it was mentioned several times about fellowship and just getting on with people and you have a common project'. The composition of the groups shaped the nature of workshop activities and collaborations in distinct ways, something that also emerges in the films, enabling them to appeal to different constituencies. The generally younger and less skilled profile of the Cornwall contingent, for instance, meant that their workshops focused more on the building blocks of learning skills such as spinning, natural dyeing, weaving, sewing and crochet. The workshops were like a 'school' 'where we really learned', one participant observed, whereas the West Midlands films showed people coming together to use existing skills. The West Midlands participants, a more mature demographic on the whole, focused on designing, remaking and upcycling garments, giving a new life to existing clothing. Both groups appreciated how the films provided insight into the other's activities, stimulating new interests and approaches. A Cornwall participant remarked on how - having for the first time designed and made his own patterns - one of the male Midlands participants saw his mother's dressmaking skills differently, referring to her as a designer, something that in turn encouraged her to think of herself as a designer, an example of social design in action (Kimbell, 2011) (Figure 3). The Cornwall group felt that the variety of age and gender in the West Midlands' films underlines how making and mending is suitable and attainable for everyone. Several participants brought their children to workshops - dressmaking, embroidery and leather work seem to have particular appeal for younger people – and a number of men attended. The broader socio-demographic range in the Midlands films, moreover, was generally perceived as an important model for learning through collaboration and exchange. Participants noted how approaches taken in the two locations were different but complementary, with a closer focus on micro elements of social collaboration and making in the Midlands (see *Working Together*) and a greater emphasis on macro concerns of fashion, sustainability and change at a global level in Cornwall (*Unravel: The True Cost*).

Figure 3. Male participant in the Vintage Pattern Cutting workshops, Black Country Living Museum

The films also show how issues of partnership and place shape participant experience, offering varied learning opportunities and suggesting different motivations. The Cornwall films, which are set in a variety of venues including village halls, community spaces and artists' studios, communicate a sense of crafts practice embedded in nature, community and the cultural heritage of Cornwall, a location historically associated with crafts and innovative arts practice. In contrast, partnered with the Black Country Living Museum, Dudley, the dressmaking workshops in the West Midlands (*Hidden Potential* for instance) were located in the heart of the Midlands, a region with a strong industrial heritage. Many participants were museum volunteers who wear historic costume and the dressmaking project responded to their interest in making clothes from original patterns for the annual 1940s weekend that the museum hosts. The Cornwall group expressed concerns that the past can sometimes be a distraction - different economic circumstances, different understandings of fashion, and the fact that we are not currently being rationed - aligning sustainable fashion with a sentimental heritage of 'make-do-and-mend'. Everyone, nevertheless, appreciated that we can learn important lessons about value and quality from the past, especially through the experiential act of actually making clothes that are historically accurate to understand how they were created and cared for. These reflections prompted a general discussion about the poor quality of clothing today: thin fabric and poor stitching leading to a short lifespan for garments. The Cornwall group was impressed by the creative approach to history taken by a member of the Midlands group who applies a ration token system to limit her own clothes purchasing today.

As important as the films are in communicating themes about and approaches to a sensibility for sustainable fashion, participants' perceptions of their affect, as an emotional conduit and memetic device seem particularly revealing. Prompting them to recall how it felt to be part of the project, the conventions of colour, texture, detail, light, close-ups, personal stories, and temporal slowness in the films were also considered to communicate feelings of emotional closeness, trust, intimacy, authenticity, honesty and pleasure that would be equally available to wider audiences who hadn't attended the workshops. The West Midland's group, watching the films in chronological order in three batches, with time for discussion after each, reflected on how the short episodic pieces document their journey and their growing awareness of what a 'sensibility for sustainability' might mean. This not only involved idea development, but also how their feelings and behaviour patterns changed as they found their place in the group, became more confident in discussion, in their skills in adapting and making garments, as well as their knowledge about sustainable fashion. After viewing the first set one participant remarked, 'it'll be interesting to see by the time you've seen all of them whether you've captured that actual journey because that very first opening sort of session I don't think we really were aware of what kind of journey we were really going to step onto'. After the second set the same participant observed, 'You can start to see the change happening' 'It's changing, it's changing your habit pattern isn't it'. Others noted how the films might serve as means to connect and imaginatively engage with the experience of working in a community, even when working alone: '[A]s a body of work it's a lovely, a lovely portfolio to look at and just kind of keep remembering some of the ethos', 'it's reminding that actually when we do things together we're probably more productive as well' and 'by doing things together it becomes a pleasurable thing rather than a weight on your shoulders you know'. Another participant talked about how the films will help to keep the feelings and habits formed at the workshop alive for her:

> It's been a nice reminder of the journey actually and I think I probably will watch them to keep my momentum going myself. I think the changes have been made up here so when I go and buy new clothes or you know I'm looking at where they're from I'm not necessarily going to go to those cheap chains anymore. So that's kind of, that's integrally changed. But I think it's too easy to get wrapped up in so once you move away from the project it's … if I sustain it I'm going to get the feeling back again.
>
> West Midland's participant, 2018

Viewing the films helps reconnect with the 'feeling' of participation and the activities, ethos and aims of the group, a feeling which, in the participant's view, would prompt future action. This prioritisation of feeling suggests how new emotional attachments are being forged through a sustainable fashion sensibility, provoking more ethical clothing behaviours and sustainable clothing identities.

The project films capture workshop activities rather than wardrobe audits, largely because of issues of ethics and privacy. The wardrobe audits, however, were a very useful part of the research, contributing in-depth qualitative reflection and insight as well as quantitative data about behaviour change via 'before and after' project 'clothes counts'. They were popular with participants in both locations who found they helped them to review their clothes, think about what they mean to them, and what the sustainability implications are. Participants found the audits a key motivating factor for behaviour change, partly due to the feelings of exposure, having shared the contents of their wardrobe, that most intimate domain, with others. Many reported thinking differently:

> When I'm going through my wardrobe now I definitely look at things with a different eye you know, I think what shall I do with that, does it go to the charity shop or is it something you know … I look at it and think can I make it into something new and the grey cells start working and then … or does it go into my kind of bag of stuff I can use for jewellery making or whatever.
>
> West Midland's participant, 2018

Without exception all participants found that they had more clothes than had been anticipated, reflecting wider national trends; the sustainable fashion charity TRAID found that 23 % of Londoner's clothes remain unused (TRAID, 2018). Both groups got excited about the potential for developing an online version of the 'audit' as a means to scale up project impact. Conducted regularly, wardrobe audits could be a useful tool to sustain and disseminate the S4S sensibility, building a healthy 'self-auditing' sustainable mentality and clothing culture into everyday life the same way that many habitually use 'fit bits' or attend a gym.

After watching the films participants reflected on their clothing behaviour post-project, what they will wear, the degree to which they will upcycle and repurpose clothing, and how much they will buy. In Cornwall a principal concern was to develop a self-reflective mentality, slow down and 'pause' before buying, asking oneself, 'do I really need this item? How and where was it made? How can I look after it?' For both groups the films sparked reflection back over their months of involvement in the project, as they realised how their behaviour has changed. Several claimed not to have bought any clothes; some have taken a pledge to always buy secondhand or swap with friends and family, accepting new clothes only as gifts. Others now judge the clothes in shops as unacceptably poor quality and not worth the social and environmental 'cost'. They reflected that this change had occurred gradually through a 'process of doing things with the group', rather than any prescriptive demands 'directly stopping you buying things'. The Cornwall group particularly valued the practical skills they had gained, several continue to participate in sewing groups, and some have even bought a sewing machine. West Midland's participants valued the community experience as well as the opportunities it offered to develop and share creative practice, skills and knowledge. Equally, both groups were aware of the challenges involved in taking this work beyond the 'inner circle' of the project and change behaviour in a 'fast fashion world'. Concerns were raised that S4S might resonate more with 'crafty folk' whose interest in making made them more receptive it to its messages about sustainability. The films were considered an essential component in spreading the message and method through personal, professional and partner networks, including Fashion Revolution's global network, and contacts with local businesses in the Midlands and South West.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council [AH/K005243/1].

We would like to thank all our project participants, partners and advisors for their valued contributions.

S4S FILMS: Currently there are twenty eight films on the S4S Youtube channel, available at: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCISPU0KuQXLMtSoLKRSE8Eg

Conclusion: fashioning a sustainable sensibility

In many ways 'Think, Feel, Act' has become the governing mantra of this project. The ongoing analysis of research findings is gradually revealing both what a sensibility for sustainable clothing might mean, and the important role that emotion plays in achieving it, as matter, feelings, ideas and thoughts interact, leading to shifts in perception and behaviour change (Ahmed, 2004). Understanding how this works is central to understanding how the project effect (and affect) might reach beyond the initial group of workshop participants. Participant discussion suggests how the films might operate not only as reflective but also as affective devices: emotional prompts reconnecting participants with their own 'project journey', and a means to affect a sustainable fashion sensibility on a wider scale. S4S involves requires us to rethink our clothing behaviours. In the process we reimagine our relationship with things, people, the planet, and ultimately our own identities. This can be exciting and pleasurable as we gain skills, get creative, connect with like-minded groups, become knowledgeable, and find ways to effect change. Above all, it means a fundamental shift from passive bystander to active agent as a sustainable fashion sensibility becomes integral to, and embedded in, our everyday lives. The research team are well aware of certain limitations in the project design, the fact that participants were self-selecting for instance. We do not see this as negative, however, because it fits with our proposal that behaviour change results from connecting with people's inner desires, subjectivities, pleasures and motivations, and in this case this was achieved through their interest in creative crafting, sewing and related activities, despite a varied level of skill. Having fully analysed the project data, our aim is to apply for Follow on Funding for Impact and Engagement to trial the S4S method with other groups, including younger people, and explore how it might be modified to incorporate additional motivations.

References

Ahmed, S. (2004), *The Cultural Politics of Emotion.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Armstrong, L., Bailey, J., Julier, G. & Kimbell, L. (2014), *Social Design Futures: HEI Research and the AHRC* [Report for Arts and Humanities Research Council] Published online by University of Brighton. http://eprints.brighton.ac.uk/13364/ [accessed 18/08/2018]

Barthes, R. (1990/1967), Ward, M. and Howard, R. (Trans) *The Fashion System.* California and London: University of California Press.

Binotto, C. & Payne, A. (2017), The Poetics of Waste: Contemporary Fashion Practice in the Context of Wastefulness. *Fashion Practice*, 9(1), 5-29.

Birtwistle, G., Siddiqui, N. & Fiorito, S.S. (2003) Quick response: perceptions of UK fashion retailers. *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, 31(2), 118-128.

Black, S. (2012), *The Sustainable Fashion Handbook.* London: Thames & Hudson.

Cassidy, T. D. & Bennett, H.R. (2012), The Rise of Vintage Fashion and the Vintage Consumer. *Fashion Practice*, 4(2), 239-261.

Clay, D. & Bradley Foster, H. (2007), *Dress Sense Emotional and Sensory Experiences of the Body and Clothes.* Oxford: Berg.

Clough, P. T. (2008), The Affective Turn: Political Economy, Biomedia and Bodies. *Theory, Culture & Society.* 25(1), 1–22.

DEFRA (2012), Sustainable Clothing Roadmap 2011 Progress Report. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/69299/pb13461-clothing-actionplan-110518.pdf.

D'Souza, C., Gilmore, A. J., Hartmann, P., Apaolaza Ibáñez, V. and Sullivan- Mort, G. (2015), Male eco- fashion. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 39, 35-42.

Fidgen, J. (2019), Clothes: New Year Solutions. BBC Radio 4. 2. January.

Fletcher, K. (2012), *Fashion and Sustainability: Design for Change.* London: Lawrence King.

Fletcher, K. (2016), *Craft of Use: Post Growth Fashion.* London and New York: Routledge.

Fletcher, K. & Grimstad Klepp, I. (Eds) (2017), *Opening Up the Wardrobe: A Methods Book.* Oslo: Novus Press.

Guy, A. & Banim, M. (2000), Personal Collections: Women's clothing use and identity. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 9(3), 313-327.

Hackney, F., Maughan & H., Desmarais, S. (2016a), The Power of Quiet: Re-Making Amateur and Professional Textiles Agencies. *Journal of Textile Design, Research & Practice*, 4, 34-62.

Hackney, F. & H. Maughan, (2016b), Stitched Together: Community Learning, Collaborative Making', Futurescan 3: Journal of Fashion in Higher Education. JFHE 3, 194-206.

Hackney, F. (2014), AHRC-funded project Co-Producing CARE: Community Asset-based Research & Enterprise.

https://cocreatingcare.wordpress.com/the-project/ [Accessed 02.06.2019]. Hackney, F. (2013a), Quiet Activism & the New Amateur: the power of home and hobby crafts'. *Design and Culture*, 5(2), 169-194.

Hackney, F. (2013b), CAREful or CAREless? Collaborative Making and Social Engagement through Craft in Raney, K. (Ed.) *Critical Craft: engage 33 the international journal of visual art and gallery education.* London: engage, 23-37.

House of Commons (HoC) (2019), Interim Report on the Sustainability of the Fashion Industry. Environmental Audit Committee, 29 January 2019. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmenvaud/1148/114802.htm [Accessed 02.06.2019].

Kaiser, S. (2012), *Fashion and Cultural Studies.* Oxford: Berg / Bloomsbury Kimbell, L. (2011). Rethinking design thinking: Part 1. *Design and Culture*, 3(3), 285-306.

Parker, R. (2010/1984), *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* London and New York: IB Tauris.

Rana, M. & Hackney, F. (2018), Making and Material Affect: From Learning and Teaching to Sharing and Listening in Prior, R. (Ed.) *Using Art as Research in Learning and Teaching: Multidisciplinary Approaches Across the Arts.* Bristol & Chicago: Intellect.

Roper, S & la Niece, C. (2009), The importance of brands in the lunch-box choices of low-income British school children. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 8(2-3), 84-99.

Malik, S., Chapain, C., & Comunian, R. (2017), Rethinking cultural diversity in the UK film sector: Practices in community filmmaking. *Organization*, 24(3), 308–329.

Michon, R., Chebat, J-C., Yu, H., & Lemarié, L. (2015), Fashion orientation, shopping mall environment, and patronage intentions: A study of female fashion shoppers. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 19(1), 3-21.

Morgan, A. (2015), The True Cost. USA: Life Is My Movie Entertainment. Bullfrog Films (home media).

Moon, K., Sze-Yeung Lai, C., Yee-Nee Lam, E., & Chang, J. (2015), Popularization of sustainable fashion: barriers and solutions. *The Journal of The Textile Institute*, 106(9), 939-952.

Morgan, L. R., & Birtwistle, G. (2009), An investigation of young fashion consumers' disposal habits, *International Journal of Consumer Studies.* 33(2), 190-198.

S4S (2018), *Designing a Sensibility for Sustainable Clothing:* Youtube film channel: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCISPU0KuQXLMtSoLKRSE8E [Accessed 06.02.2019].

Schofield, K. & Ä. Schmidt, R. (2005), Fashion and clothing: The construction and communication of gay identities. *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management.* 33(10),1108/09590550510593239.

TRAID (2018/19), 23 % see: https://www.traid.org.uk/23percent [Accessed 06.02.2019].

Twigger Holroyd, A. (2017), Folk Fashion: *Understanding Homemade Clothes.* London and New York: IB Tauris.

Twigger Holroyd, A. (2010) *Keep and Share.* https://amytwiggerholroyd.com/Keep-Share.

28 MULTI-STAGE YIELD AND QUALITY IMPROVEMENT OF HEMP FIBRES FOR CLOTHING APPLICATIONS - PREREQUISITE FOR REVIVAL OF HEMP CULTIVATION

Authors
Myrene Vanderhoeven
Simon Vermeire
Veronique Troch
Simona Vasile
Joos Latré
Jos Nollet
Alexandra De Raeve
University College, Ghent

Corresponding author
alexandra.deraeve@hogent.be

Keywords
hemp
retting
textiles
local production
fibres

Abstract

Fabrics consisting of natural or man-made fibres of cellulosic origin are widely used in clothing, for their comfort-related properties amongst others. Despite its huge ecological footprint, more specifically high water and pesticide consumption during cultivation, cotton is still the most used natural fibre in the textile industry. Lately interest in hemp cultivation is becoming more prevalent in many industrialized countries as a consequence of its environmentally friendly cultivation, sustainable processing and versatile applications of the entire hemp plant. Hemp fibres are nowadays mainly used for the pulp and paper industry, building, technical textiles, animal bedding, pellets, etc. Lack of knowledge during cultivation, pre-processing and the spinning of long fibres, as well as inconsistent fibre quality are the main reasons that impede the use of hemp fibres for high-quality clothing applications.

The choice of the hemp variety, and sowing and harvesting conditions seem to be decisive during hemp cultivation, and the retting process is responsible for a great deal of fibre yield and quality. These approaches are investigated by the research project 'Own grown hemp' aiming at a revival of the hemp industry in Flanders, and which specifically investigates how the quality of hemp fibre can be controlled at several stages in the value chain. This paper presents selected results of the project relating to the relationship between fiber quality and yield, genotype and retting method. Five hemp cultivars (USO 31, Dacia Secuieni, Bialobrzeskie, Futura 75, Carmagnola Selezionata CS) and two types of retting (field or dew retting and enzymatic field retting with Texazym SER-7 conc.) are discussed.

In this study, genotype proved to be relevant for determining the fibre yield and quality of hemp. Although dry matter yields tended to be higher in the late flowering genotypes (Bialobrzeskie and CS) because they reached a bigger plant height at full flowering (237 cm and 279 cm respectively), bast fibre content was highest (38%) in the early flowering genotype (USO 31). The method of retting not only slightly affected the colour but also the fineness and strength of the hemp fibres and the differences were significant depending on cultivar. The results seem also to recommend enzymatic field retting as a better alternative to field retting in terms of fiber tenacity.

Introduction

Fabrics consisting of natural or man-made fibres of cellulosic origin are widely used in clothing for their comfort-related properties among others. Despite its huge ecological footprint, specifically high water and pesticide consumption during cultivation, cotton is still the most used natural fibre in the textile industry. For instance, production of one pair of cotton jeans requires about 10.000 litres of water on average (Cherret et al., 2005) and about 325g pesticides (Renaerts et al., 2009). Using five to ten times less water and no pesticides during cultivation, hemp fibres could be a promising alternative to cotton.

Hemp fibres were used for centuries for sails and ship ropes until the beginning of the 20th century, when it was prohibited in Europe due to negative association with marijuana. Since the 1990s cultivation of hemp cultivars with tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) < 0.2% is allowed in Europe, and interest in hemp cultivation is increasing in many industrialized countries as a consequence of its environmentally friendly cultivation, sustainable processing and versatile applications of the entire hemp plant (Cherret et al., 2005). In Europe, the area is increasing every year mainly in the cooperative context - particularly in France (more than 15.000 ha, EIHA,

2017) and also in Belgium, (around 500 ha in 2017). However, the revival of hemp is still slowed down by the fact that no homogeneous fibre quality can be guaranteed (due to the variable, natural retting) and because, so far, the focus has been on relatively low-grade bulk applications (bedding, building blocks, insulation and sheet materials and bio-energy). In addition, a large proportion of the specialized processors who are able to develop high-quality fibre and textile applications with fine hemp yarns (linen) have disappeared after the deterioration of flax and hemp use, or they no longer have the appropriate equipment. Methods and machines that are developed for flax processing offer possibilities for application in hemp cultivation and processing, but probably require specific adjustments.

The influence of hemp cultivation factors on fibre yield and quality have not been properly addressed so far. The choice of the hemp variety, sowing and harvesting conditions seem to be decisive factors during hemp farming. Few studies have compared the performance of the current commercial genotypes of industrial hemp (Aubin et al., 2016; Tang et al., 2016; Campiglia et al., 2017) and limited information is available on the fibre quality of hemp cultivars. Since the fibre quality depends on the hemp variety, and sowing and harvesting conditions, wide variations in the values of the breaking tenacity of the fibres are obtained (Sankari, 2000).

The retting - and to some extent also harvesting - is a first hinge step between the downstream (cultivation) and midstream (extraction of the fibres) segments in the chain, as it affects the fibre yield and the basic qualities (length, thickness, strength, colour, composition) of the raw bast fibres, and thereby the quantity of marketable fibres, their intrinsic quality and suitability for further processing. Harvesting takes place at the time of the desired maturity (in the flowering stage in order to obtain both high fibre yield and optimal quality for textile applications) of the plants and usually in a dry period; retting then requires sufficient moisture and suitable temperatures for microorganisms to do their work (pectin degradation). For flax, dew retting in the field is still the most common method which also appears to be applicable for hemp. In the past, retting was also done in watercourses (the Lys, ‘the Golden River’) and in heated basins (‘water retting’). In good climatic conditions, the yield and intrinsic qualities of the raw bast fibres in the harvested hemp straw will be high. However, the results may be suboptimal by ‘under retting’, or strongly degraded by ‘over retting’ on the field. In worst cases, the harvest is completely lost due to adverse climatic conditions (Liu et al., 2015). In order to gain more control over yield and quality after harvesting, a determination of the optimal harvest time and, above all, a control of the pectin and lignin degradation is necessary. Within the classical approach (dew retting) this can be done by a regulation of the moisture content and the biochemical degradation processes in the straw on the field (‘enzymatic dew retting’). Few studies exist that investigate enzymatic field retting of hemp (Marek et al., 2008) and a limited number of enzymes suitable for spraying on the field are commercially available (i.e. Texazym SER-7). It is claimed that Texazym SER-7 spray is able to increase long fibre yields by more than 40% (Marek et al., 2008 and Antonov et al., 2007).

The overall aim of the project ‘Own grown hemp’ is to support the revival of the hemp industry in Flanders, especially for high-quality textile applications. Therefore this project investigates how the quality of hemp fibre can be controlled at several levels of the value chain. The specific objectives are: (1) to locally evaluate the adaptation and production potential of commercial hemp cultivars and (2) to gain more control of the retting process through enzymatic activation on the field or in (industrial) plants. This paper deals with a field experiment followed by field (dew) retting and enzymatic field retting of five hemp cultivars, and presents the first results regarding the quality (i.e. colour, tenacity and finesse) and yield of hemp fibres.

Methodology

Field experiment

A field experiment was carried out at the University College Ghent experimental farm located in Bottelare (Flanders, Belgium). Five different hemp cultivars (i.e., USO 31, Dacia Secuieni, Bialobrzeskie, Futura 75, Carmagnola Selezionata CS) from different origin and maturity were sown in a randomized complete block design with four replicates. Single plot size was 45 m2. Plant density was estimated at 240 plants m-2 and nitrogen fertilization was 108 kg N ha-1. Crop development was monitored by measuring seedling emergence, flowering, plant density, plant height, stem diameter. Plants were harvested at initiation of flowering and each plot was divided in three fractions at harvest. One part of the straw stayed on the field for classical field (or dew) retting. A second part of the straw stayed on the field for enzymatic field retting by spraying enzymes (i.e., Texazym SER-7 conc) on the straw on the field. A third part was harvested ‘green’ and used for tests of pure enzymatic retting in lab-scale reactors, by using different commercially available enzymes. Yields were determined by measuring straw weight (fresh and dry weight). Plant samples were oven dried at 70° C until constant weight in order to evaluate the above ground biomass. Dry matter content was calculated as the ratio of dry weight/fresh weight. For determination of the fiber content, dried hemp stems were broken using lab-scale flax processing equipment. Statistical analyses were performed to assess the effect of cultivar on yield components using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS statistics 22.0).

Fibre extraction

During the primary processing of hemp, the shives are mechanically separated from the fibres. The retted hemp stalks are processed to long fibres on a flax scutching line. The focus is on obtaining long, intact fibres. The steps are: breaking the woody core, hackle, remove the shives, and finally scutching, whereby the fibers become parallel. The released short fibres can still be separated from the shives on a short fibre line. The scutching ribbon is offered to the spinners for further processing into a yarn. For the considered five cultivars, fibres were mechanically extracted from straw that underwent dew (field) retting and enzymatic field retting, as discussed above. Fibre yield and fibre quality of the different genotypes was determined.

Colour testing

Colour has always been an important factor of raw fibres for textile production. The D1925 yellowness index system was developed to give a better system to quantify the yellowness of wool fibres. The colour of the retted fibres was measured with a Datacolor Spectraflash SF550. Each sample (16 per cultivar) was measured 4 times and moved during the measurement and rotated 90°. The spectrophotometer has a measuring hole of 30mm and used the light source D65 / 10°. The CIE tristimulus values for X, Y, Z were determined by the Datacolor Software. Afterwards, the Yellowness Index D1925 can be calculated from these values (ASTM method D1925). On the basis of these colour measurements, the colour differences can be determined by the different retting methods and genotypes.

Tensile strength and fineness

The strength of hemp fiber is important and should be adequate to allow further (mechanical) textile processing. Hemp is known as a strong fibre, but the different retting processes can have an influence on the fibre strength. Fibre strength was determined for each variety and retting method used, according to ISO 5079 (1995). The atmosphere for preconditioning, conditioning and testing was the standard atmosphere as specified in ISO 139 (2005). The fibre bundles, chosen at random, were measured with the Instron tensile tester, model 2519-105 using a gauge length of 50 mm between the 2 clamping points, a pretension value of 0,05 N (rate 3 mm / min) and tested at a constant rate of 5 mm / min until break. Fiber tenacity (cN/tex) is expressed as ratio of fiber tensile strength (cN) to its linear density (tex). Linear density (tex) is determined as ratio of fiber mass (grams) to length (1000m).

Results and discussion

Biomass yield

Significant differences between the five cultivars were found for plant height at full flowering, dry matter yield, bast content and bast yield (Table 1). The average plant height at full flowering ranged from 154.5 cm (USO 31) to 278.9 cm (Carmagnola Selezionata, CS). Stem dry matter yield at full flowering ranged from 5,79 Mg ha-1 (USO 31) to 14,02 Mg ha-1 (Bialobrzeskie). As a consequence of its short vegetative phase, the early-flowering cultivar USO 31 produced the lowest biomass yield. Bast fibre content ranged from 25% (CS) to 38% (USO 31) at full flowering, depending on the cultivar. Bast yield depended on both stem yield and bast fibre content in the stem and ranged from 2,20 Mg ha-1 (USO 31) to 4,77 Mg ha-1 (Bialobrzeskie). Cultivar Bialobrzeskie had the highest stem yield and a medium bast fibre content at full flowering; consequently it had the highest bast fibre yield. Yield and fibre content in this field experiment are comparable to numbers reported in previous studies (Tang et al., 2016; Campiglia et al., 2017). A significant positive correlation was found for dry matter yield and plant height (R2=0,549) and for dry matter yield and bast yield (R2=0,771). A significant negative correlation was found for plant height and bast content (R2=0,765).

Table 1 - Yield components of different cultivars at full flowering

Cultivar	Plant height at harvest (cm)	Dry matter yield (Mg ha^{-1})	Bast content (%)	Bast yield (Mg ha^{-1})
USO 31	154,5 c	5,79 c	38%	2,20 c
Dacia Secuieni	238,9 b	10,14 b	33 %	3,31 b
Bialobrzeskie	236,9 b	14,02 a	34 %	4,77 a
Futura 75	240,8 b	10,02 b	29 %	2,88 b
Carmagnola Selezionata (CS)	278,9 a	11,59 b	25 %	2,90 b

Numbers followed by different letters in the same row are statistically different for P < 0.05 (Tukey test).

Enzymatic field retting (EFR) with Texazym SER-7 conc. did only give an increase in long fibre yield with the cultivars USO 31 (approx. 7%) and Carmagnola Selezionata (approx. 33%) (Table 2). The result obtained with Carmagnola Selezionata approaches the results of the field experiment described by Marek et al., 2008.

Table 2 - Long fibre Yield of different cultivars after field retting (FR) and enzymatic field retting (EFR) with Texazym SER-7conc.

Cultivar	Field retting		Enzymatic field retting	
	% long fibers	Ton / ha	% long fibers	Ton / ha
USO 31	15	0,50 d	16	0,54 b
Dacia Secuieni	11	1,09 b	8	0,79 b
Bialobrzeskie	19	1,47 a	17	1,35 a
Futura 75	10	0,88 bc	6	0,64 b
Carmagnola Selezionata (CS)	6	0,69 cd	8	0,86 ab

Numbers followed by different letters in the same row are statistically different for P < 0.05 (Tukey test).

Colour

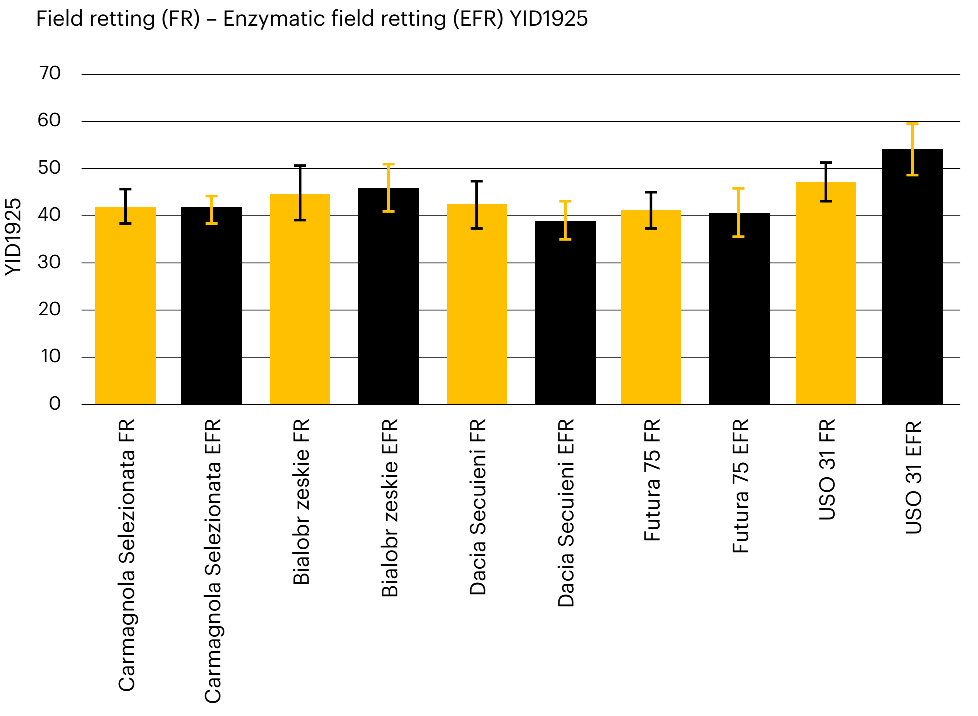
The whiteness of the fibres is expressed with the yellowness index YI D1925: the higher the index the lighter the colour. Large colour differences could be visually observed within a plot (single plot size of the randomized complete block design was 45 m2). A number of 16 colour measurements were carried out per variety / retting method. The CIE Tristimulus values and average and standard deviation of D1925 Yellowness Index values of the different cultivars after field retting and enzymatic field retting are given in Table 3.

Table 3 - CIE Tristimulus values (X, Y, Z) and D1925 Yellowness Index values of different cultivars after field retting (FR) and enzymatic field retting (EFR) with Texazym SER-7conc.

Cultivar	X	Y	Z	YI D1925
USO 31 FR	26,88	27,06	20,36	47,31 ±4,03
USO 31 EFR	23,92	24,22	16,64	54,22 ±5,47
Dacia Secuieni FR	25,72	25,77	20,42	42,44 ±5,17
Dacia Secuieni EFR	23,52	23,65	19,4	38,97 ±4,33
Bialobrzeskie FR	27,01	27,08	21,05	44,88 ±5,66
Bialobrzeskie EFR	26,19	26,22	20,15	45,95 ±5,16
Futura 75 FR	23,12	23,2	18,77	41,25 ±3,76
Futura 75 EFR	23,48	23,62	19,14	40,91 ±5,24
Carmagnola Selezionata FR	22,64	22,83	18,22	42,04 ±4,12
Carmagnola Selezionata EFR	23,25	23,43	18,84	41,46 ±2,94

Figure 1 gives the D1925 Yellowness Index values and the standard deviation of the different cultivars after field retting and enzymatic field retting with Texazym SER-7conc. A significant difference ($p<0.05$) was noticed between the D1925 Yellowness Index value of different cultivars regardless the retting method. Among these five cultivars there is only a significant difference between field retting and enzymatic field retting for cultivars USO 31 ($p<0.001$) and Dacia Secuieni ($p<0.05$).

Fig. 1 - D1925 Yellowness Index values of different cultivars after field retting and enzymatic field retting.



Tensile strength
To examine the effect of the enzymes that were sprayed on the field during the field retting, the linear density and the tensile strength of the obtained long fibres was determined for the cultivars Futura 75, Carmagnola Selezionata and Dacia Secuieni. For this, 150 measurements were performed per quality (cultivar) and per retting method (field retting (FR) and enzymatic field retting (EFR)). The average length, mass, breaking force, linear density and tensile strength per tested cultivar are given in Table 4. Only for cultivar Dacia Secuieni there is a significant difference ($p<0.05$) in tex between field retting and enzymatic field retting. This difference was mainly determined by the fibre length that was much shorter in field retting than in enzymatic field retting.

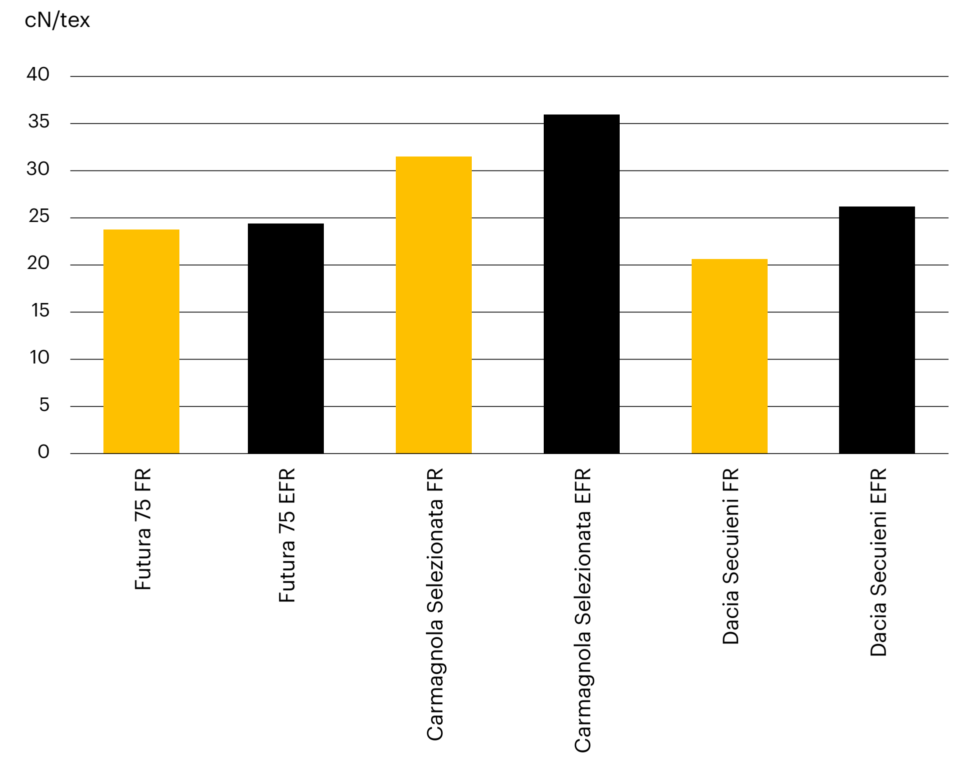
Table 4 - Linear density (tex) and fibre tenacity (cN/tex) of hemp fibres after field retting and enzymatic field retting

Cultivar	Fibre length (mm)	Fibre mass (mg)	Breaking load (N)	Fibre linear density[a] (tex)	Fibre tenacity[b] (cN / tex)
Dacia FR	117,6 ±27,3	1,31 ±0,39	2,41 ±1,38	11,72	20,77
Dacia EFR	153,0 ±44,7	1,00 ±0,41	1,57 ±1,14	6,73	26,34
Futura FR	157,0 ±47,9	1,01 ±0,43	1,51 ±0,96	6,69	23,91
Futura EFR	164,9 ±52,9	1,13 ±0,41	1,73 ±1,31	7,18	24,60
CS FR	178,6 ±53,2	1,03 ±0,39	1,91 ±1,24	5,98	31,73
CS EFR	174,6 ±51,5	0,99 ±0,43	2,06 ±1,31	5,71	36,10

a-tex is expressed as ratio of fiber mass (g) to length (1000 m); b- tenacity is expressed ratio of load required to break the fiber (cN) to linear density of the specimen (tex).

In Figure 2 the fibre tenacity of Futura 75, Carmagnola Selezionata (CS) and Dacia Secuieni after field retting (FR) and enzymatic field retting (EFR) is shown. Between the different cultivars there is a significant difference ($p<0.05$) in fibre tenacity. Of these three cultivars, the cultivar Carmagnola Selezionata gives the best fibre tenacity. Generally, the enzymatic field retted fibres give a slightly better tenacity than the classical field retted fibres.

Fig. 2 - Fibre tenacity of Futura 75, Carmagnola Selezionata and Dacia Secuieni after field retting and enzymatic field retting



Conclusion

In this study, genotype proved to be relevant for determining the fibre yield and quality of hemp. Although dry matter yields tended to be higher in the late flowering genotypes (Bialobrzeskie and CS) because they reached a bigger plant height at full flowering (237 cm and 279 cm respectively), bast fibre content was higher in the early flowering genotype (USO 31).

Two types of retting, (dew) field retting and enzymatic field retting with Texazym SER-7 conc., were considered in this paper. The method of retting not only slightly affected the colour but also the fineness and strength of the hemp fibres and the differences were significant depending on the cultivar. Enzymatic field retting seems to be recommended as a better alternative to field retting in terms of fiber tenacity.

The present study confirms that hemp has a great potential for the textile industry as a high yielding fibre crop, but further research on agronomic factors and improvement of the retting process are necessary to ensure a consistent fibre yield, strength and quality.

Acknowledgements

Optimization of hemp fibre quality for textile applications through an integrated chain approach - own grown hemp is a research project that is coordinated by the Department of Fashion, Textile and Wood Technology of the University College Ghent (HOGENT) and which is a collaboration between the Department of Fashion, Textile and Wood Technology and the department Biosciences and Food Sciences of the University College Ghent (HOGENT). The project is financed for three years (2016-2019) by the HOGENT Applied Research Fund (PWO) and involves close collaborations with industrial partners, whose financial and technical support is gratefully acknowledged. It is linked with the Professional Bachelor Programs of Agro- and Biotechnology and Textile Technology with the aim of strengthening the involvement of students in ongoing research at HOGENT.

References

Antonov, Fischer, et al. (2007). Easily available enzymes as natural retting agents. *Biotechnology Journal*, 2: 342-346.

ASTM Method D1925, 1988. Test Method for Yellowness Index of plastics.
ASTM C 1557, 2004. *Standard Test Method for Tensile Strength and Young's Modulus of Fibres.*

Aubin, Charron, et al. (2016). *Evaluation of Eleven Industrial Hemp Cultivars Grown in Eastern Canada.* Agron. J. 108:1972–1980.

Campiglia et al. (2017). Plant density and nitrogen fertilization affect agronomic performance of industrial hemp *(Cannabis sativa L.)* in Mediterranean environment. *Industrial Crops and Products* 100: 246–254.

Cherret et al. (2005). Ecological Footprint and Water Analysis of Cotton, Hemp and Polyester. Stockholm Environment Institute. Report prepared for and reviewed by BioRegional Development Group and World Wide Fund for Nature – Cymru. SEI Publication. ISBN 91 975238 2 8.

EIHA (2017). European Industrial Hemp Association, EU hemp cultivation area 2017. Retrieved on 10/10/2018 via http://eiha.org/document/eu-hemp-cultivation-area-2017/

Liu et al. (2009). Single-bath bioscouring and dyeing of textiles. EP 1194631 B1.

Liu, Thygesen, et al. (2015). Effect of harvest time and field retting duration on the chemical composition, morphology and mechanical properties of hemp fibres. *Industrial Crops and Products* 69: 29-39.

Marek et al. (2008). Enzymatic Bioprocessing - New tool of extensive natural fibre source utilization. International conference on flax and other bast plants. ISBN #978-0-9809664-0-4: 159-169.

Renaerts et al. (2009). Let your blue jeans talk... green. NBV vzw, Mundo-B, Edinburgstraat 26, 1050 Brussel.

Sankari, H.S. (2000). Comparison of bast fibre yield and mechanical fibre properties of hemp (Cannabis sativa L.) cultivars. *Industrial Crops and Products* 11: 73 – 84.

Snauwaert et al.. (2011). Industriële hennep (Cannabis sativa sativa L.): state-of-the-art. Interreg project 'Groene Grondstoffen, innovatief gebruik van landbouwgewassen', POVLT, 36 p.

Tang, Amaducci, et al. (2016). Comparing hemp (Cannabis sativa L.) cultivars for dual-purpose production under contrasting environments. *Industrial Crops and Products* 87: 33–44.

32 REFLECTION ON AN EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING PLATFORM: CONCEPT TO RETAIL AT PRAXES STUDIO

Authors
Feng-Yu Hsu
Yong Xue (Grace) Hsieh
Shih Chien University, Taiwan

Corresponding author
fina0808@g2.usc.edu.tw

Keywords
education community
brand identity
experiential teaching
incubator
fashion process

Abstract
This study evaluates the efficiency of using Praxes, an actual operating fashion brand incubated by the department, as an experiential learning platform for Master's degree students. Does identifying with the school's brand and doing practical research and work aimed at the current market improve on the stagnant teaching methods of our elders?

Instructors work along with the students in the Praxes design studio to create fashion merchandise, from concept to retail, that conform to the brand identity. Students are challenged not only to expand their range and depth of knowledge, but also to harness their courage in order to successfully participate, thus cultivating innovative and entrepreneurial fashion activists. Using surveys completed by the students, and interviews with the teachers, we refine the teaching system in pursuit of successfully preparing our students for the industry whilst actually running a successful fashion brand.

Education is transformed from an academic tower to a communication platform that enters the industry by exploring real world problems and proposing workable solutions to put into practice. Traveling to China to source fabrics, or to a trade show in the US to market products is all part of the process, and managed by students with the respective backgrounds. They are enabled to move parallel towards the workplace and look into the future.

This research is based on qualitative interviews and quantitative surveys. We explored the teacher and student opinions and attitudes towards the Praxes experiential learning platform, as well as the overall performance of the brand and then looked at the effect of this method on the overall academic development of the department. We see how creating a fashion brand with its own unique identity creates a sense of community amongst our students, transforms the way the students approach their education, and brings our department closer to the needs of the industry.

Introduction
Shih Chien University Fashion Design Department has been enjoying a prominent position in Taiwan and our alumni have made inroads internationally. However, in our industry things go out of fashion quickly, and along with technological advancement, new trends and production methods are the order of the day. Students in a traditional classroom setting who learn passively from a teacher need to transform into self-motivated creators with their own individual vision in order to be successful designers. There is also no longer a static body of knowledge the teacher can transfer to the students. New data emerges constantly and only students who can navigate this ocean of opportunities will succeed. Moving from a more positivist epistemology to a constructivist approach requires the teachers to step down from the stage and not see themselves as emitters of knowledge. (B.R Sockman, P. Sharma, 2008) As Patricia H. Hinchey puts it, 'Instead, the task of the constructivist teacher is to design experiences that will give students an opportunity to develop their own understanding of the data at hand.' (Hinchey, 2010: 42)

Thus we launched the MA Praxes Program in 2013. Students form a team to run the fashion brand and learn practical skills that actually bridge the gap between education and industry. Teachers facilitate and guide from the side. 'In situated contexts learning occurs naturally as a consequence of the learner recognising knowledge's practical utility as well as the need to use it in an attempt to interpret, analyse, and solve real-world problems.' (Hannifin, Land, 2000) Or as explained by the theory of Understanding by Design, '... gains are more likely when teachers teach for understanding of transferable concepts and processes while giving learners multiple opportunities to apply their learning in meaningful (i.e., authentic) contexts.' (Wiggins, McTighe, 2011)

Constructivist theory sounds promising, but how effective is the program really? How can it be adjusted to be more effective? Also, what shortcomings does this real world exposure highlight in our BA program? Researching what is partially our own teaching practice technically qualifies as action research. 'Put more formally, the fundamental purpose of pedagogical action research is to systematically investigate one's own teaching/learning facilitation practice with the dual aim of modifying practice and contributing to theoretical knowledge.' (Norton, 2009: xvi) Embarking on this research we aim to apply the results to fine tune our program and share the insights with the wider educational community.

Methods

To evaluate the Praxes program we collected data from four sources. Firstly we looked at the Master's Degree Graduate Student Survey all 26 MA Praxes graduate students completed. All students are routinely surveyed, so a sample selection process was unnecessary. The questions are general enough to cover all aspects of the course, and Likert's attitude scale makes it easy to analyze the data. (Norton, 2009)

Secondly we looked at interviews conducted with faculty members who were involved in the Praxes program. With a smaller number of instructors involved, and them being eager to help with the research project, email interviews were conducted with open ended questions so they were free to bring up themes and issues as their experience dictated.

Third, we surveyed graduate students about their current occupations and combined the results in a chart. This is hard data, but it should be kept in mind that any number of factors may have influenced the recorded outcomes.

Finally we looked at how the budget is spent and reduced the numbers to diagrams in order easily evaluate whether funds are most effectively allocated.

1. Master's Degree Graduate Student Survey

Section 1 of this document states the threefold education goal for this program.

- To cultivate a sense for culture, the humanities, art, and aesthetics
- To cultivate fashion design research and creative abilities
- To cultivate fashion industry planning and execution skills

Q1: I understand the department education goal.
Q2: I agree the department education goal is appropriate.
Q3: I agree the department education goal is suited for my learning needs.
Q4: I agree the department education goal is useful for my future professional needs.
Q5: I agree the course curriculum is matched with department education goal.
Q6: I agree the teacher's professional ability is matched with department education goal.

Table 1 Education Goal Survey

	Totally Agree		Mostly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Completely Disagree	
	Students	%	Students	%	Students	%	Students	%	Students	%
Q1	15	57.69%	7	26.92%	4	15.38%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q2	13	50.00%	7	26.92%	6	23.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q3	10	38.46%	9	34.62%	7	26.92%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q4	9	34.62%	10	38.46%	7	26.92%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q5	9	34.62%	8	30.77%	9	34.62%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q6	13	50.00%	7	26.92%	6	23.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

In Section 2, the survey looks at core competencies. The students are asked to rate the importance of the following core competencies the department aims to teach.

Q1: Practical fashion design skills
Q2: Design thinking ability
Q3: To have humanistic, art, and aesthetic sense
Q4: The ability to do design research and planning
Q5: The ability to organise a show and do marketing

Table 2 Core Competency Importance Survey

	Extremely Important		Very Important		Important		Not Important		Pointless	
	Students	%	Students	%	Students	%	Students	%	Students	%
Q1	13	50.00%	7	26.92%	6	23.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q2	15	57.69%	4	15.38%	7	26.92%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q3	18	69.23%	4	15.38%	4	15.38%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q4	14	53.85%	7	26.92%	5	19.23%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q5	11	42.31%	9	34.62%	6	23.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

In Section 3, the students are asked to what degree they consider themselves to have mastered the core competencies stated in Section 2.

Table 3 Core Competency Mastery Survey

	Completely Mastered		Mostly Mastered		Partly Mastered		Mostly Not Mastered		Not Mastered at All	
	Students	%	Students	%	Students	%	Students	%	Students	%
Q1	11	42.31%	6	23.08%	9	34.62%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q2	14	53.85%	6	23.08%	6	23.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q3	15	57.69%	6	23.08%	5	19.23%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q4	11	42.31%	7	26.92%	8	30.77%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Q5	11	42.31%	6	23.08%	9	34.62%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

2. Interviews with Praxes Faculty Members

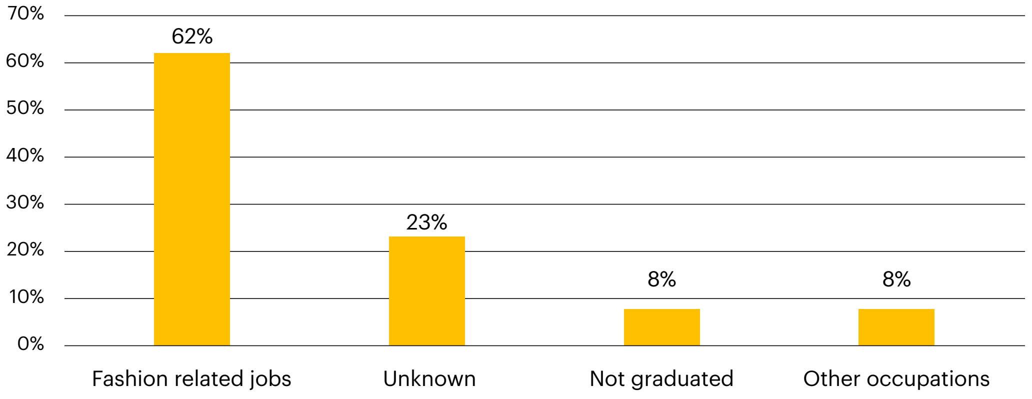
Interviews were conducted with faculty members who were or still are involved with Praxes. A set of questions was asked of each instructor to enable a clearer understanding of how Praxes has been operating. The questions are as follows:

1. How is working with the Praxes program different from conventional teaching?
2. How did you experience this year's collaborative teaching?
3. Is there anything else you would like to say about Praxes?

The data from the interviews was collected and organized and relevant parts referenced in the Discussion section. Information about the faculty members who were interviewed is documented in Appendix I.

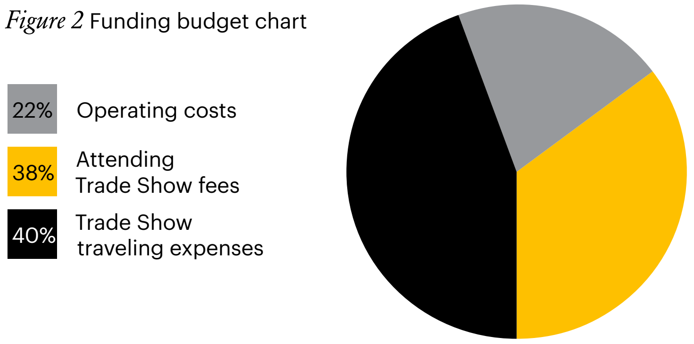
Figure 1: Graduates today

3. Graduates' current occupations



Among the sixteen students who work in fashion related fields two are actually running their own fashion brands. Surprisingly though, eight of them came to the MA program with degrees that are not fashion related, for example philosophy, visual communication, children's English education, Japanese, architecture, business, cosmetics, and shipping and transportation management.

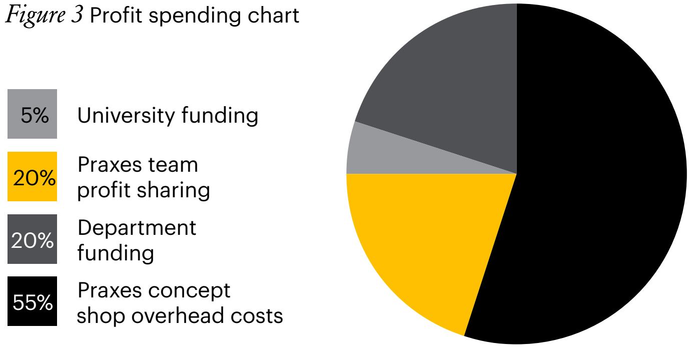
Figure 2 Funding budget chart



4. Budget Allocation

Praxes is funded by a government grant. From Fig. 2 it is clear that trade show fees as well as related transportation and accommodation are the largest expenses. The operating costs include the buying of fabrics, making samples, and creating the look book.

Figure 3 Profit spending chart



The amount of profit the brand makes every year varies, and so does the number of students. The money is allocated as above and the Praxes team could each receive a tiny or substantial sum, depending on the brand performance.

Discussion

A quick look at Table 1 reveals that the students perceive two weaknesses related to the education goals for this program. They are not that sure that the goal is suited to their future employment needs or that the curriculum matches the goal (Table 1 Q4 and Q5). However, Fig. 1 shows that 62% of the students do find employment in fashion related fields and half of them were not even in fashion related fields before. It does give some indication that the program is effective, at least for some students. What difficulty do the others experience?

Professor Feng-Yu Hsu sheds some light on this in her interview, 'In our BA program we have always been teaching the students that they can go from zero to their own collection, all by themselves, which is great.' But when working on the Praxes team this causes some difficulty, 'It is difficult for them to follow the brand image and identity instead of their personal vision.' Surprisingly, this is more difficult for students who have been studying fashion design before, for example, 'We operate like a real brand and suggested designs will often be subject to changes. This is often not easy for the students to accept.' Kevin Wang commented on this aspect in his interview, 'Most important is to identify the problems and then solve them while considering the brand your own brand.'

This turned out not only to be a lesson for the students, but also for the department, as Professor Feng-Yu Hsu explains, 'For the department this was also a learning curve. For the first five years we had designers leading the students to run the brand. Finally we realized that it is not the best way. Designers from outside the faculty still have their own identity they cannot help but impose on Praxes. Also, when a designer leaves, the continuity of the brand identity is interrupted along with the operating procedure and we almost have to start over again.' So currently faculty members join the team and bring their respective skills to the table to assist the students. Till Fang pointed out, 'When I teach I am more subjective to guide them, but the collaborative teaching this year benefits the students because they are exposed to more diverse opinions, so they can find their own voice.'

This is also valuable to the faculty members as it brings them closer to the real world problems faced in the industry. Professor Grace Hsieh commented, 'Teamwork, and thus communication, is key. I have to stay in touch with the design team to effectively plan colors and order the right fabrics to print. I have learned to support the design team instead of following my own opinions.' Kevin Wang also observed another advantage, 'It's great to have more instructors from different fields instead of just one leader so everyone can share expertise and learn together.' This was corroborated by Professor Tseng Tzu-Hui, 'This year, with this collective teaching platform there is a larger team, so during the fashion process there is more time to talk about the prototype and sample making, and teach in more detail so the students can learn how to solve the problems.' Kevin Wang brings up an important point, 'I used to be a student working for Praxes so I don't teach the students but face the problems together with them and learn and gain experience in the process.' Professor Feng-Yu Hsu mentioned an added advantage; 'Working for the Praxes platform is also a valuable opportunity not only to develop your social skills but also to make invaluable connections with your other team members.'

The faculty and students 'face the problems together'. This is a recurrent theme manifesting in words like 'teamwork', 'communication', 'collaboration', 'collective', 'share expertise', and 'learn together'. But what is the cement that can hold the team together? Professor Grace Hsieh said:

> Identifying with the group, the common identity and goal, brings the diverse team members together to work on a communal project. We are proud to be from Shih Chien Fashion Design Department and to be Taiwanese and that is an important part of our brand identity. Taiwan represents youthfulness, freedom, open mindedness, respect for others, and creativity unfettered by dogma or political baggage. Praxes aims to equip our students to take this heritage into the world by letting them experience the realities of turning their fashion vision into a profitable venture.

By working on team building around the brand identity, Praxes could help students navigate the difficult transition between being self-sufficient and true only to their own vision, to becoming design professionals who can also apply their skills and talent to benefit communal projects.

Looking at Table 2 and Table 3 it is clear that practical fashion design skills are not rated as 'very important' by the students, and that they feel they have not sufficiently mastered these skills. Also, design thinking ability, which the department regards as crucial, is not rated very highly by the students. Professor Feng-Yu Hsu said, 'Students coming from traditional classrooms experience several difficulties when they start at Praxes. The running of a brand requires a lot of attention to technical detail involved with production and marketing. Most students would like to focus on design only.' Professor Tseng Tzu-Hui explains, 'Under the time constraints of running a real brand the students need to learn the professional business requirements so they need more help with the connection between materials, the making process, the prototypes and the sizes.' Kevin Wang elaborates, 'When teaching design, the idea is everything, but when working for an actual brand, the design is under budget control. Based on market and budget considerations we need to understand the whole market direction and mass production possibilities.' Till Fang also mentioned this issue, 'Normal teaching is just to help students develop their design aesthetic and inspire them. Praxes leads the students to actually run a company, so they do not design only but also manage the production and do the marketing. It is a broader experience that also goes into more detail.' Finally, Jerry Wang underlined the difference between the BA program and Praxes, 'Conventional learning uses scaffolding and case studies to gradually build skills but Praxes puts you directly on board, and behind the wheel.' As Fig. 3 indicates, the students actually stand to earn money from participating in this program. However, even with this motivation, students are often at a loss when facing these challenges.

The faculty members had several ideas how to smooth over these difficulties. Professor Tseng Tzu-Hui pointed out that when you start working for a clothing brand you receive in-house training. At Praxes students join the program for two years. During the first year they learn from their seniors, and during the second year they take the lead and train their juniors. How can this system run more smoothly? Kevin Wang shared from his extensive experience both as student and teacher at Praxes, 'For brand consistency all information and documents should be saved more systematically so new students and teachers can follow the same standard operating procedure. The logic of organization and calculating the budget are the real skills involved in running a brand.' Till Fang had a similar idea, 'Praxes members stay for only two years so the brand needs a clear design style and target market in order to create continuity. All documents need to be archived and organized. Increased continuity can lead to more efficient use of time.' From a more technical perspective Professor Tseng Tzu-Hui adds, 'We need to build a pattern making system for Praxes to make pattern making easier for future students who come from different backgrounds with different skillsets.' Regarding the difficulty with more practical design related skills that are crucial to make designs viable and require design thinking within the limitations of the budget and the market, the consensus is to develop standard operating procedures which should permanently remain in place, sustaining the identity and continuity of the brand while the students come and go.

Tables 2 and 3 also indicate that the marketing section scores low in importance and mastery, notwithstanding that a large part of the budget is spent on visiting trade shows, as Fig. 2 indicates. Grace Hsieh remarked, 'Even though visiting international trade shows is an invaluable experience, we also need to look at other opportunities for the students to sharpen their marketing skills. Recently we explored more local and regional marketing opportunities, for example 'Under the Radar' in Korea, and 'AXES' in Taiwan. We also opened our own concept shop in 2017.' Kevin Wang pointed out, 'The skill to communicate with your client also becomes important. So we learn to understand the client or market to adjust the whole collection direction.' He suggested, 'It would be great to have more business experts as instructors because our design skills are good but we could improve our business skills.'

From the perspective of Praxes the department can better evaluate the BA Fashion Design program. From the above it is already clear that many BA students have difficulty adjusting to collaborative environments, and that it is a challenge for them to master the technical skills related to budget, production, and marketing. These are expansive fields and will not easily be encompassed by a BA course. Teamwork and collaboration skills are more easily within reach, and Professor Grace Hsieh remarked:

This collaborative platform allows us to boldly create while at the same time understanding what our role is and learning to effectively communicate with other team members. In our BA program the students work mostly individually and it completes their education if they have this experience. Opening up internship positions at Praxes would also be of benefit to our BA students because they can get practical experience here.

Conclusion

Taking the time to research this program has renewed the staff's inspiration and once again reminded those involved of the potential it has. For students who want to seek employment in the fashion design field it is beneficial. For students who plan to start their own fashion brand it is invaluable. This research has given some perspective on how to make it more effective.

The first and most important lesson is that the brand needs to be developed, and brand means identity. It is common knowledge that brand identity is an important marketing tool, but it is manifest that brand identity is also a way to get the students to collaborate to achieve the Praxes signature style. In the fashion industry you get paid a salary to follow instructions, but for many students it is a new experience to put their personal style on the backburner and apply their creativity to a communal venture.

Secondly, it is clear that there is still a gap between BA Fashion Design education and the industry. It is the aim of every institution to close this gap, but there are many technical skills required to get a good design from paper into a showroom, and they are not easily covered within the scope of a BA degree. The Praxes platform is a good opportunity to get introduced to these aspects of the industry. Training can be streamlined and more continuity can be ensured by archiving and organising documents and developing standard operating procedures in order to facilitate this. Teachers adept in all aspects from design planning to marketing need to be on board to guide the students.

Thirdly, in the process of researching this study, the necessity of efficient ongoing data collection with the aim to keep streamlining the program, became apparent. Accurate data is essential in order to apply Lin Norton's ITDEM method (Norton 2009), where first the issues are identified, then how to address the issues is worked out, then the process is carried out, next the results are evaluated, and finally future practice is modified. Action research for a long-term collaborative teaching program requires the whole team to be aware of the students' and other instructors' experiences.

The primary lesson we learnt was that one needs to keep learning and keep adjusting to stay in fashion!

References

Dörner, D. (1999), Approaching Design Thinking Research. *Design Studies*, 20, 407–415

Hakan, Saglam (2012), Procedia. *Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 51, 428

Hinchey, Patricia H. (2010), *Finding Freedom in the Classroom, A Practical Introduction to Critical Theory.* Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., New York

Land, Susan M. et al (1999) Student Centered Learning Environments: Foundations, Assumptions and Design. *Theoretical Foundations of Learning Environments.* UK: Routledge

Lin S. Norton, (2009), *Action Research in Teaching and Learning – A Practical Guide to Conducting Pedagogical Research in Universities.* Routledge London, New York

Sockman, B.R. & P. Sharma (2008), Struggling toward a transformative model of instruction: It's not so easy! *Teaching and Teacher Education* 24, 1071

Grant P.Wiggins, Jay McTighe, (2011), *The Understanding by Design Guide to Creating High-quality Units.* ASCD, Alexandria, Virginia, USA

Appendix I

Praxes faculty members interviewed

Assistant Professor Jerry Wang is a fashion designer running his own brand. He worked at Praxes for over two years from 2015-2017 as the creative director leading the team.

Assistant Professor Tseng Tzu-Hui is teaching pattern making and draping. She has been at Praxes since 2013, managing the process from design to producing samples, and the adjustment of samples.

Kevin Wang lectures in pattern making and traditional Chinese costumes. He has been teaching at Praxes for almost three years, advising on budget control, communicating with the production team about making the garments, teaching the students how to make production sheets, making sure the pattern is tightly fitted on the fabric so the right quantity of fabric is purchased, and calculating the cost of fasteners and trimmings.

Associate Professor Grace Hsieh teaches design fundamentals, printed textiles, dyes and textiles testing. She started working with Praxes in 2017, assisting with printed textiles.

Till Fang lectures in men's wear and women's wear design and brand visual image planning. He started at Praxes in 2018, first as consultant, and later as creative director in charge of the collection, trade show design, and look book design.

Associate Professor, Feng-Yu Hsu is the Head of the Fashion Design Department at Shih Chien University, Taiwan. She is also the CEO of PRAXES. She teaches master's programs in Fashion Design, International Fashion Marketing and Practice (Praxes). She initially applied for a grant to launch and fund Praxes.

48 TOWARDS A CREATIVE ID IN FASHION BUSINESS EDUCATION

Authors
Jacqueline Shorrocks
Anthony Kent
Nottingham Trent University, UK

Corresponding author
jashorrocks@gmail.com

Keywords
creative identities
fashion business educators
teacher education
lack of discourse

Abstract

This paper challenges the conventions of fashion business education and its ability to develop creative graduates. The place of creativity is not well established, but its need is: fashion business students need to have the opportunity to develop the ability and skills needed for creativity.

Teaching for creativity on fashion business courses focuses on knowledge acquisition and the development of visual communication skills. Although useful, these attributes reflect a limited view of creativity, and do not develop the creative thinking for idea generation and problem solving needed by fashion business graduates. Fashion business educators have an important role in students' creative development. However, their individual experiences of creativity determine their personal identity of creativity and how they teach for creativity. Similarly, students have their own creative identities which may vary from those of their peers and teachers.

There is a lack of awareness of the multiple identities of creativity within the fashion business education community. Together, the university education systems, the personal creative identities of teachers and students, and the lack of knowledge and discourse about creativity, produces limited and accidental teaching for creativity.

This paper argues for recognition of these multiple IDs of creativity, and teaching that enables the development of the personal ID of creativity of each fashion business student through the development of a community ID of teaching for creativity. How a new community of creative educators can be built is based on McWilliam's theory of creative capacity building. This paper extends and challenges her theories by calling for a new model of creative fashion business education that challenges preconceptions about what and how fashion business students are taught. The paper concludes with a new creative ID for the community of fashion educators and students, created through teacher education and management support.

Introduction

This paper challenges the conventions of fashion business education and its ability to develop creative graduates, by discussing the reliance on the individual fashion business educators' (FBE) own creative identity in the teaching for creativity. This paper argues for recognition of the multiple identities of creativity that exist and teaching that enables the development of the personal identity of creativity of each fashion business student through the development of a community identity of teaching for creativity.

The place of creativity is not well established in Higher Education (Jackson, 2006; Cropley, 1999) but its need is (NACCCE,1999; Craft, 2005). Further, in an earlier phase of this research, fashion industry managers' views of creativity confirmed the need for creativity, particularly at senior management level. Creative pedagogy literature advocates that students need to have the opportunity to develop the ability and skills needed for creativity and makes recommendations for how this can occur and points to the teacher as pivotal in achieving this (McWilliam, 2005:2007;2009; Craft,2005) However, teaching for creativity on fashion business courses was found to focus on knowledge acquisition and the development of visual communication skills. Although useful, they reflect a limited view of creativity and do not develop the creativity needed by fashion business graduates that supports creative thinking for idea generation and problem solving.

This research project assumes that fashion business educators have an important role in the students' creative development but highlights the inadequacies of the current approach to teaching for creativity, which was found to be informal, infrequent and individual. The FBE's creative identity was found to determine teaching for creativity on fashion business courses and this was formed from their personal experiences of creativity rather than knowledge of creative pedagogy theory, course teaching strategies or management direction. In addition, it was found that the students and FBEs' creativity was often inhibited by the university systems and structures.

Through exploration of the FBEs pedagogies, their views of creativity and what informed their views, the research identified how creativity is taught but also why creativity is taught as it is. The literature that underpins this research will be presented initially and will highlight that the range of views that exist about creativity are more diverse than the theories of teaching for creativity. The research approach will then be described, followed by a discussion of the findings that show how personal creative identity determines the teaching for creativity on fashion business courses. The limitations of the current approach to teaching for creativity will be discussed with reference to McWilliam's theories of creative capacity building. Recommendations will be made for the need for how a community identity in the teaching for creativity can be created.

Literature review

The phenomenon of creativity is discussed in the literature of different academic disciplines, particularly that of psychology and increasingly education and management. Within each of these disciplines, diverse views are expressed about what it is, who can be creative, how to measure creativity, how to improve it and how to manage it. The literature includes different approaches to creativity research and beliefs about creativity's purpose. It also discusses the reasons for the recent interest in creativity and the problems creativity can cause as well as the issues with being creative (Kleiman, 2008). However very little literature discusses the reasons for the absence of overt action to enable and develop creativity within higher education and none was apparent that discusses how teaching for creativity occurs on fashion business courses, the need for fashion business students to be creative or how they can be taught to be creative.

The different approaches to the study of creativity as detailed by Sternberg (1999; 2006) highlights the multiple definitions and interpretations of what is creative, who is creative, how creativity occurs and what affects creativity. Conversely the research that discusses the teaching for creativity reflects a confluence approach to creativity (Amabile, 1996; Sternberg, 1999, 2006). The confluence approach makes assumptions about creativity that challenge popular views and myths about creativity (Weisberg, 1993) and leads to an inclusive, 'democratic' (Craft, 2008) approach to what is creative: who can be creative and how creativity can be taught but does not reflect the diversity of views reflected in the general theories of creativity. The confluence approach to creativity evident in creative pedagogy literature indicates a community identity of creativity, whereas the diverse of views of creativity that exist indicate an individual and personal identity of creativity.

Within the literature reviewed there is criticism of university management for the lack of teaching for creativity in Higher Education (Banaji, Burns and Buckingham, 2010; Cropley, 2009; Jackson, 2006). The lack of direction to teach for creativity and the teaching approaches and structures traditionally used by universities were identified as inhibiting teaching for creativity. Recommendations are made for flexible and forward-facing approaches to teaching for creativity (EUA, 2007; McWilliam, 2007; Ryan and Tilbury, 2013). These criticisms and subsequent recommendations focus on the impact of the external environment on the teaching for creativity and assumes teachers' all have the same personal identity of creativity. It does not discuss why teachers teach for creativity as they do and how the teacher's individual interpretation of creativity- their creative identity - affects how they teach.

McWilliam's creative pedagogy research (2005, 2007, 2009) describes teaching for creativity in universities and what is required to teach it. She emphasises the importance of creativity and that it is possible to 'foster small c creativity through sustainable and replicable pedagogical practice' (McWilliam & Dawson, 2008; p.634). The focus of McWilliam's theory is the teacher and how their actions and interactions affect what she describes as 'building creative capacity' (2009; p.282) but her theories assume a cohesive creative community exists within the teaching environment that supports the teaching approach she advocates.

The review of the literature showed that creativity is complex and that many understandings of the phenomenon exist. However, it also identified that research into teaching for creativity within universities is limited, in that it assumes a confluence approach and second-generation understandings of creativity. The absence of research about teaching creativity to fashion business students led to research questions, first to identify how creativity is taught by FBEs, and second, why they teach it in particular ways.

Methodology

The research was designed to explore the creative pedagogies of fashion business educators, to discover how teaching for creativity occurs on fashion business courses and why. The complexity and many interpretations of creativity identified in the literature highlighted the need to understand each fashion business educator's understanding of creativity and their personal reflections on their views and practices of teaching for creativity. Interviews were identified as the method to collect the thick and rich data required (Kvale, 1996). As the aim was to uncover the range of views and practices that exist in the teaching for creativity maximal variation sampling was used (Creswell, 2014).

Interviews were conducted with thirty-two fashion business educators from five universities in the UK. The selected interviewees had taught across a range of subjects on fashion business courses but had different backgrounds, responsibilities and years of teaching experience. Most of those interviewed had worked in the fashion industry in a variety of roles and sectors prior to joining Academia. The universities from which the interviewees were selected ranged in size, location, the number of fashion business courses they ran and the subject discipline they were aligned to. For the purpose of this research fashion business courses were deemed to be any course that sought to prepare students for a role within the fashion industry that focused on the operational and commercial side of the sector rather than design, product development or garment technology. These include course titles that include management, marketing, buying, merchandising, communication.

Thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) was conducted at multiple levels to retain the integrity of the data during interpretation to generate findings that accurately reflect the richness of the views expressed. These multiple levels of analysis uncovered significant insights into the FBEs' pedagogies, their definitions of creativity and what they believed were the components required to teach for creativity. This analysis also identified what had informed these views and a further stage of holistic analysis revealed the contradiction and uncertainty of the views expressed, which are explored in the next section.

Findings

The creative identity of the fashion business educator

The findings demonstrated that the creative identity of the fashion business educators was determined by their personal experiences of creativity. This determined how they defined their own creativity or what they perceived as creativity in others. Creativity was often described as individual and unique, magical and inexplicable. Creativity was believed to be 'innate', and consequently their approach to teaching for creativity was to encourage, enhance or enable the creativity 'within the individual'.

Initial descriptions of creativity were of artistic creativity but thinking creativity was often referred to subsequently and at this stage many that had not described themselves as creative thought they could think creatively. The presumption that creativity was demonstrated via artistic modes dominated the discussion of creativity, affecting attitudes to what modules did or did not require creativity and how students were taught and assessed for creativity.

All of those who had an art and design background believed they were creative however many of those with a business background did not describe themselves as creative or indicated that 'their creativity' was not recognised and were critical of the 'soft and fluffy' creativity most often described. The confidence in their creativity expressed by those with an art and design background reflected the expectation of creativity they had experienced as students and had continued into their professional lives in the fashion industry. Although artistic creativity was how many initially described creativity, it was evident that they believed creativity was also a way of thinking, an approach to 'seeing the world' or 'solving a problem'.

By contrast there was more uncertainty among FBEs with a business background. Some described themselves as not creative and often described creativity as something artistic. Others were unsure and said they 'didn't know' or they 'didn't really think about it'. Conversely those who were confident in their definition of creativity would describe creative thinking and non-heuristic problem-solving as more important elements of creativity than making something 'look pretty'.

Those from both backgrounds who considered themselves creative said they taught for creativity when they could and described teaching as they had learned. However, many said they couldn't teach for creativity because they didn't have the time, the module content didn't allow it or the 'dull grey lecture halls weren't conducive to being creative. Some thought the students weren't able or willing to be creative. They pointed to the students' lack of innate creative ability, the spoon-feeding education they'd received previously, their lack of real experiences and reliance on social media for their views and their unwillingness to take risks. Some FBEs also emphasised the pressure on them to 'not let the students fail' because of the financial investment the students had made. However, some FBEs indicated they did not know how to teach for creativity and were obviously embarrassed by this as they recognised the importance of creativity.

What was significant in these findings is that the FBEs had no awareness of each other's definition of creativity and creative identity. No FBE indicated that creativity, its meaning and its teaching was discussed amongst peers, management or students but the concept was 'banded about' and its meaning assumed. When creative teaching was described, FBEs of both backgrounds described teaching that was visual, used props, or involved making things. It was noted that one university had introduced a creative framework but the interpretations of what this meant varied: not all staff mentioned the framework and some were sceptical about its feasibility for their modules or courses.

In addition to a lack of discourse about creativity there was a lack of knowledge of creative pedagogy theory and limited training for how to teach for creativity even amongst those who had teaching qualifications. Teaching was by instinct and intuition, developed from prior experiences.

The research was expected to identify groups of FBEs who shared similar approaches to teaching for creativity and looked to identify if background or where they taught influenced their teaching for creativity. What was found was that there was a spectrum of views and practices for the teaching for creativity ranging from those who stated they taught for creativity and those that said they didn't. However, some of the described practices unintentionally contradicted creative pedagogy theory about enabling or inhibiting creativity. For example, some described teaching for creativity by 'telling the students to be creative' and requiring the ideas to 'be commercial' or 'work'. Conversely, some who did not believe they taught for creativity described setting assessments and class activities where students determined what they would do and how. The only clear group identified was that of those with an arts and design background. Its members were usually confident in their views of creativity, reflecting that creativity had been integral to their learning experiences and expectations of them. However, the views and practices of this group were not the same as each other's. Some expressed broad views others that recognised artistic and thinking creativity as equally important, whereas others only described artistic and making things as creative. Their views were informed by their individual experiences of creativity.

Because each FBE described creativity based on their experiences of creativity what was described as needed to teach for creativity reflected their definition of creativity. The range of creative identities was found to be diverse but approaches to teaching for creativity were found to be limited. The FBE's described encouraging, enhancing and enabling as how they taught for creativity. Most indicated that teaching for creativity was not a priority or a requirement. Consequently, teaching for creativity on fashion business courses was found to be informal, infrequent and most importantly, individual to each FBE and so not replicable. Problematically, teaching for creativity relied on the FBE's actions and interpretations of creativity which assumed the same approaches and outcomes for each student.

Visual communication skills were the main example of teaching for creativity on fashion business courses. Visual skills were sometimes 'added to dry subjects… to make them less dry'. The FBEs often said that the creativity had to 'work' or 'be commercial' and assessment of these attributes was based on their views and experience of the

industry. However, the range of assessments and what was assessed limited creativity. Although risk taking and challenging the norm were identified as required for creativity, there were few examples where this could happen, as risk taking necessarily requires the possibility of failure and challenging the norm will also include challenging the beliefs of the FBE who is assessing the work. An example where risk taking was encouraged was a business game that was assessed on reflection of the process rather than the success of the business. Making connections and thinking outside the box were also identified as required for creativity, and some indicated their desire for more interdisciplinary teaching and experiential learning. However, the examples of interdisciplinary teaching were minimal and opportunities for experiential teaching had declined due to large cohorts and cost.

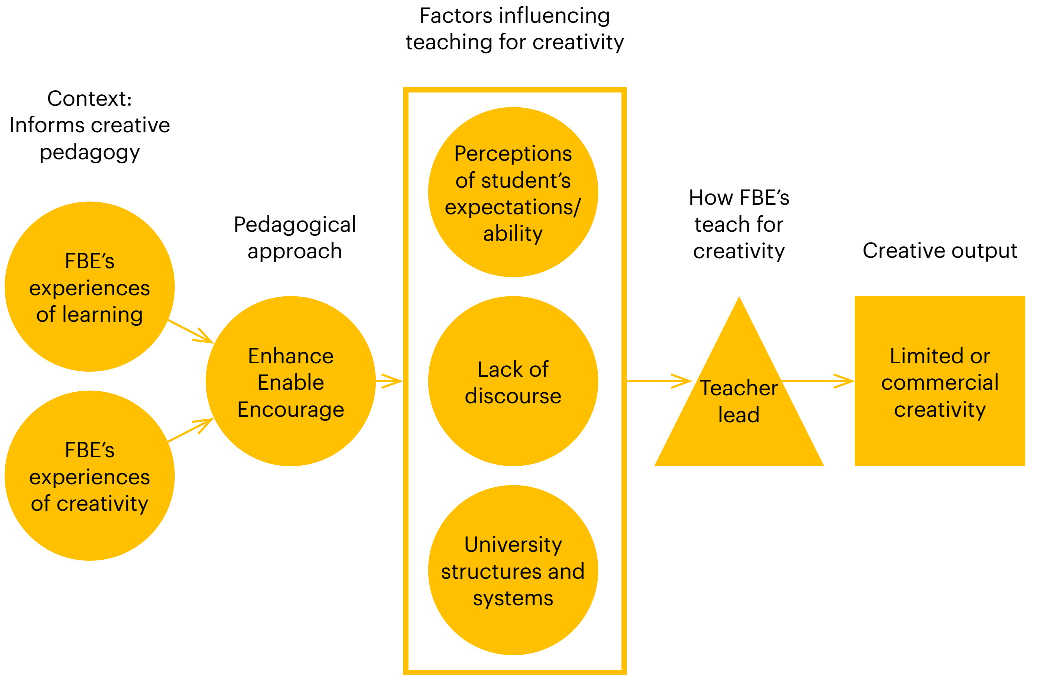
Work experience was often cited as key to enhancing students' creativity. Many initiatives to increase work experience were evident at department and institutional levels but the objective was to increase students understanding of the industry, the concepts taught and ultimately employability on graduation. While increased understanding of the industry could lead to students generating creative ideas, creativity was not a stated objective of their work experience but an additional and optional benefit.

Irrespective of their creative identity all interviewees thought creativity was important for fashion business students. The lack of direction to teach for creativity at course, department or university level was also surprising, given the stated importance of creativity as important as 'human capital' (Craft, 2008; Bourdieu, 1986) and universities' current emphasis on employability. The lack of discussion is evident in the findings; that creativity's meaning is assumed and that views of creativity reflect and are determined by personal experiences of creativity.

Discussion

The findings demonstrated that the FBEs individual creative identity borne from their experiences determines their creative pedagogy. How they teach for creativity is influenced by their perceptions of the students' abilities, a lack of discussion about the meanings of creativity and the limitations of the university systems (figure 1).of the data during interpretation to generate findings that accurately reflect the richness of the views expressed. These multiple levels of analysis uncovered significant insights into the FBEs' pedagogies, their definitions of creativity and what they believed were the components required to teach for creativity. This analysis also identified what had informed these views and a further stage of holistic analysis revealed the contradiction and uncertainty of the views expressed, which are explored in the next section.

Figure 1: How individual creative identity of the fashion business educator determines their teaching and limits the creative output.



This approach is problematic as it relies on the FBE's individual and sometimes narrow interpretation of creativity, and the students creativity is judged by the FBE's view of what is acceptable as creative within the fashion industry. It also assumes FBEs have the time, ability and motivation to teach this complex phenomenon, within an educational system that does not support or guide the teaching for creativity and does not allow the risk taking and challenging of the norm, required for creativity. Although each FBE may be consistent when they teach for creativity, their methods are not consistent across the teaching community, they are not replicable and only encourage, enable and enhance forms of creativity that are identified by the individual FBE.

Creative pedagogy theory appeared to adopt a confluent approach to creativity recognising the complexity and contradictions that are contained within the phenomenon. Although each theorist emphasised the different elements required to teach for creativity, creative pedagogy theory did not rely only on the actions of the teacher, but assumed the environment (physical and emotional), the curriculum and student were aligned to enable teaching for creativity to occur. Amabile (1996; 2012) describes an integrated componential model, Jackson (2016) an 'Ecology' and Robinson (2006) compares it to an organic agricultural system. All describe a system of teaching that is replicable and allows the creative output to be new.

McWilliam's (2005; 2009) theory of creative capacity describes a process with the teacher at the centre. However, their role is to be a Meddler in the Middle to challenge the student and their position vis a vis the student as a 'co-creator'. This approach varies significantly to what was found amongst the community of FBEs where they either adopted a didactic Sage on the Stage or a facilitating Guide on the Side approach. What approach FBEs used was determined by what they perceived the student needed or what the university required. What, who and how FBEs taught for creativity was determined by their experiences of creativity. The meddler in the middle approach

described and advocated by McWilliam was evident in some of the teaching described by the FBEs, and in how some described their preference for teaching. However, this was infrequent and not usually possible due to a focus on knowledge acquisition, the inflexibility of timetables and large student cohorts.

Importantly, McWilliam's theory assumes that all aspects of the educational environment support the teaching for creativity, that there is a community creative identity. Figure 2 (below) demonstrates McWilliam's theory of teaching for creativity. Her theories assume teachers are knowledgeable about creativity and the differing theories that exist. According to this theory, teachers have second generation understandings of creativity, they do not believe it is a mystical skill possessed by a few, but it can be taught and is replicable. McWilliam assumes teachers are pedagogically expert and have been taught to teach, that they have autonomy and flexibility in the classroom, and, are supported by the institution in their teaching for creativity.

The theory generated from my findings of how FBE's teach for creativity indicates that FBEs' creative identity is individual. They have first and second-generation understandings of creativity, most of those interviewed had not been taught to teach and no one had been taught to teach for creativity. The narrow views of the type of creativity needed by the fashion industry and achievable by the fashion business student, restricts what is recognised as creative and taught on fashion business courses. University systems and structures were found to inhibit how FBEs taught and there was limited direction and support from the university or management for teaching for creativity. Consequently, teaching for creativity was unique to the individual FBE reflecting their creative identity. Figure 3 shows how McWilliam's theory compares with the emerging FBE theory and highlights how the creative output is determined and so constrained by the FBE's creative identity. Conversely, the community creative identity advocated by McWilliam produces broader student determined creative outputs.

Figure 2: McWilliam's theory of creative capacity building

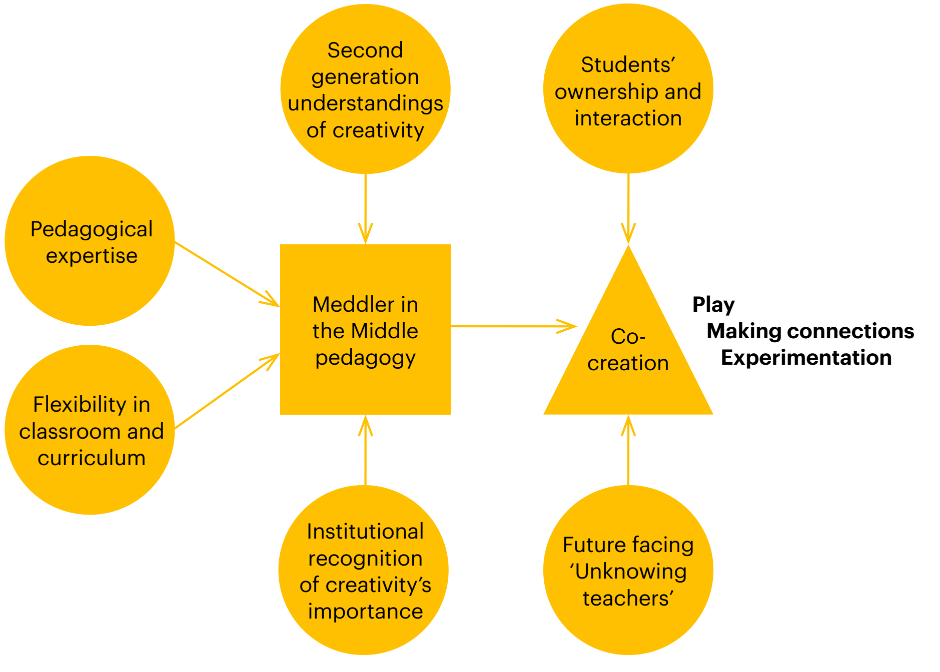
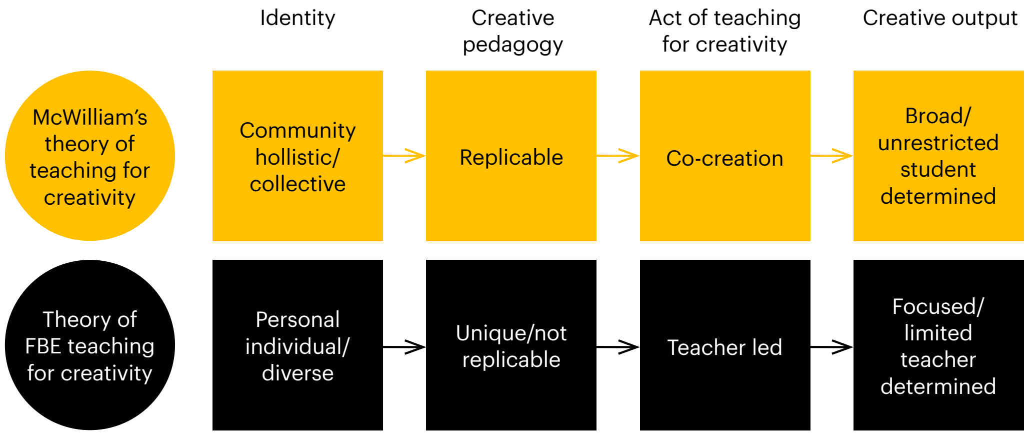


Figure 3: Comparison of personal and community identities in the teaching for creativity

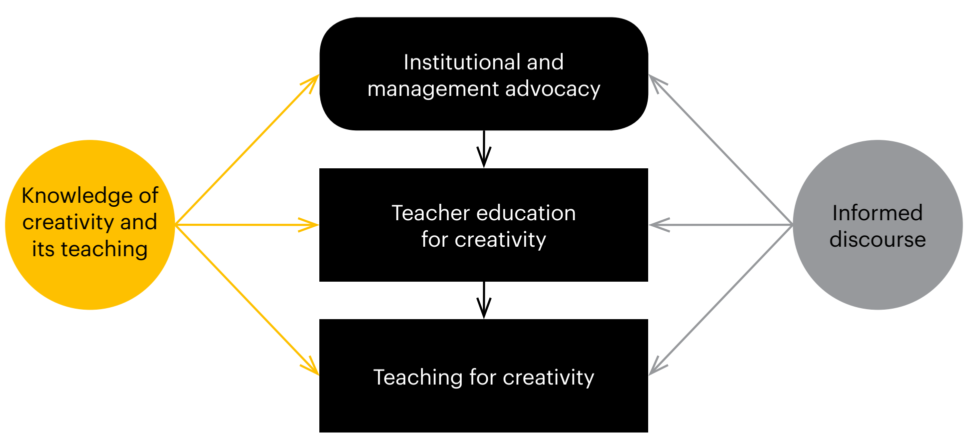


Recommendations

This paper argues for recognition that multiple identities of creativity exist, and for teaching that enables the development of the personal ID of creativity of each fashion business student, through the development of fashion business educator community ID to teach for creativity.

Figure 4 illustrates how this new community could be built. Using McWilliam's theory of creativity as a base, a new model of creative fashion business education is proposed but it requires significant changes in attitudes and structures within Higher Education and fashion business education.

Figure 4: Approach to transform teaching for creativity from a personal creative identity approach to a community identity approach.



Teacher education is required about creativity and how to teach for creativity. This education needs to be ongoing and include discussion of the varying theories and forms of creativity, and how each module or discipline can include creativity within their teaching and learning. In addition, constant and informed discourse is required to ensure that practices evolve as greater knowledge of what is required to teach for creativity becomes known. All those involved with the teaching and management of the students' learning experience, not just front-line teachers, need to be included in this education and discourse.

However, teacher education cannot exist in a vacuum. What is also required is a rethinking of the purpose of university education, who teaches and what and how it is taught. This teacher education will not occur without institutional and management support that creativity is an attribute, an objective and expectation of, academic achievement. Management leadership is required to change current practices to enable more cohesive teaching for creativity, that can in turn enable the personal and individual nature of each student's creativity to be expressed.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed how the individual creative identity of the fashion business educator determines how they teach for creativity. This finding highlights the absence of a community identity for teaching for creativity on fashion business courses, by contrast with the creative pedagogy literature that advocates a collective community approach to teaching for creativity. A community identity for teaching for creativity on fashion business courses is recommended that recognises the different forms creativity can take, and enables its teachers to teach creativity that reflects their personal identity, and also the creativity of others, and most importantly their students.

References

Amabile, T. (1996) *Creativity in Context.* Oxford: Westview Press.

Amabile, T. (2012) *Componential Theory of Creativity.* Harvard Business School. Working Paper, No.12-096.

Banaji, S. Burn, A. and Buckingham, D. (2010) The rhetoric of creativity: A literature review. *Creativity Culture and Education.* The Arts Council. Accessed from http://www.creativitycultureeducation.org/research-impact/literature-reviews

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The Forms of Capital. In Richardson, J. (Eds) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education.*New York: Greenwood.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2): 77-101.

Craft, A. (2005) *Creativity in Schools: Tensions and Dilemmas.* London: Routledge.

Craft, A. (2008) Trusteeship, Wisdom and the Creative Future of Education? *UNESCO Observatory: Journal of Multi-Disciplinary Research in the Arts*, 1(3): 1–20.

Creswell, J. W. (2014) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (4th Edition.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cropley, A. (1999) Education. In Runco, M.A and Pritzker, S.R. (Eds.). *Encyclopedia of Creativity*, pp.629 – 642. New York: Academic Press.

Cropley, A. (2009) *Creativity in Education and Learning – a Guide for Teachers and Educators.* New York: Routledge Falmer.

European University Association (2007) *Creativity in Higher Education: Report on the EUA Creativity Project.*

Jackson, N. (2006) Imagining a different world. In N. Jackson, M. Oliver, M. Shaw and J. Wisdom (Eds.), *Developing Creativity in Higher Education: An Imaginative Curriculum.* London: Routledge.

Jackson, N. (2016) Exploring Creative Pedagogies and Learning Ecologies. Background paper for Creative HE online Discussion. *Creative Academic Magazine.* No.7, October. Accessed from http://www.creativeacademic.uk/magazine.html.

Kleiman, P. (2008) Towards transformation: conceptions of creativity in higher education. *Innovations in Education and Teaching International*, 45(3): 209–217.

Kvale, S. (1996) Interviews: *An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing.* London: Sage Publications.

McWilliam, E. (2005) Unlearning Pedagogy. *Journal of Learning Design*, 1(1): 1-11.

McWilliam, E. (2007) Unlearning how to teach. Paper in the Proceedings of the *Creativity or Conformity? Building Cultures of Creativity in Higher Education* conference, Cardiff, January.

McWilliam, E. (2009) Teaching for creativity: From sage to guide to meddler. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 29(3): 281-293.

McWilliam, E. and Dawson, S. (2008) Teaching for Creativity: Towards Sustainable and Replicable Pedagogical Practice. *Higher Education* 56. P 633-643

Miles, M and Huberman, M. (1994) An Expanded Sourcebook: *Qualitative Data Analysis.* London: Sage Publications.

NACCCE. (1999) *All our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education.* London: DfEE

Robinson, K. (2006) *Do Schools Kill Creativity?* TED Talks, Monterey [online] http://www.tedtalks.com.

Ryan, A. and Tilbury, D. (2013) *Flexible Pedagogies: New Pedagogical Ideas* The Higher Education Academy.

Sternberg, R.J. (1999) *Handbook of Creativity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sternberg, R.J. (2006) The nature of creativity. *Creativity Research Journal.* 18 (1): 87–98.

Weisberg, R (1993) Creativity: *Beyond the Myth of Genius.* New York: W.H Freeman.

132 THE FUTURE OF THE FASHION DESIGNER: CHANGING CONCEPTS OF THE DESIGNER AND CONSUMER RELATIONSHIP IN THE AGE OF SUSTAINABLE PRACTICE

Authors
Noel Palomo-Lovinski
Kent State University, USA
Steven Faerm
Parsons School of Design, USA

Corresponding author
npalomo@kent.edu

Keywords
sustainability
design responsibility
consumer identity
product service systems
design education

Abstract

The traditional practices of the fashion designer should be no longer acceptable in an industry marked by unfettered consumption, resource depletion, and unethical practices. Globally, the garment industry prioritises profitability over the environment and business ethics. To garner optimal profits, designers influence their consumers' social-psychological motivations and synthesize these with their mastery of aesthetics. However, rather than relying on these actions to create profit alone, future designers must focus on creating profit through higher purposes and values. In doing so, fashion designers will make significant contributions to a truly sustainable future in which the environment and people are protected, and fashion businesses thrive.

This paper proposes a future fashion industry in which designers elevate their creative freedom and motivation to significantly innovate beyond the facile. In this scenario designers extend their talents by creating compelling ethical and creative narratives that inspire consumers' responsibility. The authors first present an overview of the burgeoning concepts in the practices of design and retail. Then, applying Sustainable Product Service Systems (SPSS) as a theoretical framework, the authors propose an enhanced model for the design and retail practices so they may better engage with consumers for a holistically more efficient, sustainable, and cost-effective future.

Additional proposals are made for the future of American design education in support of the changing needs of the fashion industry. Students must gain an increasing awareness of advanced systems thinking, strategic planning, sustainable methods, and consumer psychographics well before entering professional practice. As a result, future designers will be instilled with a deeper understanding of their audience's preferences while successfully advancing the future industry's sustainable and ethical operations. This paper advances a proposed manufacturing system based on the existing research literature surrounding the influential relationship between the designer and the consumer, and how to best shape an individual sense of fashion and responsibility for a more sustainable future.

Introduction

> The inquiry [of innovative design] emphasizes the project's true purpose and sheds any false presumptions about how to do the work or what it should be. It ensures design's relevancy by forcing one to ask about its consequence in the world.
>
> (Chimero, 2012: 56)

Instead of necessarily asking 'What is the future of fashion?' it is perhaps more salient to ask, 'What is the future fashion designer?' A fundamental requirement is to understand what will be required of designers in the future, what skills they will need, and the inherent changes in design education that will match the needs of the future fashion designer. This paper will examine alternative product service systems and design thinking constructs that suggest a sustainable future in which the designer has a closer relationship with the consumer and takes long-term responsibility for the clothing that they produce.

The essential shift towards sustainability is an expanded conception of what and how a fashion designer might perform their job and interact with their customers in the future. The role of the fashion designer, and the way in which the fashion industry interacts with the consumer, is inescapably changing. Fashion designers currently use their understanding of design motivation, aesthetic appeal, aspirational desire, coupled with low prices, to instigate consumerism devoid of the larger questions of ethics, long-term happiness, or environmental degradation. 'Trends' are so compressed and overlapped as to become pointless. The present expectation of fashion designers requires them to create clothing that emphasizes object obsolescence without innovation beyond the facile. To compound this, fast fashion brands achieve up to fifty-two deliveries a year, forcing all other mass-fashion retailers and manufacturers to try and keep up, exacerbating the already deleterious effects of the industry.

The current focus of fashion business, therefore, is to make as much money as possible, in as little time as possible, creating a zero-sum game of constant demand that is fundamentally rapacious and promises only to elevate expectation. Indeed, fast fashion gives consumers the chance to achieve designer-like style, without necessarily spending the money (Joy et al., 2012: 286.) If consumers do not understand the fashion industry's contribution to environmental or social problems, then the motivation to eschew fast fashion is low (Joy et al., 2012: 288). With little time to properly consider tangible innovation, the contemporary fashion designer has less control in directing style choices, so much as over-producing the amount of all style choices, hoping that something will be chosen by a capricious consumer. Fashion designers have chosen to create and interact with their customers through outdated systems and methods resulting in large amounts of waste. The outdated fashion industry creates clothing based on a supply and value chain that is constrained by an analog world rooted in sequential time and literal place. The fashion industry, therefore, must continue the slow and seismic shift towards a future that is wholly different than the one we currently know. While these changes are necessarily slow - because of the enormity of problems as well as complexity - they are essential.

Designers then and now

Historical examples of couturiers and designers are of taste-makers, delivering edicts every season in a closely regulated time schedule. Craft practice was the central source of innovation, necessitating a top-down construct, thus negating any sense of collaboration. Indeed, the process of couture dressmaking and sartorial decision-making was often shrouded in mystery: the sensitive artist making women into rarefied art objects. While this offers a romantic view of an artist, their creative prowess, and their muse, it does little to explain all of what a fashion designer can and should do as an essential change maker.

Fashion designers have long had the ability to bring diverse cultures and environments into their work, creating acceptance for alternative conceptions of beauty through powerful creative narratives. It could be argued that much of the ultimate acceptance of women's rights or gay culture throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries was, in part, through initial visual and sartorial suggestions made by designers (Calefato, 2006). Design attributes such as quality, aesthetics, functionality, and emotional qualities have all been found to offer long-term satisfaction for consumers (Niinimäki, 2011: 156). Consumers respond to ideas of highlighted craftsmanship and attention to detail that promote visual significance (Joy et al., 2012: 287). As business has increasingly sought larger profit with cheaper products, designers have, in many instances, unwittingly weakened the impact of these very insights regarding craftsmanship, aesthetic significance, and the subsequent cultural conveyance of meaning.

In the fast fashion era, expectations of speed and affordability require that innovation is a distant goal that is talked about abstractly with no clear understanding of what that might actually constitute. Machines and cheap labour are often able to replicate the craft techniques and rarified looks once available to only a few. Craft, as traditionally considered, is no longer uniquely special since is offered cheaply and ubiquitously. If a consumer does not understand the manufacturing process or anything about textiles, they may be unimpressed by traditionally expensive processes, techniques, or types of fabrics (Joy et al., 2012: 288). The digital world reduces the ability to offer exclusivity and originality since image databases such as Pinterest create an overabundance of creative design solutions or craft techniques, thereby homogenizing any new style or look from a designer. Additionally, and perhaps most importantly, digital databases have condensed the expectation of speed of creation, from on-line documentation, to retail, to inevitable boredom by oversaturation. Digital media, therefore, is a key factor in democratizing aesthetic and experiential outcomes, consequently generating greater pressure on designers and manufacturers to offer a wider scope of visual materials in which to produce product.

Conversely, consumers have an increased expectation of 'affordable luxury' and heightened customer experience, as the desire for having everything for nothing increases (Amed et al., 2017: 11). Competition amongst brands has escalated as brand loyalty is less prevalent due to consumer demand of signature and exclusive items that feature higher quality, yet at lower prices (Amed et al., 2017: 44-45). Additionally, as our needs are met, we look for meaningful and satisfying experiences which extend into tertiary products and services that surround that product (Brown, 2012: 111). The current methods that designers and retailers have begun to explore are ways in which consumers 'granular customer insights' allow for personalisation and forms of wardrobe curation (Amed et al., 2017: 13). Indeed, 70 percent of American consumers expect some form of personalisation, customised products, or curated recommendations (Amed, et al., 2017:44). Notably, while consumers want more choice, and personalised accommodations, all at lower prices, evidence suggests that an increasing number of consumers also want the places they shop at to align with their own values and priorities of environmental and social sensitivity (Amed et al., 2017:44).

The designer of the future

When viewed through the perspective of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1943), first world societies' over-abundance of products available to satiate our material needs enables consumers to have their basic needs met and, subsequently, seek out meaningful life experiences for esteem and self-actualization. 'The consumers' search for meaning generates the increasing importance emotionally compelling narratives have in oversaturated markets where consumers are inundated with offerings' (Faerm, 2016: 208). To stand out, designers must capture their audience's emotional cravings through unique narratives that enhance a design's value and appeal. Designers, then, increasingly will be expected to design emotional experiences that manifest through storytelling, products, and associated systems. Designers must understand not only their buyers' demographic data but also their psychographic data, too. Brown (2012: 115) posits that design's mastery of aesthetics and emotion can enable empathy and understanding to enrich the engagement or participation of a consumer. Rather than relying on skills of designers to create blind consumerism, these same skills can be utilised by practitioners to promote a healthier and beneficial relationship between designer, product, and customer.

Sustainable fashion offers the opportunity of an environmentally and socially ethical purchase that also satisfies a consumer's need of a creative or personal narrative (McNeil & Moore, 2015: 213). Allowing consumers to feel that they are positively affecting change is essential. McNeill and Moore (2015: 220) found that consumers liked the idea of 'buying local' because it meant less carbon footprint and more oversight on worker conditions, while also encouraging a sense of patriotism and pride. Consumers did not associate buying second hand or buying vintage as necessarily being sustainable; they were simply doing it to save money or to have a greater variety available to them (McNeil & Moore, 2015: 220). This suggests that customer involvement within a meta-narrative of positive change, somewhat on a local level and still relatively inexpensive, is a way to move toward sustainable change. This is a 'tall order' and requires that fashion retailers and manufacturers think differently about their standard operating procedures. Increasingly, Product Service Systems (PSS), such as curated product placement or convenience delivery, which have been used to enhance a product's desirability, could be applied to a product to increase the levels of sustainability.

Sustainable Product Service Systems

Sustainability focused PSS have been discussed and fielded for consumer adoption and acceptance (Armstrong et al., 2014; Niinimäki, 2017; Palomo-Lovinski & Hahn, in review). In many instances these PSS are used for unsustainable products but could be easily applied in a more environmentally and socially protective way. Table 1 'Sustainable Product Systems (Select)' lists a variety of current services that might be applied in a sustainable way.

Table 1: Sustainable product systems (select)

Service	Applications of service in practice
Co-design	The process of designing collaboratively with a client to fully understand the needs, desires, and preferences that would likely lead to extended use. Currently expensive and time restrictive, application of rapid prototyping applications and 3D modeling would make this a more viable option.
Mass- customisation	The process of presenting a variety of preset customisable options created by designers from postponement stock. Allows consumers to participate in the creative process with less time constraints or margins of error. This is also closely associated with personal curation.
Repair	Many dry-cleaning services in metropolitan cities currently offer services of minor repairs, minor alterations, hemming, or the replacement of closures. If these services were to be extended by offering repair, as well as major alterations, this may extend the life of the garment and encourage extended use.
Take-back	Brands such as Eileen Fisher and Patagonia request that the customers that buy their products return them after their use of them is over. These two companies motivate their customers to do so by offering discounts on future items, as well as promoting a long-term relationship in which responsibility of product is an extended commitment. The returned clothing can be repaired and resold, recycled, or discarded in the most environmentally safe way possible.
Upcycling	The process of extending the use of a garment by fundamentally changing or adding design elements to it.

The ultimate goal of any company seeking to be sustainable would require that all products be kept within a closed-loop system, forever recycled and producing no waste. Niinimäki (2017: 152) posits that the only way to have a truly closed-loop system in which all resources are accounted for is to require that designers, producers, manufacturers, and suppliers are all part of the solution. The significant difference in a proposed Sustainable Product Service System (SPSS) would require an increased incorporation of technology and digital interfaces to keep efficiency high, costs low, and a transparent message of sustainable emphasis. The digital world is simultaneously global in scope and yet can be focused on local community, offering a new set of possibilities to design interaction, collaboration, and research, supply chain management and sourcing, end-use, and consumer motivation. These new pathways are necessitated by the needs of an industry that is running out of resources and is responsible for so much harm to the environment and its workers. Here, fashion businesses have the opportunity to follow the axiom 'act global and think local' by creating a framework in which greater responsibility, oversight, and specificity of design is possible. In the following proposed framework, designers would have a concomitant connection to the community for which they design, but they would not be limited by it. Conversely, the designer's product, while not required to meet the needs of the global community in physical product, could still offer and utilise global visual information and choice. For example, if an American consumer spotted a textile from an African designer and a garment detail from a Dutch designer, he or she could have it made from physical resources in their own local community.

New design and brand construct

The future of fashion will, inherently, be a vastly different one than we know today by virtue of lessening resources and the inevitable requirement that the economies of the world are on a more equal footing. Rather than having the third world be in service to the first world as it presently is, there must be a shift towards the first world applying their resources to enable the third world (Faud-Luke, 2009). Future economies within the spectre of climate change will require more equitable collaboration. In short, we succeed when we succeed together. Fletcher and Grose (2012) define the changing role of the designer as a communicator and educator, facilitator, activist, or entrepreneur. The emphasis of the future designer is one of community building, helping the consumer in their sense of self-efficacy for sustainable change. The designer is in a position to bring together the needs of sustainable change with the specific constraints or possibilities of creating clothing, while having a deep understanding of aesthetics and style. It is incumbent upon designers to foster a closer communication and responsiveness with their customers to the concerns of the environment, social welfare of manufacturing workers, consumerism, and waste.

A brand which strove for this responsible accountability would be both global and local, thereby incorporating the best of both worlds by responding to the need of the fashion industry to interact on a granular level with consumers while also responding to the rich opportunity for diversity. The digital world enables us to connect ideas, styles, patterns, processes, concepts, or any other brand directive while concurrently allowing for localised points of manufacture, production or directed disposal. A proposed business strategy is to have a design space, production, manufacturing, retail, and post-consumer space that emphasises a closed-loop system. In this scenario, several designers under one roof would create postponement-ready collections that could be altered as per a mass-customised scenario by consumers in cooperation with the designers. Other designers may specifically deal with artisanal labour, upcycling, or specific types of fashion methodologies. These designers would be employed by the same parent brand or company, so that rather than being seen as competitors, the designers would inherently be collaborators and colleagues. These collections would therefore be available to any other location or designer to adapt or use. This same grouping of designers, production, manufacturing, retail, and take-back would exist throughout the world in specific localities enabling catered social and environmental constructs. This would equip local communities to be a part of a larger system yet also cater to specific tastes and needs.

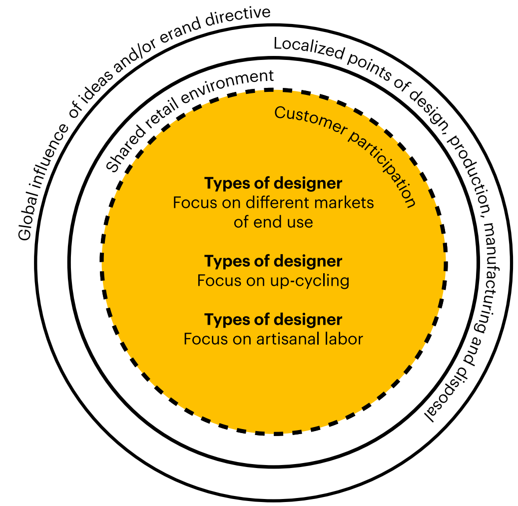


Figure 1: Proposed sustainable product service system network

Fundamental to this proposal would be the leadership and transparency of the brand to take responsibility for their labour practices, waste, and an extended conversation regarding care and disposal of all their products in the consumer's care. Consumers would need to be encouraged to bring clothing that was ready to be discarded back to the brand space. Here, clothing could be rented out, sold again, remade, or recycled. Creating a hybridised open forum for clothing purchases in which old and new are equal in desirability would enable a consumer's need for fashion change without straining potential new resources.

Advancements in fashion education to support Sustainable Product Service Systems (SPSS)

The decline of natural resources, the increase in environmental pollution, and climate change are requiring the fashion industry to create environmentally sound and sustainable viable solutions that are also requiring fashion programs to rethink their antiquated educational practices. Contemporary American design school curricula, modelled on Bauhaus ideologies that emphasize how things are made, and design aesthetics, are beginning to give way to new, advanced educational models that prioritise a greater understanding of the interconnectivity design plays in the world. Lydia Matthews, Professor of Visual Culture at Parsons School of Design, describes this new direction by stating, '[Designers] recognize that they need to understand world systems, whether they're economic, social, ethnographic, or cultural. At the same time, social scientists...are beginning to understand that the systems they work with are in fact designed and that there's a fundamental need to communicate visually and materially across cultures and in a globalised condition' (Agid, 2008: 13).

The future design school, particularly in the context of SPSS, must be one in which students replace their traditional roles as independent 'style dictators' - in which they are taught to create designs based on personal whims and biases in the hopes their work will appeal to a broad audience - with that of 'design partners' who work collaboratively in cross-disciplinary teams. Within this structure, design proposals are grounded in exhaustive research into their targeted consumers' attributes and behaviors. These lateral partnerships will foster interconnectivity by situating designers within broader contexts, thus allowing students and future designers to interface with new methodologies and insights that may be synthesised with their own for innovative products, systems, and solutions. The myopic, self-focused designer is becoming ineffective and marginalized, since 'society today demands a new generation of professionals that can design not only products, but systems for living as well' (Muratovski, 2010: 378).

Graduates will succeed in this future marketplace if they are taught to think and work fluidly across the traditionally rigid boundaries of 'siloed' practices. Building this skill set in students will require American design school curricula to increasingly promote and encourage students' openness to integrating new insights into the design process itself, beyond the mere concern of crafting projects for aesthetic appeal alone (Zimmerman, 2003). Thus, students must become nimble in working across different spaces - the literal and the figural - if the fashion industry is to develop and implement successful SPSS strategies. Students will acquire this 'design dexterity' through cross-disciplinary design courses and projects in marketing, consumer relations, and systems thinking that blend economic, social, and cultural contexts. At the same time, the implementation of SPSS will require those students in the traditionally peripheral 'spaces', such as business studies, to design and to engage with coursework that provides insights into fashion-specific design processes, sustainability in the garment-making context, and required resources. A shared, empathic understanding of differing yet complementary practices and attendant problems that need solutions will be critical if progress is to be made through SPSS. Additionally, the collaborative coursework will help ameliorate the 'us and them' binary relationship commonly felt between professional designers and business leaders, thus making SPSS a stronger joint effort.

A key element in this educational model that supports SPSS will be curricula that teaches students the vital, participatory role consumers play in design. The research methodologies that reveal data into rapidly evolving consumer behaviors will be of equal importance. The over-saturated marketplace in which consumers' needs are met (and even over met) is radically altering the ways consumers relate to design. As a result, students must learn advanced primary, secondary, and ethnographic research methodologies that will enable them to identify and strategically target their consumers' psychographic profiles. They must also learn how to craft and creatively present narratives that appeal to these nuanced profiles while reflecting any current zeitgeist in which they are operating. Thus, design briefs must begin by priming students through new queries that underpin the subsequent stages of the design process: 'How does my audience wish to feel?'; 'Why are their preferences shifting?'; 'What emotional "value" will they seek from designed products and/or experiences?'; 'How will these research findings inform and guide my design process(es), outcome(s), and method(s) of presentation?'

By addressing these questions in conjunction with necessary design elements, such as aesthetics and function, students will be able to become professional designers who successfully fulfill the tangible and intangible needs of their consumers. Tim Brown, CEO of the renowned design company IDEO, highlights this marked shift in the designer's role by stating, 'Now, however, rather than asking designers to make an already developed idea more attractive to consumers, companies are asking them to create ideas that better meet consumers' needs and desires. The former role is tactical, and results in limited value creating; the latter is strategic, and leads to dramatic new forms of value' (2008: 2).

This proposed model of design education promotes a pronounced shift in the designer's role from 'design dictator' to 'designer-as-social scientist.' As a result, future designers will create new forms of emotional value in design that enable and support SPSS. These academic initiatives will produce more collaborative and horizontally-oriented designers who can leverage others' views and, with their team members, develop their designs strategically to ensure they produce enduring solutions (Wolff & Rhee, 2009). When designers prioritise consumers' emotional needs, they will stand out from the competitive 'noise' in the contemporary oversaturated marketplace. Simultaneously, consumers will connect more deeply with the designers' products and likely retain them longer, thus contributing to environmental sustainability. Brand loyalty is then strengthened, thus engendering a sustainable business that saves valuable time, money, and environmental resources.

Conclusion

The necessity for the global fashion industry to adopt significant change is unprecedented. While advancements have been made, the ongoing depletion of natural resources by the fashion industry greatly inhibits the earth from becoming sustainable (Leonard, 2010). Concurrently, business sustainability is also tenuous; the oversaturated marketplace challenges companies to create innovative ways to capture consumers' attention and maintain brand loyalty. Therefore, advanced solutions must be implemented by the industry if the environment and future practitioners are to become/remain sustainable. This paper considers ways that could engage communities to consider clothing production as a more closed-loop system—much like the local food movement in which consumers experience farmers' markets that promote organic farming, local economies, thoughtful consumption, and greater transparency. This model contributes to environmental sustainability via local practices while business sustainability is created through narrative-rich experiences that fulfill consumers' emotional needs. In the same manner that these farmers and farmers' markets promote sustainable practices and community participation, so too can the fashion industry.

The proposed Sustainable Product Service System would create a locally considered space that promotes site-specific design, manufacturing, and retail in conjunction with a global perspective, presence, and digital distribution of ideas. The unification of these three practices under one roof aims to promote greater communication and collaboration for innovative solutions. Consumers would participate directly with the design and manufacturing processes, thus fostering educational exchanges between parties. These exchanges, in turn, create and strengthen environmental and business sustainability: Practitioners would gain a deeper awareness into consumers' physical and emotional needs (and consequently, develop more enduring product) and consumers would likely form loyalties towards companies that fulfill their shifting physical and emotional needs. This paradigmatic shift in the industry will require academia to respond. New curricula must prepare students for this emerging role of 'designer-as-social scientist' that requires practitioners to acquire psychographic data about their targeted audience well before entering the design stage. Design education must teach students the complex interconnectivity design has with the world, in addition to the traditional design elements of aesthetics and function. Design, as product or system, will play increasing roles in shaping social, economic, and cultural frameworks. The application of SPSS, then, becomes a strategic initiative by the future fashion industry benefiting both industry and consumers alike and, most importantly, the future of our planet.

References

Agid. S. (2008, fall). Re: Imagining Parsons--How Parsons' new academic structure is shaping design education in the 21st century. Re:D, 26(2), 10-15.

Amed, I., Berg, A., Kappelmark, S., Hedrich, S., Andesson, J., Drageset, M., & Young, R. (2017). The state of fashion 2018. *The Business of Fashion and McKinsey and Company.* Retrieved from https://cdn.businessoffashion.com/reports/The_State_of_Fashion_2018_v2.pdf

Armstrong, C., Niinimaki, K., Kujala, S., Karell,E., & Lang, C. (2014). Sustainable product service systems for clothing: Exploring consumer perceptions of consumption alternatives. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 97, 30-39.

Broadbent, J. (2003). Generations in design methodology. *The Design Journal*, 6(1), 2-13.

Brown, T. (2008). Design Thinking. *Harvard Business Review*, 86(6), 84-92.

Brown, T. (2009). *Change by design.* New York: HarperCollins.

Calefato, P. (2006). Fashion as a sign system in Jan Brand and Jose Teunissen (Eds.). *The Power of fashion: About design and meaning.* Arnhem, the Netherlands: ArtEZ Press.

Chan, T., & Wong, C.W.Y. (2012). The consumption side of sustainable fashion supply chain: Understanding fashion consumer eco-fashion consumption decision. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 16(2), 193-215.

Chimero, F. (2012). *The shape of design.* New York: Chimero.

Collett, M., Cluver, B., & Chen, H.L. (2013). Consumer perceptions of the limited lifespan of fast fashion apparel. *Research Journal of Textile and Apparel*, 7(2), 61-68.

Faerm, S. (2016). Developing new value in design: Not "what" but "how". *Cuaderno*, 64, 207-224.

Faud-Luke, A.(2009). *Design activism: Beautiful strangeness for a sustainable world.* London: Earthscan.

Fletcher, K. Grose, L. (2012) *Fashion + sustainability: Design for change.* London: Laurence King.

Joergens, C. (2006). Ethical fashion: Myth or future trend. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 10(3),360-371.

Joy, A., Sherry, J.F., Venkatesh, A., Wang, J., & Chan, R. (2012). Fast fashion, sustainability, and the ethical appeal of luxury brands. *Fashion Theory,* 16(3), 273-296.

Kang, J., Liu, C., & Kim, S-H. (2013). Environmentally sustainable textiles and apparel consumption: The role of consumer knowledge, perceived consumer effectiveness and perceived personal relevance. *International Journal of Consumer Studies,* 37(4), 442-452.

Leonard, A. (2010). The story of stuff: How our obsession with stuff is trashing the planet, our communities, and our health—and a vision for change. New York: Free Press.

Maslow, A. H. (1943, July). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50(4), 370-396.

McNeill, L. & Moore, R. (2015). Sustainable fashion consumption and the fast fashion conundrum: fashionable consumers and attitudes to sustainability in clothing choice. *International Journal of Consumer Studies,*39, 212-222.

Muratovski, M. (2010). Design and design research: The conflict between the principles in design education and practices in industry. *Design Principles and Practices: An International Journal*, 4(2), 377-386.

Ninimäki, K. (2010). Eco-clothing, consumer identity, and ideology. *Sustainable Development*, 18, 150-162.

Niinimäki, K. (2017). Fashion in a circular economy. In C.E. Henninger, P. Alevizou, H. Goworek,& D. Ryding (Eds.), *Sustainability in fashion: A cradle to cradle upcycle approach* (pp. 151-170). Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillon.

Palomo-Lovinski, N. & Hahn, K. (in review). How are we branding fast fashion? Consumer perceptions of sustainable and fast fashion practices.

Wolff, L., Rhee, J. (2009, May). Is Design the New Liberal Arts? *Re:D* (Regarding Design), 26(6), 9-13.

Zimmerman, E. (2003). *Creating a culture of design research: methods and perspective.* B. Laurel (Ed.). Cambridge: MIT Press

134 THE CHANGING VALUES OF MILLENNIAL AND GEN Z ADULTS ON FAST FASHION, SOCIAL MEDIA AND THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THEIR CLOTHING PURCHASES

Author
Professor Catherine Geib
Fashion Institute of Technology, New York

Catherine_Geib@fitnyc.edu

Keywords
fast fashion
Gen Z
Millennials
social media
sustainability
thrifting

Abstract

This paper will focus on new measurable data based on 2018 quantitative research results of millennial and Generation Z adults. A comparison of earlier research will be undertaken to uncover patterns and differences in the past two years. The researcher has analysed the potential changes on the attitudes and fashion habits of the demographic. The following questions will be discussed: 1. Has awareness been raised in the past two years about sustainability amongst the participants? 2. Are there changes in the buying patterns of fast fashion over the past two years? 3. Are the differences measurably different? 4. Finally, because of income level and social media influences, is change on sustainable practices an improbable outcome?

This paper reports on primary research conducted in 2018 from a survey taken by 441 respondents and compares it to the same baseline research conducted in 2016 with 358 respondents. The primary research results measure both demographic and financial status of the respondents. It also measures the collective implications of social media on the purchases of fast fashion, and the personal habits of social media use on the respondents. Finally it measures whether the respondents consider sustainability in their clothing purchases and whether that has changed in two years.

This study will reanalyse the question: 'Has education and social awareness of sustainable fashion made a difference in the buying habits of a target group which is consistently bombarded by fast fashion marketing and peer images on Instagram, Snapchat, Pinterest and Facebook?'

Introduction

The researcher has been following the habits of millennial and now Gen Z adults for the past 10 years. This interest led to a research study in 2016 and a paper published by The University of Sao Paulo 'Fast Fashion Social Media and the Environment' (Geib, 2016). The follow up study was administered in 2018, and this paper will discuss the new findings and compare the results and the changes in the opinions of the demographic from 2016.

The researcher has followed the rising popularity of fast fashion in recent years, beginning with the opening of H&M on Fifth Avenue in New York City in 2000 (H&M 2018). Fast fashion retailers such as Forever XXI and Uniqlo were soon to follow. Now, 18 years later, Primark has come to Brooklyn and cheap apparel has never been more prevalent or available to the demographic.

Alongside this phenomenon, the demographic studied has become increasingly interested in a more sustainable lifestyle, with awareness growing that purchasing new clothing is one of the most unsustainable practices in the world. Second to oil, fashion and textiles is the most polluting industry in the world, every stage in a garment's life threatens our planet and its resources. (Business of Fashion, 2018)

The research seeks to discover whether the demographic in the study has acquired more sustainable practices in the past two years. It also examines how social media continues to influence these practices, and whether there been any shift in this influence. Some studies show that millennial and Gen Z adults are interested in sustainable practices in their clothing purchases, but the researcher's initial study from 2016 concluded differently:

Fast fashion is here to stay. With all the talk of sustainability in fashion she believes that it will have to come from the manufacturer as it will not come from the consumer. Young millennials love their trendy cheap clothes that can be photographed on a daily basis to social media. They also love surfing on social media for new fast fashion trends. Finally, they love being able to buy a trendy outfit hot off the runway for $15-$50. Where that outfit ends up at the end of the fashion cycle is not as concerning to the young millennial, as its more important implications of being photographed on trend on Instagram and being able to do it at an affordable price!

(Geib, 2016)

This quote has caused debate in presentations. Everyone wants to believe that we are becoming more sustainable in our clothing purchases. What have to constantly be considered are the obstacles in price, availability and desire from the demographic measured. The question of education and social awareness in sustainability over the past two years has relevance, but the obstacles are significant. The data does show some measurable changes towards more sustainable practices. The researcher's question on whether social awareness and education has made a difference in the demographic is limited to the measuring of the answers in the survey and her observations as a professor of 150 Gen Z students each semester.

The researcher is a professor at the Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT), a university in New York City. The school teaches a sustainability course in its fashion business program. The University has many guest speakers come in to speak on sustainable fashion and students are more aware than ever of the ramifications of the fast fashion business on the environment. It is the belief of the researcher that they do want to be more sustainable in their purchases, but they are a small demographic in a New York fashion school. Plus the accessibility of fast fashion retailers on 34th street, six blocks away from the University tempt the students on a daily basis. According to a report by Research and Markets, the four big players dominate the competition in the global fast fashion market: Zara, H&M, Gap Inc. and Uniqlo (Daedal Research, 2017). These are just a few of the retailers fueling the trend.

A major interest of the researcher is how social media influences both fast fashion and the desire of the demographic to be sustainable, what changes in buying habits have occurred over the past two years, and the differences in the data measured.

Methodology

In 2018 the researcher reissued the baseline primary research survey created in 2016, where quantitative questions on the demographic were measured. Appendix A at the end of the paper lists the questions asked in the survey. The survey was created through Survey Monkey, a survey software market research company. For the calendar year 2017, Survey Monkey booked revenue of $218.8 million, up from $207.3 million in 2016. It had an IPO in April of 2018 and is now a publicly traded company. (This information is included to assure the methods were professionally administered by a reputable market research company.)

The survey asks questions regarding the respondent's opinions on fast fashion, social media and sustainability in clothing purchases. The conclusions are based on the research and the comparisons from the two surveys.

The sample population recorded adults age 16 to 36+, male and female. The survey recorded where participants lived, and whether the participants were students. It also recorded whether the participants worked, how many hours a week they worked, and the income earned per week by the participants.

The survey was administered using Survey Monkey. The results of the survey are part of an ongoing study to see if education and public awareness are changing the way young adults (termed millennial's or generation Z) consider sustainable clothing. This is measured by analysing the survey results and comparing the survey answers between 2018 and 2016. One of the most interesting measures in this research over time will be the potential shift in what is considered to be sustainable practices amongst the participants. The researcher will administer the final survey again in 2020 and record the differences in the results. The researcher understands the methodological flaws of a survey where the demographic is limited to the answers of the respondents.

Survey results: demographic data of the respondents

The demographic data was recorded from 441 respondents in 2018. It is being compared to 358 respondents from the survey administered in 2016. 92% of the respondents were female, 8% male. The survey recorded that 87% of participants were from the United States of America, and 13% were from outside the US. 49% of respondents identified as being from New York and 15% from New Jersey, which totals 64% in the New York metropolitan area. Although the majority of respondents stated that they resided in the New York metropolitan area, there were still a variety of different states and international respondents included in the survey. The remaining 23% of the respondents were from other states in the US. There were 13% international respondents in the study. This mix of respondents' locations was very similar in the 2016 survey. 66% of the respondents in 2016 were also from the New York metropolitan area and 23% from other states in the United States. 10% of the survey respondents identified as residing outside the United States in the 2016 study.

The age group surveyed is primarily 19-25, with approximately 75% of the respondents in that age category. In the 2016 study, 84% of the respondents were in the 19-25 categories. It is worth noting that in the 2018 study 20.4 % of the respondents were in the 26-35 categories, where only 5% of the respondents in the 2016 study were over 25. This is a significant change and should be noted. As the survey was administered exactly the same way through email the researcher finds it curious that the demographic was older in the 2018 study. The majority of the respondents to the survey were students. In the 2018 study, 75% identified themselves as students vs. the 2016 results of 92% students. The 2018 results showed that 74% of the respondents worked, in comparison to 60% of the respondents from the 2016 survey.

The average respondent from the 2018 study worked 40 hours a week at an average pay of $350 per week. This is a very low rate, at least by New York standards. According to payscale.com, the average weekly salary of a New Yorker is $1325 per week and the cost of living in New York is 128.8 percent higher than the national average (payscale.com 2018). Since the majority of respondents are from the NY metropolitan area this statistic is worth noting. Money matters and the survey results show this.

Survey results: shopping habits of the demographic

One of the questions in the survey asked: 'How often do you shop at these fast fashion retailers in store or on line per month?' Zara, Forever XXI, and H&M were used as specific retailers. There was a noticeable difference in this question. In 2018, 59% of the respondents said they do not shop at any of these retailers. 35% stated that they shop at these retailers 1-2 times per month. In 2016, 47% of the respondents said that they do not shop at these retailers at all and 39% said they shop at these retailers 1-2 times per month. The most drastic change came in the 3-4 time shoppers per month. In 2016 10% of the respondents said they shopped in these retailers 3-4 times per month and in 2018 the percentage dropped to 4%.

This data shows a significant change in the buying patterns of the demographic. They are shopping the largest fast fashion retailers less in 2018 than in 2016.

The study measures how much money in US dollars the respondents would pay for an article of clothing. 77% of the respondents answered that they would spend $30 or less for a shirt or top in the 2016 survey, whereas only 66% answered the same way in 2018. 31% of the respondents would pay from $30-45 for a top, up from 23% in 2016. In both surveys, the respondents felt a pair of jeans had more value. In 2018, 55% of the respondents would pay $30-$60 for jeans and 29% was willing to pay over $60. This was another change from 2016 where only 18% of the respondents would pay over $60 for a pair of jeans, an 11% change in upward price. The last item of clothing that was surveyed was a dress usually worn out to the clubs around the city. In the 2016 survey it was surprising that respondents would not spend money on a 'club dress.' In 2016, 41% of the respondents would only pay up to $30 for a dress. In 2018 the percentage changed to 24% that wanted to pay $30 or under for a dress. This was a significant change, but still, the price of a club dress has the lowest value of all three items surveyed. In summing up the differences in prices that the respondents are willing to pay for the three pieces of clothing, the researcher is encouraged that the demographic is willing to pay more for their clothing in 2018. This could work in the favor of sustainable or better quality clothing that is significantly more expensive than fast fashion. This statistic looks promising.

Survey results – social media habits of the demographic

One of the changes in the past two years has been the rising capability to shop directly from social media platforms. The researcher had been following the trend in her classroom courses so a baseline question was added to the 2016 survey: 'How often do you shop directly from a social media site?' Although small, this question had an increase from the 2016 results. In 2018 3.3% of respondents said they shop on social media all the time vs. 1.2 % in 2016. It is interesting to read that this is the trend across the industry. According to Brown; despite the industry hype around social media, it actually had an insignificant impact on traffic so far. The growth of shoppers using social media channels has been essentially flat, with only 4.7 percent of traffic share and 2 percent of all orders. (Brown 2018) Perhaps more time is needed for consumers to adopt the channels.

Question 13-15 measures the habits of the demographic on social media. Question 13 asks, 'How often are you photographed on social media in a week?' The 2018 survey shows that 67% of the respondents are photographed one or more times in a week. The benchmark study from 2016 was higher, 78% of respondents were photographed on social media at least one or more times per week. Question 14 asks: 'If you are photographed on social media in a week's time frame how many times will you be in the same outfit?' In the 2018 survey 77% of the respondents said 0 times. This statistic is very relevant to the study as it did not significantly change from the 2016 results, in which 78% of the respondents did not want to be photographed more than one time in the same outfit. This will be discussed further in the conclusions, but the psychographics of the demographic is an important conclusion.

Table 1: Q13 How many times are you photographed on social media in a week?

Answered: 418 – Skipped: 23

Answer Choices	Responses	
0	33.49%	140
1-3	58.13%	243
3-6	5.74%	24
6-9	1.44%	6
More than 9	1.20%	5
	Total	418

Table 2: If you are photographed on social media in a week time frame, how many times will you be in the same outfit?

Answered: 417 – Skipped: 24

Answer Choices	Responses	
0	76.50%	319
1-3	21.58%	90
3-6	1.68%	7
6-9	0.24%	1
More than 9	0.00%	0
	Total	417

The question above on social media asks: 'Is it important to you that you have a different outfit on each time you post to Instagram or another social media site?' Of the 2018 respondents, 67% said yes. This is a major factor for the demographic, and was an increase from the 2016 results where 63% responded that it was important to have on a different outfit every time they posted to social media. Just as important with 67% being photographed 1-9 times per week many new outfits will be needed to not be photographed in the same outfit!

Table 3: Q15 Is it important to you that you have a different outfit on each time you post a new picture to Instagram or another social media site?

Answered: 416 – Skipped: 25

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	67%	279
No	23%	137
	Total	416

Survey Results: Sustainability Habits of the Demographic

Question 22 of this survey was a measure of thinking for the respondent on whether they felt they were environmentally active or sustainable in their thinking. The question asked 'Do you consider yourself environmentally conscious or active?' Interestingly enough, this statistic went down from 2016, with only 20% of the respondents saying yes, in comparison to 27% in 2016. In the somewhat category, the statistic went up to 68% in 2018, vs. 66% in 2016.

Table 4: Do you consider yourself environmentally conscious or active?

Answered: 398 – Skipped: 43

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	20.60%	82
Somewhat	68.09%	271
No	11.31%	45
	Total	398

Question 21 was asked to record whether or not the respondents bought sustainable clothing. The 2018 answers to this question reflect the problem of price in purchasing sustainable clothing. 65% of the respondents said sustainable clothing was too high priced, while 18% say it is not fashionable enough. In 2016, 68% of the respondents said sustainable fashion was too high priced, whereas 24% said it was not fashionable enough. The most interesting aspect of the question, and biggest change was in the answer 'I do buy sustainable clothing;' 24% of the respondents gave this answer, vs. just 15% in 2016. This is measurable data.

Table 5: Q21 What is the reason you do not buy sustainable clothing? Check all that apply

Answered: 398 – Skipped: 43

Answer Choices	Responses	
Too high priced	65.33%	260
Not fashionable enough	18.34%	73
Not easily accessible to purchase	40.70%	162
I do buy sustainable clothing	24.12%	96

Question 17 asks: 'How often would you estimate that you donate or sell your clothing?' This question was put in the survey to get a baseline on this trend and to measure if it will increase or decrease over time. (Geib, 2016) The researcher found the answers to this question and the quantitative responses from the presentations to be some of the most interesting in the study. The change was not significant in most of the categories from 2016. The only measurable change recorded in this question was the answer of the respondent who donated once a week. This jumped from .6% in 2016 to 3.6 % in 2018.

Table 6: Q17 How often would you estimate that you donate or sell your clothing?

Answered: 416 – Skipped: 25

Answer Choices	Responses	
Once a week	3.61%	15
Once a month	12.50%	52
Once every 6 months	70.43%	293
Never	13.46%	56
	Total	416

The final question in the survey asks: 'If money was not a factor, would you rather have 50 pieces of fast fashion or 15 pieces of high-quality sustainable clothing?' A whopping 83% of the respondents answered that they would rather have high quality or sustainable clothing. This was up from 77% of the respondents who also preferred high quality fashion or sustainable clothing in the 2016 survey. This answer was a significant change, and shows that designer brands hold great mystique over the demographic. They want to purchase them but cannot afford them.

Table 7: Q18 If money was not a factor, would you rather have 50 pieces of fast fashion clothing or 15 pieces of high quality designer or sustainable clothing?

Answered: 416 – Skipped: 25

Answer Choices	Responses	
15 pieces of high quality designer or sustainable clothing	82.69%	344
50 pieces of fast fashion clothing	17.31%	72
	Total	416

Conclusions

Based on the comparisons of the surveys, the researcher concludes that education and social awareness is starting to make a difference to young adults in their sustainable practices when it comes to fashion. As the data suggests this is happening slowly, and is supported by a case study in sustainability and fashion education by Cosette Marie Armstrong and Melody L.A. Leeway (2013) that introduced sustainable education in the classroom, and concluded it to have a positive measurable outcome. As the researcher's study does not ask the demographic about this question, she concludes it through the study of the differences in the answers from 2016 to 2018. Are the buying habits of the demographic changing and the answer is most definitely, yes. This is seen in a comparison of the results in the methodology. The case study by Armstrong and Leeway (2013) also contributes to the current dialogue about sustainability education by

providing a rich description of how students experience alternative approaches. These alternative approaches are being learned by the students through the digital platforms that host them. Awareness on sustainability practices is evolving among this demographic outside of the classroom, and their sustainable practices look different from what was originally predicted.

The sustainable trend that is surfacing in the researcher's classrooms, online courses and club meetings is thrifting. There is a trend gaining momentum in buying used clothing. 'There's also a cultural shift happening towards secondhand. It used to have a stigma of being only for poor people. With the word "old" now being replaced by "vintage" and accompanied by the trendy value of "authentic", second hand's star is now rising and the stigma is gone for a lot of people'. Kestenbaum (2018). Thrift stores have always been an option, but have been more prevalent in brick and mortar stores such as Buffalo Exchange, The Good Will stores, or Plato's Closet, to name a few in the US. There is a lot of retail dollars to be made in resale. Last year, 44 million women shopped secondhand, up 9 million from 2016. In 2017-2018, the growth in the leading resellers is forecasted to be a 49% increase (Kestenbaum 2018). This is a huge increase that has evolved in the past two years.

The trend towards 'thrifting', a green practice involving the reuse, recycle or re-style of a product that allows that product a longer life in its use, thus diverting the product from a landfill. With heightened environmental awareness, a new audience has come to thrift. The Eco-thrifter shops in thrift stores because it is a finely tuned way to reduce one's carbon footprint with shopping behaviour. The Eco-thrifter not only seeks to save money, but also to reduce their carbon footprint; even though this is one of the easiest ways to recycle, this form of supporting the environment has received little media attention (Sensagent). This practice is one of the ways that the researcher sees the demographic choosing to be sustainable into the future. It also fulfills the need for new clothing to be photographed on social media at a fraction of the cost. As stated in the survey results 77% of the respondents said they would never want to be photographed in the same outfit on social media more than once.

Today, the accessibility of thrifting apps, and the excitement among the demographic to use those apps to make extra income and find inexpensive used fashion, is taking on a new momentum and is changing the buying habits of the demographic in the study. The students that the researcher works with frequently download a new app to sell or buy their clothes. Poshmark, threadUP and The RealReal are just a few of the most popular apps. There are many others being created by entrepreneurial millennials realising the popularity and the opportunity to create a business model from used clothing sales. Relove is another new app in the US that targets fast fashion brands and tries to match items to the customer at the price they are willing to pay. Sustainable fashion is expensive and the young consumer still cannot afford it. Designer quality clothing or sustainable expensive brands, such as Reformation or Everlane, and accessibility to these brands is limited. According to Attaman Hahn-Peterson, (2018)

> Sustainable fashion brands are so few they can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Of course, there are labels such as Everlane, Patagonia or Reformation which are actively pushing sustainability as a core attribute of their brands. Yet, the vast majority of brands do not offer the scale or variety of sustainable fashion items to meet millennial expectations and tastes.

The researcher has to agree with this statement. According to the study, one of the biggest reasons that the demographic does not buy sustainable clothing is the lack of fashion and high prices. Yet 83% stated that they would buy designer or sustainable clothing if they could afford it. With the trend for used and vintage designer clothing they now can.

This trend is now getting more popular in other parts of the world. One of my Brazilian students said an app that they use in Sao Paulo, Brazil allows the users to contact each other to sell items, and then meet in person to generate the transaction. It should be noted that the mail system in Brazil is unreliable, so meeting on a city corner is a more efficient way to buy and sell clothing. This is a big change from 2016 when the researcher visited Sao Paulo. The consensus amongst the students at that time was that used clothes were of no interest to them. The Brazilian student was rising into the middle classes, and new designer clothing was a way to show off that new status. According to Matteus, (one of the students at The University of Sao Paulo) in just two years the young Brazilian consumer has changed their views and is now welcoming thrifting as a form of sustainability.

In 2017 the students that the researcher worked with on an IFFTI faculty exchange in Germany were very interested in thrifting and being sustainable in their clothing purchases. They had a club that was producing sustainable products for the school store, manufactured in Turkey. It was apparent that German students were educated more thoroughly on sustainable practices in fashion and were using them practically in their studies.

Renting clothing is another trend among urban young consumers of fashion starting to gain momentum in the US. Rent the Runway is a business model that started in 2009, but is gaining momentum as a subscription service. Members can rent their designer looks more cheaply, fulfilling their wish to wear designer brands and be sustainable at the same time. As a result, clothing will not get dumped into a landfill, because it gets returned for another user to wear.

> According to Jennifer Fleiss, the founder of Rent the Runway, 'these women might not otherwise get to wear high-end designer dresses for another 10-20 years,' based on their price; she added, 'We see young women putting on these dresses and feeling empowered, twirling in the mirror.' A positive experience in that designer's dress can – and usually does – lead to future purchases. It also creates buzz around the hot, new designer's creations. With 'fast fashion' retailers like Zara and H&M selling designer knock-offs for less, Rent the Runway has found a way to reverse the trend toward commoditization of designer labels.
>
> (Galbraith, 2013).

According to the study one of the major roadblocks to being more sustainable is social media, and being photographed on a consistent basis. This has not changed since the last study in 2016.The demographic is being photographed on social media on a daily basis. The desire to look good, and be in new clothes in every post, is still the number one priority. According to Kozlowska (2018) 'the rise of social media has meant that everyone, not just celebrities is expected to maintain and curate a personal brand. Since we are constantly documenting our lives and posting them online for public judgment, getting caught in the same outfit more than once is seen by many as a major faux pas.'

This reality cannot be discredited and so young consumers of fashion are paving a new way to fit sustainability, a low price point, and a supply of new clothing into one wardrobe. Thrifting is the best way for the demographic to fulfill this need to own a new outfit for every social media post, yet still be sustainable and live within the budget of a student or young adult's salary. The manufacturer has failed to get the price and variety of sustainable product into the closet of the customer (Geib 2016) was the conclusion from the researcher's study in 2016. The conclusion in 2018 is that fewer young adults are shopping in fast fashion stores. They are also willing to pay more for their clothing, but this demographic still cannot afford sustainable clothing as it may be traditionally purchased as a new item. Young adults are still actively participating in being photographed on social media and want a new outfit weekly. If more sustainability is desired, as the study suggests, then the conusmer must pick other options - and today, they are available. Thrifting, re-selling clothing, buying used clothing on trendy apps and potentially renting designer brands are ways for the Gen Z consumer to fulfill these options while still being sustainable in clothing purchases. These changes in how clothing is bought, worn, sold, and recycled also offer potential new avenues for study in future research.

References

Atamian Hahn-Peterson, L. (2018, April 21) Millennials Say They Care About Sustainability. So, Why Don't They Shop This Way?). Retrieved from; https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/opinion/op-ed-millennials-say-they-care-about-sustainability-so-why-dont-they-dont-shop-this-way

Armstrong,C. and LeHew, M.(2013) A case study in sustainability and fashion education : adventures on the green. *The journal in sustainability education*

Brown, E (2018, July 3) Has social media growth stalled for ecommerce sales? Retrieved from; https://www.zdnet.com/article/has-social-media-growth-stalled-for-e-commerce-sales/

Galbraith, S. (2013, Dec 3) The secret behind Rent the Runways success. Retrieved from; https://www.forbes.com/sites/sashagalbraith/2013/12/03/the-secret-behind-rent-the-runways-success/#1e986c1277e6

Geib, C. (2016) Fast Fashion, Social Media and its effects on the Environment, University of Sao Paulo, Sao Paulo Brazil. Global fast fashion retail market 2017-2021 with focus on the United States research and markets. (2017) Retrieved from; https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20170630005543/en/Global-Fast-Fashion-Retail-Market-2017-2021-Focus

H&M Group (2018). Retrieved from; https://about.hm.com/en/about-us/history/the-00_s.html

Kestenbaum R. (2018) Forbes, Secondhand clothes are a threat and an opportunity. Retrieved from; https://www.forbes.com/sites/richardkestenbaum/2018/04/03/secondhand-clothes-are-a-threat-and-an-opportunity/#4eabe47f6fdd

Kozlowska H, (2018) Quartz, *Shoppers are buying clothes just for the Instagram pic and then returning them.*

Market Watch (2018) Survey Monkey IPO. Retrieved from; o-5-things-to-know-about-the-survey-software-maker-2018-09-01

Payscale.com; (2018). Retrieved from; https://www.payscale.com/research/US/Location=New-York-NY/Salary

Primark our stores (2018). Retrieved from; https://www.primark.com/en/our-stores

Sensagent (ND) Retrieved from; http://dictionary.sensagent.com/Thrifting/en-en/

The business of fashion. (ND) How can the fashion Industry be more sustainable? Retrieved from; https://www.businessoffashion.com/community/voices/discussions/can-fashion-industry-become-sustainable

Wicker Aiden (2016) Fast Fashion is creating an environmental crisis. Newsweek. Retrieved from; https://www.newsweek.com/2016/09/09/old-clothes-fashion-waste-crisis-494824.html

Appendix A

Survey questions

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?
3. In what state or US territory were you born? If born outside of the US please fill in country of origin below.
4. Are you a student?
5. Do you currently work?
6. If you answered yes to the previous question, how many hours per week do you work?
7. What is your weekly personal income?
8. How often you shop at these Fast Fashion retailers in store or online per month?
9. How much do you usually spend on a shirt/top?
10. How much do you usually spend on a pair of jeans?
11. Females, how much would you usually spend on a club dress?
12. What is the maximum amount of money you can personally afford to spend on one item of clothing?
13. How many times are you photographed on social media in a week?
14. If you are photographed on social media in a week time frame, how many times will you be in the same outfit?
15. Is it important to you that you have a different outfit on each time you post a new picture to Instagram or another social media site?
16. How often do you shop directly from an advertisement posted on a social media site such as Instagram or Facebook?
17. How often would you estimate that you donate or sell your clothing?
18. If money was not a factor, would you rather have 50 pieces of fast fashion clothing or 15 pieces of high quality designer or sustainable clothing?
19. What are the main reasons you shop for new clothes? Please list in numerical order of priority to you, one being the most important. 1. Need a new outfit for a specific event 2.Been seen in current clothing too many times 3. Clothes are out of style. 4. Clothes have worn out because they are too old. 5. Clothes have worn out because they are poor quality.
20. Do you consider yourself environmentally conscious or active?
21. What is the reason you do not buy sustainable clothing? Check all that apply. 1. Too high priced 2.Not fashionable enough 3. Not easily accessible to purchase enough 4. I do buy sustainable clothing
22. What do you think the definition of sustainable clothing is?

136 DIVERSITY IN FASHION AND TEXTILE DESIGN EDUCATION

Authors
Carolyn H.M. Hardaker
Samantha Penfold
De Montfort University, UK

Corresponding Author
chh@dmu.ac.uk

Keywords
diversity
design
fashion
textiles
education

Abstract

The drive for increased diversity in design is a contemporary issue and its importance is recognised by government think-tanks and leading academic networks. The Design Council's recent report to investigate the link between diversity and business performance, profiles the UK design ecology and outlines the impact that increased diversity within the design community can bring. This paper puts this into an educational perspective in terms of fashion and textiles higher education.

Based in the School of Design at De Montfort University in Leicester, one of the UK's most culturally diverse cities, this study considers the current profile of fashion and textiles students and outlines current initiatives to promote the value of diversity. These initiatives actively present the debate to the student cohort, emphasising diversity through the use of positive role models across fashion and textiles disciplines.

This paper also considers the student pipeline, and outlines an initiative to promote design as a potential career to key stage 3 pupils at local schools. This was focussed on footwear design and incorporated a novel activity pack to inspire and engage a diverse audience of potential future designers.

The work is ongoing and the emphasis on diversity is seen as a very positive development to the fashion and textiles design curricula and ultimately the UK's design ecology.

Introduction

This paper considers the need for diversity and inclusion within Fashion and Textiles Design education. Specifically, the UK Design Council's recent Design Economy 2018 report and industry statistics (Benton, Miller and Reid, 2018) are considered in the context of the School of Design and Fashion and Textile disciplines at De Montfort University (DMU) Leicester.

The current position of DMU is considered, in terms of being based in Leicester, one of the UK's most culturally diverse cities and also being recently awarded the 2018 Sunday Times inaugural award for Social Inclusion. An award that recognises the University's commitment to ensuring that every student has an equal chance of success, irrespective of background, through the DMU freedom equality charter.

To provide context for the debate, a summary of the diversity statistics from the city of Leicester and the University as a whole are presented. The University statistics are compared with the subject level equivalent for students studying design disciplines within the School of Design and also where possible with industry statistics from the Design Council's research.

The paper considers the pedagogy from an inclusivity perspective that has been adopted within the School of Design and presents the current work, the opportunities and challenges, including a future proofing approach to address the student pipeline to promote design as a University degree to a diverse population.

The context

Diversity and inclusion within design

> "The design economy generated £82.5bn in gross value added (GVA) to the UK in 2016,"
>
> (Benton, Miller and Reid, 2018).

In this context the Design Council also states that there has not been a more critical time to understand the value and importance of design, against the backdrop of uncertain political times including Brexit. The recently published Design Economy 2018 report features key industry issues; localisation, how design benefits business, innovation and diversity and inclusion. In terms of diversity the report recognises that the Design industry has a diversity challenge and states, 'a more diverse industry will not only help to reinforce the talent pipeline but also bring a wealth of new ides and originality of thought supporting greater innovation in the future'. (Benton, Miller and Reid, 2018: p16)

The Design Council's feature on Diversity and Business performance (Reid, 2018), presents the benefits of diversity in terms of improving the talent base, improved creativity and problem solving, better decision making, innovation, increased productivity and reduced costs, enhanced trust and commitment of the workforce. The feature also points out that the full benefits of diversity cannot be leveraged if increased diversity increases conflicts that are not managed.

Industry statistics quoted in the Design Economy 2018 from research undertaken in 2016, consider diversity in terms of gender and ethnicity across 8 design subsectors, 4 of which relate to the School of Design and are considered: Design (craft, which includes jewellery and ceramics), Design (clothing), Design (multidisciplinary which includes fashion and industrial), Design (product/industrial).

In terms of the gender mix, all subsectors except Design (clothing,) and Design (multidisciplinary) presented a mostly male work force, with 78% of designers within the total Design Economy being male. Design (clothing) and Design (multidisciplinary) presented a predominantly female workforce of 72.5% and 63.7% respectively. (Benton, Miller and Reid, 2018; p 52)

In terms of ethnicity the report highlights that the design economy employs a slightly higher proportion of people from a Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) background, than are employed in the wider UK economy (12.3% compared with 11%). The incidence of designers from a BAME background in the subsectors considered is summarised in table 1.

Table 1: Incidence of BAME designers in Design Subsectors, (Benton, Miller and Reid, 2018; p 61)

UK Design Subsector	% of designers from a BAME background
Design (multidisciplinary)	10.4
Design (Craft)	2.5
Design (Clothing)	36.2
Design (Product and Industrial)	12.3
Design Economy	12.3

Interestingly the subsector with the highest representation of designers from a BAME background is the Design (clothing) subset which features fashion design.

Diversity within Leicester city

DMU is situated on a campus very close to Leicester City Centre. Leicester is the most populous urban centre in the East Midlands and is by population, the 11th largest city in the UK. It is also one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse. This has resulted from a series of migrations, following political events across the globe. The first in 1948 saw Indian citizens move to Britain attracted by the post war manufacturing boom, this followed India's independence from British Empire, and the British Nationality Act in 1948 where all Commonwealth citizens were granted the right to move to the UK. In the 1970s further migration of East African Asians from Uganda and Kenya was seen following the implementation of General Idi Amin's Africanization policy. More recently, Leicester has become home to many Eastern European citizens who migrated to the UK following the ascension of 10 countries to the EU in 2004. In fact, as Hardman states in a paper for Leicester City Council, residents of Leicester hail from over 50 countries from across the globe, with 34% of city residents being born outside of the UK (Hardman, 2012: p1).

Census data from 2011 records Leicester's population as 329,839, with a regional analysis (Jivraj and Finney, 2013: p1) demonstrating an increased ethnic diversity from previous census data and highlighting that no one ethnic group is in the majority. In fact, Leicester's population consists of White British (45%), Indian, (28%), White Other (5%) and Other Ethnic Group (21%).

This diversity brings a great wealth of cultures and religions to the city, as highlighted by an ESRC funded project in 2015 on Super-Diverse Streets (Hall, King and Finlay, 2015). This study by the London School of Economics highlighted Narborough Road, one of the key routes into the City Centre from the motorway network as the most diverse high street in the UK with shop keepers from 23 countries trading from 222 shop units. This report made quite an impact in the national and local press at the time, with the lead author highlighting that Narborough Road was a world in microcosm, with many people from different cultures living and working together.

Diversity at DMU

DMU is a large University, with 25,142 students (2017-18 enrolment figures) studying across 4 Faculties; Health and Life Sciences, Business and Law, Computing, Engineering and Media, Arts, Design and Humanities.

DMU has a long standing commitment to equality, diversity and inclusivity (EDI), introducing the DMU freedom charter in 2016, which outlines the University's policy to ensure that every student has an equal chance of success, irrespective of background. To achieve this the University has developed several initiatives which have been put in place across the University. These include:

- Mandatory EDI training for all academic staff,
- 'Freedom to Achieve', an initiative which aims to negate the current attainment gap between white and BAME students.
- 'Dare to be', mentoring scheme specifically for BAME students.

The success of the policy has been recognised nationally and internationally, DMU being recently awarded the 2018 Sunday Times inaugural award for Social Inclusion. DMU is recognised as outperforming socially inclusive peers in key performance measures covering teaching quality, student experience and graduate job prospects, (McCall, 2018). The University has also been recognised by the United Nations, having been chosen to be a designated hub for Goal 16, Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions as part of the UN Sustainable Development Goal programme.

A review of the enrolment data for 2017-18 has been completed to present the current ethnic diversity within the student population at DMU with a specific focus on the School of Design. A School that brings together Fashion and Textile disciplines (Fashion Design, Contour Fashion, Footwear Design, Textile Design, Fashion Textile Design, Fashion Communication and Styling and Fashion Buying) with Product Design, Interior Design and Design Crafts under one roof in the award winning Vijay Patel Building.

Table 2 provides a summary and shows 56.5% of the University's student population came from a BAME background. While this percentage shows BAME students as the largest cohort within the student population and coincidently mirrors the 2011 census statistics for the City, the proportion of BAME students within the School of Design is lower, with 39.1% of students identifying with a BAME ethnic group.

At subject level the data shows some interesting variations across the disciplines, with Interior Design and Design Masters having a higher percentage of students from a BAME background than the University percentage, while Contour Fashion and Design Crafts having a much lower number level of diversity with the student cohort than both the School and University's percentages.

Table 2: BAME student enrolment percentages, data compiled from tableau.dmu.ac.uk

Cohort	Student Population 2017-18	BAME student enrolment percentage	Variation from University's BAME student enrolment percentage
University	25,142	56.5	0
School of Design	1,584	39.1	-17.4
Contour Fashion	219	17.3	-39.2
Design Crafts	87	11.5	-45.0
Fashion Design	303	45.8	-10.7
Fashion Buying	334	38.3	-18.2
Footwear and Textiles Design	202	37.1	-19.4
Interior Design	184	63.5	+7.0
Product Design	185	36.0	-20.5
Design Masters (PG)	70	64.3	+7.8

Pedagogy

The School of Design is engaged with both University wide and subject level initiatives to promote diversity and inclusivity within the curricula. The University wide initiative, Freedom to Achieve and two subject level case studies are outlined.

Freedom to Achieve

Freedom to Achieve was launched in 2017, with DMU, one of a group of UK universities (six higher education and one further education) to be awarded the maximum funding of £500,000 by the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) Catalyst fund. The funding was for a project led by Kingston University, to help identify why fewer BAME students achieve First or 2:1 degrees compared with their fellow white students; a discrepancy known nationally as the BAME attainment gap. DMU is committed to creating a learning environment in which all students have the freedom to succeed as part of the university's equality and diversity strategy. The project aims to ensure that every student at DMU can achieve their potential and can see themselves and people like them reflected in the course(s) they study.

DMU has actively engaged the BAME cohort through a series of initiatives starting with a co-creation event where students and staff discussed ways to tackle the attainment gap. The four targeted areas are:

- Development: Personal and academic
- Community and belonging: Being a student at DMU
- Environment: Learning, living and social spaces
- Curriculum: Appropriate and culturally aware

For development and community activities, a mentoring scheme 'Dare To Be' has been launched, open to all students, for one to one guidance on achieving personal and academic goals. A series of talks by inspirational speakers including Mo Bros, three brothers of Indian heritage from Leicester who have created a million pound business in men's grooming have been held. A conference on 'Black Education Matters' organised by DMU alumni has also been inspirational with over 150 students attending.

Feedback from students as part of Freedom to Achieve was that BAME students do not see themselves reflected in the environment and curriculum. An example of a small action making a difference was for the faculty of Arts Design and Humanities to create a wall of inspiration to showcase the diversity of individuals connected with the faculty and to support Freedom to Achieve/Fair Outcomes objectives around improving the diversity of the imagery used in our building dressing.

Curriculum review was a major part of this programme. Academics reviewed briefs, lecture materials and supporting documentation to ensure that a global perspective on design was reflected in the learning materials. With the support of a Faculty Fair Outcome Champion, ideas for change were shared and the result was that small actions, such as choosing design examples that reflect global designers and having a broader range of literature on reading lists can make a dramatic difference.

School of Design subject level case studies

a. Interior Design's Role Model Summer project

Interior Design devised a Summer Project for new entrants that could reflect their heritage (Fitton and Harding, 2018). Students were asked to identify two role models; one in the design world and one from another field and discuss with the group what it was about their choices that inspired them. The role models identified by the group reflected the diversity of the student cohort (Interior Design, 63.5% are from a BAME background, 2017-18). Students used the opportunity to select a role model that they could identify with from the worlds of interiors, architecture, design and entertainment, The discussions around attributes demonstrated that certain types of behaviours were conducive to success, no matter what field to which you aspire. The images of the role models and attributes were used to create a display in the studio, strategically placed the display generated discussion and comment by other subject areas. The outcome was very successful, with high student engagement, the key benefits reflecting the aims of Freedom to Achieve and enriching the curriculum for all interior students.

- Positive diverse role models connected to a subject area to create a feeling of 'belonging' to the subject area.
- An outlook on current design influences to enhance the international perspective.
- Identification of key attributes for success at the start of studying for a degree.
- Creating an environment that reflected all the student cohort.

b. Textile Design's #DMUGlobal visit to Bangalore

#DMUGlobal is an international experience programme for De Montfort University students, which aims to enrich studies, broaden cultural horizons and to develop key skills valued by employers. As part of the pilot Freedom to Achieve project, Textile Design created a #DMU Global trip to India through a series of student led co-creation events (Taylor, Penfold and Bazaz, 2018). The primary driver was to create a globalised curriculum and awareness of Textile practices beyond Europe, culturally relevant to Leicester and BAME students, for both staff and students that reflected the diversity of Leicester. The inclusion of Industry visits would give world working environments with professional role models.

A series of co-creation workshops were attended by 28 second year students of which 7 were of a BAME background. The students were encouraged to consider what they would like to achieve through reflecting on: curriculum content, exploring what and how the students wanted to learn and by using discussion to allow for the creation of a more democratic curriculum.

The trip delivered an understanding of global design skills through a series of activities planned with a partnership institute NIFT (National Institute of Fashion Technology). These included:

- A series of workshops with NIFT students and tutors in traditional Indian embroidery techniques
- Visits to traditional and industrial manufacturing factories to gain an insight into global sourcing.
- The opportunity to experience Indian culture and collect visual images for subsequent projects.

The aim of the project was also to create a legacy, not just a one-off experience for one group of students. By taking a technical instructor on the visit to learn skills alongside the students, it ensured that the skills will be taught to students not on the trip and also to future year groups. The links between the DMU and NIFT academics provided an opportunity to swap references and reading lists alongside current information on up and coming designers. These benefits are longer term as it has helped staff build wider cultural understanding, to create a more culturally competent curriculum and embed the visit into the curriculum as well as advising other departments on creating similar activities.

The trip provided an opportunity for active learning and knowledge check, peer to peer development and creating a more inclusive learning environment. By encouraging students to be part of the process to plan the visit, they took ownership and engaged at a high level. The international experience of the textile and design industries enhanced employment skills and built confidence. These outcomes reflected the four targeted areas of the Freedom to Achieve initiative.

Pipeline

The future pipeline of students wishing to develop a career in Art and Design is of concern, a result of the recent demographic downturn of 18 year olds, combined with the Government's emphasis on STEM subjects, and changes to the A Level Design and Technology syllabus.

To promote design as a degree option and career the School of Design has developed an outreach initiative to provide key stage 3 students with the opportunity of working on a short design project set by the University and supervised on a weekly basis by undergraduate design students. The initiative, named #iwanttobe, aims to inspire the next generation of designers and ran as a pilot in 2018 with Footwear as the design discipline. Three city centre schools, all with a diverse student population, participated. The culmination of the project was an exhibition of the design outcomes as part of the University's annual Art and Design degree show, with a prize-giving event for the best portfolio and best design outcome. The pilot was a great success, with one teacher noting, 'that the project had made the students feel special which had been a huge influence on their creativity' and 'it had given students a real thirst to further their interests in design and consider it as a possible career'. (Sagoo, 2018: p2)

#iwanttobe is now in its second year, with projects due to start in Spring 2019 in Footwear Design, Contour Fashion and Fashion Marketing with ten local schools participating.

Evaluation and future work

The initiatives outlined in this paper have made an impact not only quantitively on the BAME attainment gap, but also qualitatively on the student experience and staff awareness of the issues.

The University wide Freedom to Achieve project commenced in 2016-17 and good Honours statistics, (table 3) show that the BAME attainment gap has reduced from 14.6% in 2012-13 to 8.9% in 2017-18.

Table 3: DMU attainment gap over the last 6 academic years, data compiled from tableau.dmu.ac.uk

Academic Session*	Overall	White Good Honours (First / 2:1)	BAME Good Honours (First / 2:1)	Attainment Gap
2012-13	66.5%	72.4%	57.8%	-14.6%
2013-14	70.9%	76.9%	63.6%	-13.3%
2014-15	70.1%	74.4%	65.1%	-9.3%
2015-16	67.3%	73.5%	60.0%	-13.6%
2016-17	71.3%	75.2%	64.7%	-10.5%
2017-18	75.1%	78.9%	70%	-8.9%

Subject analysis of the data for 2017-18, reveals a 19.4% attainment gap for the creative arts and design subject group, with specific programmes Fashion Design having a 19.2% attainment gap, Interior Design 12.9%. Statistics for Textile Design are not available due to the recent small cohort sizes. However as a guide, figures for Textile Design from 2016-17 show a 49.1% attainment gap between the 3 Asian students and the 17 White students. Although the number of students in this sample is small, it highlights the issue in the context of a programme that has recently achieved 100% overall student satisfaction in the National Student Survey. These statistics indicate that this work is just beginning and there is significant work to do to eliminate the gap across all subjects and this is acknowledged in Freedom to Achieve interim report (Astley, 2018).

The report presents a baseline survey of 233 students involved in pilot Freedom to Achieve projects from across the University, revealed that the 55% of students surveyed, had not experienced any changes to their learning experience. However, where students had experienced changes, it was in the following ways:

Table 4: Changes to learning experience (Atkins, 2018; p26)

Curriculum content	Greater representation	Listening to student voice
Teaching methods Learning materials Assessment Feedback	Increased access Increased access Removing barriers Greater opportunity for personal development	Relationships Greater opportunity for personal development Greater variety of approaches Improved timing of feedback

These changes are reflected in the School of Design subject level case studies. The Interior Design Positive Role Models project inspired a greater representation of design influences, providing the student cohort and staff the opportunity to develop an increased understanding of the individuals within the cohort. The project worked well as an ice-breaker, helping to develop a more informed and culturally sensitive student and staff community.

Students who participated in the #DMUGlobal Bangalore embraced the opportunity to co-create the itinerary for the visit, which elevated their self-confidence. The opportunity to travel independently was also a new experience for some students, with many embracing this independence. One exciting outcome from this visit was that the students renewed their interest in their own cultural heritage. As one student stated,

> The trip to Bangalore heavily influenced my third year of study at De Montfort University. As a weaver, I was inspired by the 'weave clusters' and saree shops we visited. During pre-collection, I taught myself the saree techniques and will be using them in my final collection. Bangalore has also inspired me to consider pursuing further study in doing a Master's degree, where I hope to revisit India to learn the ancient techniques and document them, in order to come up with innovative designs and combinations of techniques for modern textiles.

Khadija Dookanwala, current third year Textile Design student.

The interim report also considers the staff perspective, and the results of a baseline staff survey of 44 members of staff across the 40 pilot projects (Atkins, 2018; p27) conclude that seventy per cent of staff have responded to the statistics demonstrating the attainment gap by making changes to their programme. These changes manifest in a variety of ways through changes to curriculum content and in their responses to students during teaching or tutorial sessions. Of the remaining staff, sixty per cent felt they already worked in an inclusive manner.

From the School of Design perspective, Freedom to Achieve has heightened an awareness in staff of the BAME attainment gap. Through the visibility across the University of the Freedom to Achieve project and the subsequent subject specific interventions. The planning of these activities is now part of business as usual. Textile Design's plan is highlighted in table 5.

Table 5: Textile Design Intervention summary

	Intervention	Short/medium or long term
1	Create and collect culturally competent resource for the programme, through recording visits via social media	M
2	Include more positive BAME role models representation in teaching practice	M/L
3	Build a diverse reading list for the programme	S/M
4	Create and nurture students' own design identity from level 4 and embed free or heavily subsided visits to exhibitions locally and nationally	M
5	To create a localised opportunity for those students who cannot access #DMUGlobal visits	L
6	Continue to visit India via #DMUGlobal	L

Although as already noted there is a long way to go to eliminate the BAME attainment gap, the projects discussed in this paper have contributed to the development of the learning experience to respond to the diverse cohort at DMU. The local interventions have been disseminated across the School and are being adopted and adapted to suit the needs of other subject areas.

The pipeline project is very much a long-term initiative but it is envisaged that this positive outreach project will inspire students from diverse populations each year to consider design as viable career option.

Concluding remarks

This paper has evaluated the current work in promoting diversity within Fashion and Textiles within the School of Design at De Montfort University, in the context of the University the City of Leicester and also the wider industry.

The University's commitment to Equality, Diversity and Inclusivity, through engagement with the Freedom to Achieve initiative has been shown to be successful, evidenced by national recognition through the metrics of the Sunday Times Social Inclusion League table 2018. This commitment is reinforced from an industry perspective by the Design Council through their narrative in support of increasing diversity in design.

The School of Design has embraced the opportunity to review its curricula from a diversity perspective as part of the University wide Freedom to Achieve initiative, introducing subject level local projects and outreach work. These projects have had a positive impact on the learning experience for current students, and the future student pipeline, with the work ongoing.

In terms of measuring success the Freedom to Achieve project is proving successful in terms of reducing the BAME attainment gap, however there is still some way to go before the attainment gap is eliminated.

DMU located in Leicester, with its heritage of diversity, invites a debate about choice of study location. Does the diversity of the City attract diversity to the University? This indeed could be the subject for a much broader study.

References

Benton S., Miller S. and Reid S., 2018, *The Design Economy 2018*. [online] Available at: https://www.designcouncil.org.uk/resources/report/design-economy-2018 [Accessed 31 Dec 2018].

Reid S. 2018, *Diversity and business performance – is there a link?* [online] Available at: https://www.designcouncil.org.uk/news-opinion/diversity-and-business-performance-there-link [Accessed 31 Dec 2018].

Jivraj S. and Finney N., 2014, *Geographies of diversity in Leicestershire.* [online] Available at https://hummedia.manchester.ac.uk/institutes/code/briefings/localdynamicsofdiversity/geographies-of-diversity-in-leicestershire.pdf [Accessed Jan 1 2019]

Hardman J., 2012, *Diversity and migration.* [online] Available at https://www.leicester.gov.uk/media/177367/2011-census-findings-diversityand-migration.pdf [Accessed Jan 1 2019]

Hall S., King J., and Finlay R.,2015, *Super-diverse Streets.* [online] Available at https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/64799/1/Hall_SuperDiverseStreets_Leicester.pdf [Accessed Jan 1 2019]

McCall A., 2018, Russell Group fails social inclusion test. [online] Available at https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/good-university-guide-2019-russell-group-fails-social-inclusion-test-n7wzmp68k [Accessed Jan 2 2019]

Fitton R. and Harding N., 2018, Challenging Live Projects: Helping to reduce the attainment gap. Poster presentation, Teaching and Learning Conference, De Montfort University.

Taylor N., Penfold B., and Bazaz P., 2018, Capitalising on #DMUGlobal trips to create a culturally inclusive curriculum. Teaching and learning Conference, De Montfort University.

Sagoo P., 2018, Inspiring the designers of tomorrow, [online] Available at https://www.data.org.uk/resource-shop/magazines/secondary/dt-practice-issue32018-pdf-copy [Accessed 2 Jan 2019]

Atkins L., 2018, Freedom to Achieve Project Evaluation Report October 2018, De Montfort University.

138 'I WEAR WHAT I WANT TO WEAR': YOUTH, STYLE AND IDENTITY AT THE FASHION AND BUSINESS SATURDAY CLUB

Authors
Jo Jenkinson
Kelly Joseph
Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

Corresponding Author
J.Jenkinson@mmu.ac.uk

Keywords
fashion
style
identity
youth
education

Abstract
In 2016 the authors set up a Fashion and Business Saturday club at Manchester Metropolitan University, England, with support from the British Fashion Council and the National Saturday Club. The club continues to provide the opportunity for 13 -16 year olds to learn about diverse aspects of the fashion industry over a period of 20 weeks, in a university setting, on a Saturday morning. The sessions include creative workshops using drawing, collage and three-dimensional experimentation, alongside masterclasses from industry professionals and academics, covering all aspects of the industry from design, through to product development, sourcing, costing and marketing. The club tutors quickly recognised the impact the club had on the members' understanding of fashion, but also, more importantly, the impact it was having on their confidence and developing sense of self. The young people were using the club as a safe place to experiment with their personal views on fashion, their identity and their individual style. This paper analyses video interviews undertaken with the participants at the end of the first Saturday club series and compares the responses to more recent interviews with these original club members. The research evaluates the impact of early exposure to the university experience and the study of fashion, documenting the developing aspirations of potential fashion students in this age range. The findings also support the hypothesis that these creative fashion workshops have a far more valuable purpose, as evidenced in the positive impact they have on the club members ability to explore and define their identity and personal style.

Introduction
The Fashion & Business Saturday Club was launched as a joint initiative with the Sorrell Foundation, founders of the National Saturday Club[1] , and the British Fashion Council. As one of two pilot 'fashion' clubs, we welcomed the first club members into the fashion department at Manchester Metropolitan University in February 2016. The club now runs annually with up to 30 young people enrolling on a 20 week Saturday morning programme that covers all elements of fashion design, production, promotion and business, with ethical and social considerations at the core. Each year the programme culminates in a networking event and exhibition in Manchester, and inclusion in a large scale exhibition with the other National Saturday Clubs at Somerset House. Our aim was to enable young people to explore fashion in a studio setting, within a university, but free from the restraints of assessment or a defined curriculum. We simply wanted to share our interest in fashion and make this seemingly 'elite' industry accessible to as many young people as possible. The inaugural programme was delivered by a range of academic staff who introduced their expertise and specialisms in the form of masterclasses each week. In addition, club members were given 'studio time' at the end of each session to work on individual outputs, at their own pace. The initial cohort were aged between 13-16 years old and came from 16 schools across Greater Manchester, 11 of which were classified as widening participation schools. Places were limited to 2 students per school to encourage a diverse cohort.

1. The National Saturday Club started in 2009 as the National Art & Design Saturday Club, in partnership with the UK's universities and colleges to offer free Saturday morning sessions to 13-16 year olds. The organisation now offers clubs in Art & Design, Fashion & Business, Science & Engineering and Writing & Talking. Source: www.saturday-club.org

Methodology

We decided early on to collect data regarding member's educational choices, alongside weekly feedback from the club members, in order to evaluate the impact of the club as it developed. The value of this data as a conduit for research quickly became apparent as we started to see how transformational these sessions were. We had initially set ourselves two key aims; to evaluate the impact of early exposure to the university experience and the study of fashion, and to document the developing aspirations and experiences of potential fashion students in this age range. As the weeks progressed we noticed a new confidence emerging in the club members, as they started exploring the design and make process, and generating ideas for styling and promotion (Fig. 1), they also started to experiment more with their own dress. Responses to the weekly feedback question 'what did we learn/ improve this week?' moved away from purely skills based responses to more personal statements that suggested a turn in the club experience towards the impact fashion[2], or dress[3], has on identity. Participants articulated what they had learnt as 'To be yourself and not care what others think', 'To express myself and be bold' and 'How being individual helps to develop ideas'. This prompted us to consider a third aim, on which we focus in this paper; to evaluate the role the club plays in the members' exploration of identity and personal style.

Figure 1: Styling Workshop, 2016.

Photographs courtesy of Manchester Metropolitan University.

In each club series we have organised workshops to actively encourage exploration of identity, such as the self-portrait shoe project where we asked club members to customise a plain white training shoe, treating the shoe as a 'self-portrait', as an expression of identity. (Fig. 2). In another session we asked club members to create a 'consumer selfie board', drawing on the popularity of the selfie as a means of identity exploration, an approach recently tested by Mead & Ellerbrock (2018) in high school psychology classes. Our approach to exploring identity in a fashion studio environment borrowed from Gauntlet's (2007) creative methods for articulating self-identities, and the relationships between making, experience and identity. He gave his participants the opportunity to engage in creative workshops, to think about identity and articulate complex ideas using visual metaphors, through the medium of Lego bricks for example. Gauntlet's findings highlighted several key aspects onto which our teaching methods could be mapped; the use of visual metaphors - such as the shoe – to articulate identity, the embodied or physical experience of making in the fashion studio, and the importance of time and reflection in the creative process. This aligns to Kolb's (2015:51) experiential learning cycle, a process which was integral to the Saturday club programme, within which frequent opportunities for reflection were built into the studio sessions.

2 'Fashion' for the purpose of this paper refers to the subject of fashion in the broader sense. Fashion as a discipline and an industry.

3 'Dress' is used to describe the act of dressing to include all worn artefacts and adornments such as hair, accessories or body modifications as defined by Eicher & Roach-Higgins (1992).

Figure 2: Self-Portrait as a Shoe, 2016.

Photographs courtesy of Manchester Metropolitan University.

Taking an ethnographic approach, we used photography, verbal and written feedback to document and reflect on the club sessions each week. Alongside this qualitative data we have collected quantitative information, such as qualifications and age on entry, from participants and parents. The artefacts produced by club members could also be treated as data for analysis, however for this paper we have centred our investigation on a set of semi-structured video interviews that took place in 2016 with 9 club members (7 female, 2 male), 5 of whom (all female) were then re-interviewed in 2018 to generate comparative data. The video interviews were transcribed, from which key themes and concepts have been identified. The use of narrative methods (Riessman 2008) supported the exploration of these themes and provided insights into the impact the club has had on these individuals within the time period. The findings have reinforced the value of the club, amidst the lack of opportunity to study creative subjects or receive appropriate preparation for careers in the fashion industry within the current school curriculum. The longitudinal nature of this study has enabled us to map the educational path of the participants through their formative years and get a sense of how the direction of these young people's lives have been altered by the club.

Education

Under the current government schools continue to see funding cuts and one of the main subject areas affected by this is the creative arts. Figures published in June 2018 by the Department of Education showed that between 2010 and 2017 the number of hours the Arts were taught in England's secondary schools fell by 21%, with the number of art teachers falling by 20%. (Cultural Learning Alliance, 2018). This reduction in support for the Arts within schools means that extra-curricular clubs that introduce young people to the creative arts are needed more than ever. Exposing young people to these opportunities can have a significant impact on their future educational choices and subsequent careers. The Saturday club aims to plug this gap, providing exposure to the Arts, and in this case specifically fashion. Rather than simply extending arts education beyond schools the Saturday club offers a different experience, maintaining the ethos that the sessions should not feel like school, to provide students with a relaxed atmosphere, without the pressures of assessments. Part of the reasoning behind this approach is to allow students to develop their creativity, something that is often lacking in the secondary school curriculum. Two thirds of UK teachers feel there is less opportunity to encourage creativity within the current GCSE format (Kashefpakdel et al. 2018:viii). The opportunity to experiment with creativity and imagination without rigorous boundaries allows young people to develop their confidence in their work as well as in themselves. One parent provided feedback that the relaxed club setting allowed their daughter to 'be herself' outside of a school environment. Feedback from parents informs us that being exposed to University at this stage of a young person's educational development provides them with an idea of university life, the opportunity to be treated like a mature young person, and the positive behaviours this can encourage. Exposure to a wide range of disciplines from expert subject lecturers has exposed club members to experiences they would never have had access to in school. The longer-term impact on students' standard of work is evidenced in the 2018 interviews with one club member, who is now studying an Art & Design BTEC at a Further Education college. Her work was recently reviewed by an external tutor who commented that it was of University standard, the student accredited this to her attendance of the Saturday club for the past three years.

Aspiration

Through analysis of the interviews with club members from both 2016 and 2018, we can gauge that their awareness of the fashion industry was limited prior to joining the club, with their understanding of 'fashion' centred on their own experiences as a consumer. When asked in the interviews whether their views on fashion had changed since attending the club, all participants answered yes, articulating how the club had provided them with the opportunity and confidence to explore self-expression through fashion. They also indicated a developed understanding of the industry and many careers opportunities they were not aware of prior to starting the club.

> I just thought there was like fashion design and that was what you could do, but then there's also fashion promotion and sportswear design and design and technology, and I just had no idea about any of it until I came to the Saturday Club.
>
> (Participant 5, 2016)

Since the 2017/18 enrolment we have collected formal data on club members' current and future educational choices. In the 53 completed registration packs since that date, 42 were already studying Art, Textiles or both at GCSE level, suggesting a level of interest in studying a creative subject was already present in most participants. When analysing the longer-term impact of club members going on to study Fashion at Higher Education (undergraduate level) or Further Education (16-18) there are currently limitations, as some leave the club at 15 at which point our formal data collection terminates. And as the club is in its 4th year, only now are we seeing the oldest members of the first cohort entering Higher Education. Data collection methods are currently being developed so that we can trace more students and their journeys after leaving the club, allowing us to assess long-term impact. Of the five participants interviewed in 2018, all are now studying creative subjects at either A Level or equivalent, with parental feedback informing us that the club provided them with confidence in their college choices, and opened up the possibilities of studying fashion at University.

> I think attending MMU gave her the confidence to leave [the local grammar] and attend [a sixth form college], to do her A Levels, a great stepping stone to university.
>
> (Parent, 2018)

> It's really made her think about the future, about things she'd like to study, and has also opened her eyes to a range of careers related to the fashion industry.
>
> (Parent, 2018)

The club has had a positive impact on students choosing to go on to study Fashion in Higher Education, we are currently aware that five graduates of the Saturday club have chosen to study Fashion at this level from September 2019, with three having secured a place on the BA(Hons) Fashion Design and Technology degree at Manchester Fashion Institute, which they attribute to the confidence, skills and enthusiasm for the subject they developed at the Saturday club.

> I'm doing fashion. I want to do it. I'm not doing anything else. I think I thought I wanted to be a vet or something or go into sports, or I can't even remember what I wanted to do because I did Saturday club three years ago and since then it's been my only thing I want to do.
>
> (Participant 4, 2018)

The impact of the Fashion and Business Saturday Club on long-term educational choices has been explored by Joseph (2019), exposing the lack of access to creative subjects in schools. The government aim is to have 90% of pupils sitting GCSEs in the English Baccalaureate (EBacc) subjects, as opposed to creative subjects, by 2025. (Greening 2017:05), yet the independent education charity, the Edge Foundation, argues that this curriculum 'fails to give all young people the skills that employers have clearly asked for in their workforce for the future' (Edge Foundation, 2018:16). This difference between the academic bias in mainstream education and the positive influence the Saturday club has on future educational choices is clearly articulated by the participants.

> I didn't like art at school. So, coming here I think you can express yourself in different ways and I saw that, but in school it was very, you must do it this way and that way, but here you can do what you like and it's very open. So, I found a college that does that for me now.
>
> (Participant 7, 2018)

Identity

The findings substantiate our hypothesis that the club holds deeper value for young people as a safe place to experiment with dress, to reflect on who they are and how they want to be seen by others. The relationship between fashion, or dress, and identity has been widely explored in academic literature, notably by Roach-Higgins & Eicher (1995) who take a symbolic interactionist stance, supported by Stone's (1962) writing on appearance and Goffman's (1995) reference to dress as part of the 'Identity Kit' required for maintenance of identity. In keeping with Gauntlet's (2007) methods, Davis (1992:25) describes clothing as a 'visual metaphor' for identity, expanding on Goffman and Stone's views on how clothes communicate the self. The link between fashion and identity in young people has been examined by Piacentini and Mailer (2006), Croghan et al. (2006) and Miles et al. (1998). These studies expose the relationship between the consumption of fashion and the construction of identity in young people. This provides an interesting starting point on which our findings can build. The participants whose responses we analysed were clearly invested in fashion, and acutely aware of the need to fit in, but as they settled into the club this began to change. They became less motivated to simply 'buy' clothes, with many starting to shun traditional consumption models in favour of ethical approaches to dressing.

> Since joining the club I've become vegetarian. I only buy like vegan clothes and things like that, because you watch videos and you learn about the environment and not just the effect of fashion on the environment, but everything like. So that's changed. I like to be more individual in myself because no matter like with all my work and things I do and what I like, I like to show that that you don't have to comply to like to the social constructs, do you know what I mean? You can be a bit different.
>
> (Participant 7, 2018)

The way they styled themselves and their personal aesthetic became more important than wearing specific brands or fitting in with current trends. As they grew in confidence they started to enjoy the act of dressing as a personal statement, rather than feeling the need to conform or fit in.

> It's [the club] changed my view of fashion because before I came here, I kind of copied off what my friends used to wear, because that was like the thing. But now, I've got my own individuality and I wear what I want to wear.
>
> (Participant 9, 2016)

Dress behaviours in this age range have been conceptualised in the *Dress*, *Youth*, *Identity* (DYI) model (Jenkinson, forthcoming) which recognises that young people have their own motivations for dressing in a certain way and that their personal style and identity is constantly shifting as they navigate the many facets of their private and public lives. While the DYI model shifts the focus from the consumption of clothes to the wearing of clothes, our findings extend this further as our participants connect the acts of dressing and wearing with the practice of designing or making clothes, as interconnected conduits to identity formation. In the video interviews we identified three key areas referenced by participants in relation to their identity and personal style; the influence of the other club members, their creative practice, and their self-awareness. These thematic clusters of 'people', 'practice' and 'self' provided a starting point for us to examine the evidence as it was presented in the visual and spoken narratives. The findings provide an insight into the experience of attending the club, and the importance of fashion and style, from the perspective of young people in this age range.

Figure 3: Club members wearing garments and accessories they have customised for a styling workshop, 2017.

Photographs courtesy of Manchester Metropolitan University.

People

'Because dress functions as an effective means of communication during social interaction, it influences peoples' establishing identities of themselves and others.' (Roach-Higgins and Eicher 1992:265). The influence of other people on the way young people chose to dress was articulated very clearly in many of the interviews and the weekly feedback, with most participants citing the influence of other club members as one of the main benefits of the Saturday club. The weekly studio sessions provided the opportunity for the young people to experiment with identity in a safe place, away from the constraints of friendship groups and established group identities. They enjoyed meeting new people with new viewpoints and diverse styles of dress.

> The people we've been with and the other Saturday club members, it's been really cool to see how other people our age and older dress instead of just your friends or seeing people in uniform. In a way, that's given me so much more confidence to wear what I want.
>
> (Participant 1, 2016)

> I think my personal style does sort of influence what we've been doing and what I do in school but also, other people have kind of rubbed off on me and I've gotten inspiration from other people.
>
> (Participant 4, 2016)

> I think the effect it's had on my personal style has been sort of, not necessarily developed it, but helped me get a clearer viewpoint. Because I think when we do things like work with other people or get set a task with the same base then everyone goes different with their personal style, I think looking at what other people's points of view are has helped me refine what my own one is. So, I think just seeing all the different ways people interpret a style has helped me sort of refine my own viewpoint.
>
> (Participant 2, 2016)

Practice

As evidenced in Gauntlets (2007) use of creative methods for the exploration of identity, the participant narratives highlighted the importance of creative practice in the formation of personal style. 'Style' was interpreted by the club members as personal styling or the aesthetics of dress but also in terms of the work they produced, with participants instinctively interlinking their style of dress with their creative practice. This finding offered a new insight into the value of creative fashion workshops, such as those offered at the club, in the formation of identity in young people.

> I definitely think I've been more creative when it comes to what I've been wearing or how my art has developed. I've definitely taken in what I've been doing. This club has definitely changed my view.
>
> (Participant 4, 2016)

> I think when I've done work with other people, it affects my personal style in a different way because it ends up being a lot more collaborative and therefore not quite as focusing on my style. But I think that's been good to find that compromise and find a balance with other people. So, I think the work I've done here has reflected my personal style.
>
> (Participant 2, 2016)

> So, coming here I think you can express yourself in different ways and I saw that, but in school it was very, you must do it this way and that way, but here you can do what you like and it's very open.
>
> (Participant 7, 2018)

> I think my fashion and my style changes and its sort of [according to] what I'm doing. If I'm a doing a different art project I might sort of just consciously take that in and sort of that will end up coming out in what I'm wearing.
>
> (Participant 1, 2018)

This connection between the practice of dressing and creative practice in a studio setting is strongly conveyed in the interview responses. The findings confirm the value of access to arts education for young people, not simply in preparing them with hard skills for further education or industry (much as that is also important), but as a means to affirming self, and linking creative practices with this formation of identity. This important connection between creative practice, the studio environment and identity formation has been explored in Art & Design education literature (Grushka 2009; Kealy-Morris 2015; Reid & Solomonides 2007). Etienne Wenger's 'communities of practice' are central to this area of study, the formation of which is evident in many creative studio environments including the Saturday club. Wenger (1998: 150) emphasises the connection between identity and practice in terms of negotiation of meaning (practice) and negotiated experience (identity). The sharing of experience that is central to successful communities of practice is seen in the Saturday club as academic tutors, technicians, industry guests, club members and mentors work together in the studio, without hierarchy. The mentor scheme enables level 5 (second year) undergraduate students to help out with the club on a weekly basis. We also provide the opportunity for club members to return as mentors when they reach the age of 16. This community of learning creates a unique environment that facilitates a rich and reflective experience for all those involved. Many participants had very little access to fashion education prior to attending the club, certainly not in the sense of self-directed, explorative studio practice, yet they left the club with a better sense of who they are, with more confidence in both their practice and how they portray themselves to others through dress.

> The club has changed my idea of fashion. It's given me more confidence in it and allowed me to understand it better. It's affected my personal style a lot, I think, because it's made me a bit more outgoing in how my fashion comes across to other people.
>
> (Participant 3, 2016)

Self

The participants' increase in self-awareness quickly became apparent during the first programme in 2016. They reported a distinct shift in confidence, developing a more assured sense of personal style and less concern about how they were viewed by others. These young people felt able to express themselves through their choice of clothing and styling. The club had created a space devoid of the dress codes enforced by school, where fashion was a choice, and something they had elected to invest time in. Participants were acutely aware of the power of clothes as communication, as a means of fitting in or standing out from the crowd. They considered their clothes a reflection of their personality, but also understood the constant conflict between the pursuit of individuality and societal demands. (Barnard 2001:61)

> I really think that fashion is important, especially during the weekends, because day-to-day, I'm wearing a school uniform and there's so many rules and regulations and you can't really do anything about it. So, think when it comes to the weekend, it's really fun to just wear whatever you want.
>
> (Participant 1, 2016)

> Like, sometimes I feel a bit like an odd one out, like whenever there's an 'own clothes day'. Everyone has the same maroon hoody, and I'm like, 'I don't own a maroon hoody. I feel left out.' But I think it's good making a statement of your personality.
>
> (Participant 2, 2016)

We might have expected that a 'fashion' club would put pressure on young people to dress 'up', promoting a culture of competition or a need to conform to certain trends. But the club environment was often cited by members as a 'safe' or 'comfortable' place in which personal style could be nurtured at their own pace, on

their own terms. As they grew in confidence the young people felt empowered to resist conformity, emboldened to follow their own sartorial path, as if their new found membership of this fashion 'club' validated their individual choice of dress.

> It was a bit nerve wracking at the start, in the beginning, because I didn't really know anyone, but over the years we've made some really good friends and it was just kind of like a space of safe environment to wear what I wanted [...] like I would plan my outfit and I was really, really excited to wear what I wanted to instead of wearing a school uniform, and I think that's kind of grown with me and yes, given me a lot more confidence.
>
> (Participant 1, 2018)

> I think I'm now more comfortable with my personal style, especially like in the town I come from, everyone seems to were the same thing and it's kind of awkward if you don't. But when I came here, everyone was just wearing their own thing and everyone was really open with all that, so it's definitely given me more confidence.
>
> (Participant 6, 2016)

> I'd say the club has made me more confident in what I wear. because before, I was quite 'oh, if I don't wear what everyone else is wearing, what will they think of me?' But now, I'm like 'let them think it'.
>
> (Participant 8, 2016)

While the impact of the club was seen quite quickly in the original participants, the five club members who returned to be re-interviewed in 2018 had a longer viewpoint. The benefit of a few more years of experience had heightened their confidence in dress, and all had made their way towards a creative pathway in Further Education, which gave them a certain 'expertise' in the practice of dressing. This temporal distance enabled a more reflective perspective. They were all shown the original video interviews partway through their second interview, with one participant proclaiming 'That is not my style! I don't remember that', and participant 7 (Fig 4) stating how 'boring' she looked in her original video.

Figure 4: Participant 7, 2016 and 2018.
Stills courtesy of Manchester Metropolitan University.

> I think at the start of this I was quite impressionable so like everyone dressed the same and I just dressed the same, but now I realise that's boring, that's not who you are as a person. You've got to be yourself.
>
> (Participant 7, 2018)

> I'm not like that anymore. I've realised like I usually just dress like everyone else. You can tell by that video and now I would walk down the street and you would see like, you know like groups of school girls and they all have the same coat and the same jeans and that's how I used to dress,

and I think, 'Oh my gosh be yourself like don't listen to anyone else'.

(Participant 7, 2018)

However, some participants considered their personal style to be more consistent, suggesting that for some the club had less impact on choice of dress. Participant 1 described her style and approach to dressing as unchanged but alluded to a shift in her access to different forms of dress with which to experiment. Between the ages of 13 and 16 the tools available to support one's 'Identity Kit', such as make-up or a wider choice of clothes, become more accessible, which is an important consideration when drawing conclusions about dress and identity in this age range.

Figure 5: Participant 1, 2016 and 2018.
Stills courtesy of Manchester Metropolitan University.

I would probably still wear that outfit now. I think it would be less bright. I also wear a lot more make up than I did back then. I think that's something that's changed, and I really like sort of expressing myself through make up, but I wear, but yes, I wouldn't say it's that different [laughter].

(Participant 1, 2018)

Impact

Returning to the aims of the research, the findings evidence the positive impact of early exposure to the University experience. Access to the university itself is of value and we will continue to focus on widening participation, to ensure we are reaching those young people that have limited access to creative educational experiences; and to break down barriers between the University, the fashion industry and local communities. In their study of working class young people's performance of 'style' in educational settings, Archer et al. (2007:232) propose that 'young people's sense of self and their investments in (and emotional attachments to) classed 'fashionable' identities are Othered within educational spheres.' Although in our experience it is not only the 'working classes' that are disadvantaged when it comes to access to a creative education. One of our early participants had been discouraged from studying art at their private grammar school in favour of more academic subjects. Since attending the Saturday club they have changed their options, taken Art at GCSE and have been offered a place to study fashion design at University. Our findings suggest that the opportunity to study fashion, or other creative subjects, in an inclusive, unstructured environment provides young people with essential tools for the continued development of self that is essential to their well-being. If cuts continue to be made to creative subjects at GCSE level, allowing students less freedom to explore their creativity, the need for opportunities such as the Saturday club will be essential to nurture creative growth in young people. If all Universities within the UK offered Saturday clubs for their local community, the number of students able to access these extra-circular creative opportunities and consider educational and career paths within the creative industries would be able to expand, meeting societal needs but also the future needs of the industry.

The research has further potential as a longitudinal study, and we intend to expand our data collection to enable us to track the long-term impact of the Saturday club. We hope to keep in contact with our club members as they move through higher education into their first careers. We will be following with interest the Talent25 project (Brown 2019) recently launched by De Montfort University and Arts Council England, which aims to track the impact of exposure to arts activities from birth. We have found that it is the self-directed, explorative studio experience, that can be a transformative experience for young people; the opportunity to explore their own style, of practice or appearance, without boundaries or judgement. Something that, in our opinion, all children and young people should have access to. The experience of making, and the practices associated with fashion, whether making clothes, creating images or simply dressing oneself, are clearly interconnected with identity. The participants all report an increase in confidence and a more developed sense of style as a result of the club. Much of this can be attributed to the accumulation of creative skills through fashion practice, the satisfaction of learning in a community of like-minded people with diverse levels of experience and partaking in reflective activities. There is considerable scope for further exploration of this relationship between people, practice and identity within the fields of dress, youth studies or education. This initial analysis of the data has provided many leads for future research such as the club's influence on how these young consumers approach buying clothes; a high proportion of those interviewed reported making more ethical choices in dress in response to their deeper understanding of the industry. We look forward to following the trajectory of our club members, letting their experiences and responses to the club inspire and inform future research, and developing our academic understanding of how young people integrate style, dress, identity and creative practice.

Acknowledgements
We are very grateful to the many academics, technicians and industry guests who have given up their Saturday mornings to provide such rich and diverse content during club sessions. Thank you also to the British Fashion Council and the Sorrell Foundation for all the help and support setting up and running the club.

References

Archer, L., Hollingworth, S. & Halsall, A. (2007) '"University's not for Me - I'm a Nike Person": Urban, Working-Class Young People's Negotiations of 'Style', Identity and Educational Engagement', Sociology, 41:2, pp. 219-237.

Barnard, M. (2002) *Fashion as Communication*, (2nd edition), London: Routledge.

Brown, M. (2019) 'Researchers to track impact of arts activities from birth to 25.' *The Guardian.* [Online] 25th Jan. [Accessed 28 Jan 2019] https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2019/jan/25/researchers-to-track-impact-of-arts-activities-from-birth-to-25

Croghan, R., Griffin, C., Hunter, J. and Phoenix, A. (2006), 'Style Failure: Consumption, identity and social exclusion', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 9:4, pp. 463-478.

Cultural Learning Alliance (2018) *Increasing decline in the hours of arts teaching and number of arts teachers in England's secondary schools.* [Briefing paper] [Online] [Accessed 18 Feb 2019] https://culturallearningalliance.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Arts-teaching-hours-and-workforce-2018.pdf

Davis, F. (1992) Fashion, *Culture, and Identity.* London: University of Chicago Press.

Edge Foundation. (2018). *Towards a Twenty-First Century Education System: Edge Future Learning. London: Edge Foundation.* [Online] [Accessed 18 Feb 2019] http://www.edge.co.uk/sites/default/files/documents/edge_future_learning_report_final.pdf

Eicher & Roach-Higgins (1992). 'Describing Dress: A system for classifying and defining' In Barnes, R. & Eicher, J.B. (Eds.) *Dress and Gender: Making and meaning in cultural contexts.* Oxford: Berg, pp. 8-28

Gauntlet, D. (2007), *Creative Explorations: New approaches to identities and audiences*, London: Routledge.

Goffman (1995) 'Identity Kits'. In Roach-Higgins, M.E., Eicher, J.B. & Johnson, K.K. (eds.) *Dress and identity.* New York: Fairchild Publications, pp. 119-121.

Greening, J. (2017) 'Foreword from the Secretary of State for Education' In. Department for Education. [Consultation responses] *Implementing the English Baccalaureate Government.* [Online] July 2017. [Accessed 18 February 2019] https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/630713/Implementing_the_English_Baccalaureate_-_Government_consultation_response.pdf

Grushka, K. (2009) 'Meaning and identities: a visual performative pedagogy for socio-cultural learning', *Curriculum Journal*, 20:3, pp. 237-251.

Jenkinson, J. (forthcoming 2019) 'Wear your Identity: Styling identities of youth through dress - a conceptual model.' In [Special Issue] *Fashion, Style and Popular Culture.* 6:1. Bristol: Intellect.

Joseph, K. (2019) 'How can delivering Saturday clubs to 13-16-year olds affect their longer-term educational choices within the area of fashion?' Paper presented at: *FutureScan 4: Valuing Practice.* Bolton University, Bolton, 24th February.

Kashefpakdel, E., Newton, O. and Clark, J. (2018) *Joint Dialogue: How are schools developing real employability skills.* [Online] [Accessed on 25th January 2019] http://www.edge.co.uk/sites/default/files/documents/joint_dialogue_-_final_report_2.pdf

Kealy-Morris, E. (2015) 'The bookbinding workshop: Making as collaborative pedagogic practice', *Art, Design & Communication in Higher Education*, 14:2, pp. 119-129.

Kolb, D.A. (2015) *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development.* (2nd ed.) New Jersey: Pearson Education.

Mead, S. and Ellerbrock, C.R. (2018), 'Know Thy Selfie: Using contemporary art to teach adolescent identity exploration.' *Social Studies Research and Practice*, 13:2, pp. 279-288.

Miles, S., Cliff, D. and Burr, V. (1998), 'Fitting in and sticking out: Consumption, consumer meanings and the construction of young people's identities, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 1:1, pp. 81 - 96.

Piacentini, M. and Mailer, G. (2006), 'Consumption in teenager's clothing choices', *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 3:3, pp. 251-262.

Reid, A. & Solomonides, I. (2007) 'Design students' experience of engagement and creativity', *Art, Design & Communication in Higher Education*, 6:1, pp. 27-39.

Riessman, C.K. (2008), *Narrative methods for the human sciences*, London: Sage.

Roach-Higgins, M.E., and Eicher, J.B. (1992), *'Dress and identity', Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, 33:4, pp. 265-79.

Roach-Higgins, M.E. and Eicher, J.B. (1995) 'Dress and Identity' In *Dress and identity.* Roach-Higgins, M.E., Eicher, J.B. & Johnson, K.K. (eds.) New York: Fairchild Publications, pp. 7-19.

Stone, G.P. (1962), 'Appearance and the self', in A.M. Rose (ed.), *Human behaviour and social processes: An interactionist approach*, London: Routledge, pp. 86-118

Wenger, E. (1999), *Communities of practice: learning, meaning, and identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

155 EVERYTHING IS CONNECTED: THE INFLUENCES AND INSPIRATIONS OF GLOBAL ICON, ACTIVIST, AND RADICAL FASHION PHILOSOPHER, VIVIENNE WESTWOOD

Author
Linda Watson
Northumbria University, UK

linda2.watson@unn.ac.uk

Keywords
Vivienne Westwood
subversive fashion
fashion activism
fashion and culture
fashion and sustainability

Abstract
Fashion's foremost thinker, Vivienne Westwood believes the foundation of a meaningful and productive life lies in the development of personal identity via the process of intellectual evolution. This, she believes, can be found through the exploration of three key areas – environment and responsibility, politics and justice, thoughts and culture. The intention of this paper is to distil the key influences in Westwood's psyche and contextualise them in order to gain a greater understanding of her diverse sources of inspiration. By challenging existing conventions, new thinking can evolve. As a self-confessed activist and advocate of cultural appreciation, Vivienne Westwood believes art links the past, present and future. She discourages consumerism and encourages the individual to identify and follow their deepest interest. This mantra, she states, allows the individual to achieve a sense of personal progress and embark on a journey of self-discovery - the key to inner awareness and outward expression. An advocate of reading books rather than scanning social media, make do and mend rather than mass consumption, and history rather than modernism, her unique – and often radical - philosophy has become a rallying cry for a new generation of fashion followers. Analysing and outlining the core inspirations and influences in Vivienne Westwood's arsenal, the aim is also to investigate these in a fashion context, dissecting how such disparate influence can be applied and translated in a sartorial form. Beginning with one of the most powerful and indelible subcultures - Punk - this wide-ranging examination sheds light on both the approach and application of Vivienne Westwood's cultural, political and environmental interests. Furthermore it explains aspects of the specific influences, from Aldous Huxley to Lewis Carroll, Boucher to Fragonard, The Wallace Collection to The British Library. In Westwood's own words 'Everything is Connected'. Within this eclectic mix of influences the thought process of one of the most unique and radical fashion designers emerges.

Introduction: making ugliness beautiful: politics and justice
'Punk was an evolution, a synthesis, to put together all the things we were interested in. Although social and political pressures can influence changes in fashion, the form it can take can never be predicted' (Westwood, 2016). The starting point for the definition of Vivienne Westwood's personal fashion identity was the invention - or more precisely co-creation - of punk. Together with her partner, Malcolm McLaren - a self-confessed provocateur and disciple of situationist art who was 'anti music, anti everything' - they were united in their rejection of the pacifist hippy ethos, choosing instead to turn symbols of anarchy into both a political statement and a fashion movement. Westwood did not predict the sociological and sartorial impact: 'I didn't consider myself a fashion designer at all at the time of punk' she stated, 'I was just using fashion as a way to express my resistance and to be rebellious' (Westwood, 2016). A foundation of disparate social and political influences played against a backdrop of youth dissatisfaction with the status quo. This most enduring of subcultures - with roots in both New York and London - became a byword for rebellion.

Gathering a coterie of disaffected youth, assembled by McLaren, provocatively entitled The Sex Pistols, punk's fashion stance and subversive philosophy now had an international voice and global stage. Even without the advent of the internet, their anarchic appearance left an indelible impression on the subculture psyche. 'The pistols facilitated a reframing and a re-imagining of English culture and left a legacy which has been drawn upon by a number of subsequent art and music subcultures' (Adams, 2008). McLaren formed the group as a means to define his existence and establish his persona as equal part agent provocateur and musical Svengali. 'I was always trying to find an identity, and the way you did that was to create a gang' (Deedson, 2000). The core components of punk – the identifying marks - are summed up deftly by Westwood as 'Iconographic: Rips and dirt, safety pins, zips and slogans and hairstyles. These motifs were so iconic in themselves – motifs of rebellion' (Westwood, 2016). There were also unravelling mohair jumpers, torn T-shirts, distressed fabrics, traditional tartans, discarded bin liners and elements of bondage. The lead singer of The Sex Pistols, John Lydon (aka Johnny Rotten), in discussion with Julien Temple, Director of seminal punk film *The Filth and the Fury* (2003) added obscure and esoteric influences to the Punk identity including Shakespeare's Richard III. The common denominator between Westwood and Lydon's definition was the foundation of DIY. This was a theme which was to run from Punk's conception throughout Westwood's consequent collections, adding a dimension of individuality largely unexplored in previous subcultures. It transcended to a proliferation of independent press productions which were also was based on DIY 'Most interestingly, though, most analyses of punk zines pay particular attention to the visual language with these publications and the way this symbolised punk. As we have noted, in Hebdige, it is seen in terms of the same bricolage that characterised punk dress and music' (Grimes and Wall, 2016).

It is important to note that Westwood herself experienced the strictures of Utility clothing regulations imposed by the British Government during the Second World War. Born in 1941, she had actively participated in Do It Yourself pursuits - advocated under the guise of Make Do And Mend - as a social norm and financial necessity during her adolescence. Westwood took it one stage further: in a world dominated by aspirational fashion, her version of DIY was as a symbol of liberation and freedom from designer imposition. 'The role of DIY activity in the creation of self-identity is clearly an important one, and it is not unconnected to the issue of design democracy' (Atkinson, 2008). This theme was used for Westwood's Do It Yourself Spring/Summer 2009 collection in which a manifesto, handwritten by Westwood, and including inexpensive sartorial suggestions became the show invitation. Completely rejecting - and in direct contradiction to - the carefree aura of the swinging sixties, Punk embraced aggression, confrontation, and the ideology of individuality. Graphic T-shirts - emblazoned with the word 'Destroy', a Swastika, an image of the crucifixion, the subversion of royal regalia portrayed The Queen with a safety pin piercing her mouth.

During the past decade, the definition of punk or 'True Punk' as she was later to re-iterate, Westwood now applies to political prisoners, freedom fighters, and individuals who have risked their lives to expose war crimes via the World Wide Web. Westwood had been supporting and petitioning for the release of Leonard Peltier for decades. Jailed in 1977 for the murder of two FBI agents (a charge which Peltier has repeatedly denied since his conviction) Westwood not only corresponded personally with Peltier, but also produced 'Free Leonard Peltier' badges, a canvas belt, T-shirt and buckle sold through her World's End shop. His case, Westwood believes, has global significance. 'Peltier's response to a denial of clemency in 2001 reveals how Peltier appealed to non-American Indian supporters to join in a broader struggle for American Indian social Justice revealing a rhetorical strategy of transference from individual to collective (Endres, 2011). Westwood's more recent political causes have focussed on freedom of information and what she terms 'misrule of law'. She publicly supported and campaigned for the release of Bradley Manning in May 2013 arriving at the opening of the 'Punk: Chaos to Couture' exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, her evening gown embellished with an A4 photograph of Bradley Manning in a plastic sleeve with the word 'Truth' in red positioned at the bottom. Interviewed on live television she directed attention to her 'jewellery'. The interview was cut short and she was subsequently deleted from the visual roll call of celebrities attending the event as recorded by Condé Nast. Manning also appealed to Westwood's support of ambiguous sexuality and gender fluidity when Bradley made the decision to become Chelsea. 'As I transition into this next phase of my life, I want everyone to know the real me. I am Chelsea Manning. I am female. These words began a media frenzy when Private Manning, convicted for violations of the Espionage Act and other offences related to the release of classified information to WikiLeaks, announced to the world on August 22nd 2013 that she was a transgender woman' (Capuzza, 2015).

'He's a war hero. He exposed American war crimes.' was Westwood's assessment of Julian Assange on live TV link with TBU News, broadcast on 30th March 2018. Assange is the WikiLeaks founder who Westwood visits on a regular basis whilst he seeks refuge at the Ecuadorian Embassy in London. 'At the moment it is safe to conclude that diplomatic asylum has developed into a recognised concept in Latin and Central America, but elsewhere in the world it is rejected as a legal right and regarded as more like a matter of humanitarian practice' (Vark, 2012). Concerned about the blurred diplomatic lines and lack of definition regarding Assange's incarceration, Vivienne Westwood became a staunch supporter. In his fifth year of diplomatic asylum, at the showing of her Spring/Summer 2017 show she showed a short video declaring her support for the release of the WikiLeaks founder. In turn, Julian Assange offered a critique of her creativity 'I encouraged her to see the value in her work, that it is something that can bridge a gap and I think educate people. It is completely unique in that she has been so successful in what she does' (Assange, 2017). Declaring an allegiance with Assange's predicament, Westwood developed a T-shirt with a portrait of herself with the words 'I am Julian Assange'. Calling Assange 'a True Punk', she compared her political involvement with the characteristics of punk. The core qualities of liberty, free speech and subversive behaviour that combined to characterise the most anarchic of subcultures: 'What is punk attitude? I guess I'm a punk because I'm a fighter. You're born with the character you have got and I always fight. I can't help it' (Westwood, 2018).

'Everything is connected': thoughts and culture

A staunch advocate of the psychological stimulus of reading books rather than absorbing information via digital means, Vivienne Westwood had a small library installed at the front entrance to her design studio in London's Elcho Street. Launched in September 2013 and intended to educate and enlighten her staff, the concise literary collection contains three works which she regularly cites as fundamental to her thinking. 'Reading matters. It is the most concentrated form of experience' declared Westwood, a former primary school teacher. Her statement underlined the research findings of 'Those who use literature based reading instruction to challenge the basal tradition boast stunning levels of success with all types of students and particularly with disabled and uninterested readers (O'Tunnell, and Jacobs, 1989). The launch of the Westwood library made a direct connection to Westwood's environmental call to arms, 'Climate Revolution'. Believing that 'Knowledge of the past lends perspective to the present and insight into the future', the focus of the opening was an analysis of author John Steinbeck's 1939 novel which won both the Nobel and Pulitzer prize for literature, *The Grapes of Wrath.* Set during the Great Depression, Westwood underlined Westwood underlined the message of the book by showing the Oscar-winning film of 1940, directed by John Ford. In an exercise in compare and contrast, according to Westwood 'the book continues beyond the point where the film stops and though the chances of survival for the family the pathos of the final scene is unsurpassed in literature' (Westwood, 2013). Produced during an extraordinarily short time-frame (between June and October 1938), 'The Grapes of Wrath is a controversial classic because it is at once populist and revolutionary' (DeMott, 1989).

Westwood's most enduring literary memory from her childhood is *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll. This holds an enduring fascination for Westwood primarily because the author, aka Charles Lutwidge Dodgson was a mathematician, but also because it retains its relevance to adulthood. 'As in all good books for children, it is not only for children for the child in all. The lack of love, of regard for other people, the intense cruelty, the rebellion against rhyme and reason, the final distortion of everything seen through the looking glass does not matter' (Grotjahn, 1947). Such is Westwood's longstanding admiration of Carroll's literary masterpiece, that the themes and variations contained within have been translated into her Red Label collection, most visibly for Autumn/Winter 2015 and also formed the basis for the narrative of her Active Resistance to Propaganda, a symposium on culture which Westwood defined as 'the exploration and cultivation of humanity through art'. To commemorate the 150th anniversary of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, first published in 1865, Westwood was to redesign the front cover insisting that the literary work still featured the original illustrations by Sir John Tenniel, principal political cartoonist for Punch. It also contained an introduction by Westwood calling for the end to capitalism and a cryptic statement summarising her thoughts on fiction: 'Truth becomes fiction when the fiction's true. Real becomes not real when the unreal's real' (Westwood, 2015).

The sartorial work – particularly pertinent in graphic representation - of Vivienne Westwood is underpinned by an examination of literature which explores dystopian themes. 'The first recorded use of dystopia (which has another derivation neologism) dates back to 1868, and is to be found in a parliamentary speech in which John Stuart Mill tried to find a name for a perspective which was opposing that of Utopia. If Utopia was commonly seen as 'too good to be practicable', then dystopia was 'too bad to be practicable' (Claeys, 2010). Fundamental to Westwood's philosophy are the authors of visionary works which have sought to imagine the causes and consequences of a totalitarian state: E.M. Forster's *The Machine Stops*, first published in 1909 and George Orwell's 1984, published four decades later, in 1949. 'Orwell's concerns regarding the abuse of power, the denial of self, and the eradication of both past and future continue to resonate in contemporary discussions of politics and society' (Tyner, 2004). Whilst reading Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* Westwood inadvertently discovered the advanced ideology deployed by Huxley, expressing admiration for his ingenuity in her blog entitled 'Get A Life'. 'A world run by organisation for the sake of organisation. The desired population is created in a laboratory – test tube babies! Huxley's Brother, a scientist, was astonished that Aldous had worked out how to do this (their Grandfather, T H Huxley was a famous scientist – the populariser of Darwin)' (Westwood, 2014). As Westwood focussed on Huxley's uncanny ability to predict the future, she was also aware of his psychoanalytical powers. 'Huxley seems to have been using the 'Oedipus complex' not as a target for mockery in Brave New World but as a weapon in his satirical attack on the mores of modern life and on its Utopian fantasies' (Buckanan, 2002). The title '*Brave New World*' emblazoned on a man's T-shirt with the Shakespearean quotation 'What's done cannot be undone' circling the neck. In a single sartorial statement, Westwood marked a literary milestone. 'It is not surprising that Aldous Huxley's last words in print were about William Shakespeare' (Meckien, 1945). Running parallel to Westwood's preoccupation with literary Utopian works, her presentation of Englishness often reflects and reinvents a time when our cultural identity was internationally indelible: 'Westwood is not accurately replicating English history, but rather re-inventing it to create an idealised form of Utopian dress' (Choi, 2005). Westwood's admiration for Aldous Huxley extended to the invention of an imaginary pharmaceutical invention. Entitled NINSDOL, Westwood used an acronym to capture Huxley's definition of the three evils, an acronym for 'Nationalist Idolatry', 'Non stop Distraction' and 'Organised Lying'. Of these three evils Westwood assessed the most dangerous as being 'non stop distraction.' Translated into a graphic print, this also became the theme for the Propaganda Autumn/Winter 2005/6 show 'It occurred to me that these 3 evils were the constituents of Propaganda. 'We might say that NINSDOL is a pill which is administered throughout life. Have you had your daily dose?' (Westwood, 2016).

'Knowledge of the past lends perspective to the present and insight into the future. All my ideas come from studying the ideas of the past. I design clothes in the hope of breaking convention' (Westwood, 1996). At the beginning of her career – notably the first 'Pirate' collection where Westwood became an independent entity - it involved the dissection of 18th century shirts and Westwood focussed her research on the archives at the V&A Museum. She then studied the art of the Greeks stating 'the art of the Greeks has never been surpassed. We are tantalised by this golden age of global expression' and producing a collection entitled 'Voyage to Cythera'. The concept of nudity had been explored by Anne Hollander in her seminal work Seeing Through Clothes, concluding 'For the Western world, the distinction between being dressed and undressed has always been crucial'. Westwood created a unique juxtaposition: Greek drapery with Savile Row tailoring in her 'Britain Must Go Pagan' series which began in 1987. 'The nude always means the fashion of her time. Patrons of Titian see his nude through Playboy eyes' (Westwood, 1996). During her historical research she discovered the pourpoint jacket – a 14th century invention, originally designed to be worn under armour, which she stated 'caused a revolution in fashion'. As her design signature became progressively decorative, she visited The Wallace Collection. A three part series entitled 'Painted Ladies' aired in 1996, formed the foundation for an extended analysis of the relationship between painting and fashion. The three episodes were divided into 'Nobility, Virtue, Morality', 'Aesthetic Lust', and finally 'Luxury and Frivolity'. The introductory statement Westwood makes in the first episode: 'Orthodoxy is the grave of intelligence' has been translated, in her own handwriting, onto an oversized T-shirt. Westwood's Portrait collection of Autumn/Winter 1990 – the collection most closely aligned with the Wallace Collection - depicted Francois Boucher's study of a shepherd watching a sleeping shepherdess from Longui's pastoral romance 'Daphnis and Chloe' on the front panel of her 'Stature of Liberty' corset. She included 17th Century engravings from a Boulle design at the back of a mirror, the colour palette inspired by the Royal Manufactory of Sevres porcelain.

By the dawn of the millennium, the study of fashion history, previously the domain of museum curators and archivists was now the focus of public fascination and academic discussion. 'From the last 15 years the field of dress history has been subject to passionate and sometimes acrimonious debate. Within the context of the history of decorative arts and design, material culture and museology and other related cultural theory, the study of dress has undergone the greatest appropriation and transformation' (Taylor, 2015). Now universally acclaimed as an interpreter of historical methodology, Westwood was spearheading the exploration. She became an emblem for the introduction of historic fashion discourse from a creator – not curator – perspective. 'Over the last decade or so, the study of the clothes in art has been firmly established as one of the essential approaches to dress history, as Roche suggests, such a study requires the skills of both historian and art historian' (Ribeiro 1998). From this point, Westwood would transfer her attention from street art to old masters. Westwood repeatedly cited The Wallace collection as 'the best school in the whole country' (Westwood, 1996). Of Gainsborough portraits, Westwood enthused 'My God. The fashion and the beauty. England's greatest painter' (Westwood, 1996).

'Consumption is the enemy of culture': environment and responsibility

'My motto is: Buy Less, Choose Well, Make it Last. You can change your lifestyle and it will cost you less. Essentially we are all trained to be consumers. You have to invest in culture, not in consumption.' Vivienne Westwood reiterating her mantra on 24th September 2017 at The Royal Festival Hall, Southbank Centre, wearing a plain white T-shirt inside out, seams exposed, with the words 'Buy Less' handpainted in black on the right hand side of the torso. Acutely aware of the conflicting nature of a fashion designer whose business model pivots on purchasing power, Westwood advocated restraint. She repeated the rallying cry against consumerism she had been relaying for a decade. Despite her genuine sense of conviction and repeated demands for anti-consumerist activity, Vivienne Westwood remains a contradictory figure in the ongoing discourse and debate on the contemporary issues of ethical practice, ecological awareness and mass consumption. With a company turnover which rose to £40.8 million in 2017 from £37.5 million a year earlier, her stance on the environment and subsequent juxtaposition of luxury fashion aligned to political activism would appear to conflict with preconceived ideas on profit versus political conscience. She remains the only fashion designer in history to publicly pronounce an anti-consumerist statement, namely 'Buy Less', which could feasibly be perceived as a public relations disaster. However, the personal identity of Vivienne Westwood – one of a designer actively involved in changing the attitudes to the acquisition of luxury goods and landscape of sartorial consumption – has prevailed. In a single case study on a Vivienne Westwood entitled 'Vivienne Westwood and the Ethics of Consuming Fashion', undertaken in 2015 the investigators Jean S. Clarke and Robin Holt found there was a clear alignment between the creator and the consumer with the dialogue of design a common denominator. 'Ethics in consumption is a critical engagement with how products such as clothes are bought... Consumers find themselves personally implicated with and caring for a designer's work and become responsible for reflecting on their own consumption decisions rather than cheaply satisfying immediate demands' (Clark and Holt, 2015).

Westwood in person is detached from the digital world. Privately, she is not in possession of a television, laptop or mobile telephone. However, in common with other international luxury brands, social media has been deployed by both Vivienne Westwood the designer and Vivienne Westwood the company as a method of mass communication to directly engage with customers on a global scale. Westwood is unique in this consumer arena in that she not only uses social media on a multiple platforms: Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, in addition to three separate but interlinking internet sites which convey the message of both the Westwood merchandise and her personal political and cultural leanings. Within the company Vivienne Westwood website, the consumer will find eclectic footage: 'The creation of an iconic shoe. Craftsmanship & Longevity' alongside an interview with Vivienne Westwood entitled 'Intellectuals Unite'. These virtual mixed messages are a unique strategy to retain the interest of the existing and capture the attention of the prospective customer. 'As competition among luxury brands becomes more intense, by providing plenty of alternatives to customers, the brand's prosperity seems no longer quite so promising. The importance of managing customers as valuable assets cannot be emphasised more' (Kim, 2010). The question of personal identity, ethical commitment and the all-important presence of authenticity are key factors in the creation of an ethical awareness. 'Since individual identity continually evolves, and requires a conflicted materially referential re-imagining of self to do so, we hypothesize that actual rather than faux luxury brands can, ironically unite the ideals of fashion with those of environmental sustainability' (Joy et al., 2012).

The design signature of Vivienne Westwood is also of critical importance. The company textile mandate which involves the use of organic cotton, the emphasis on pure wool, the inclusion of natural, often recycled, fibres are all crucial to the design DNA. Although the label is regarded as a luxury brand, the core philosophy can be applied to an ecological framework. Unlike Chanel and Louis Vuitton, the Westwood brand – and its figurehead - has a longstanding association with sustainability. The concept of sustainability - first presented at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 – within ten years became the template for ethical fashion practice. The concept was adopted with increasing regularity by brands whose existence had previously depended primarily upon the rarefied qualities of their products. 'At first sight luxury and sustainability go together like tofu and caviar. In reality, the two share many of the same values: Respect for tradition and craftsmanship, the preference given to quality over quantity and the quest for harmony between humans and nature' (Scanlon, 2016).

When Westwood adopted a sustainable policy, key changes were made on product lines. A contract with Melissa shoes, who were producing plastic shoes which proved to be phenomenally financially successful for Westwood was not renewed. Westwood herself prevented the opening of a proposed branch of Vivienne Westwood in Beijing fearing a lack of control of her product and consequent mass production in the Far East.

By 2010, Westwood's political interests were being crystallised into two camps: social and environmental responsibility. There was a 'Westwood Inspired Repurposing Clothing Workshop' screened Live from the British Library. In addition, Vivienne Westwood actively backed Save the Arctic, Cool Earth, Greenpeace, and Anti-Fracking demonstrations around the UK. When the Vivienne Westwood Ethical Fashion Africa Project was launched in 2011 Westwood was adamant that the initiative centred on employment. 'It gives people control. Charity doesn't give control. It does the opposite. It makes them dependent.' The programme, which had enlisted 7,000 local women, was conceived to produce accessories for Westwood in return for a fair wage. There was – and is – a marked difference in quality of products made by artisans in Africa to the mainstream line. However, the design signature and ethos has been retained. 'Change is possible but it has to come from the fashion domain. Aesthetics is crucial to the appeal of eco fashion' (Joy et al., 2012).

The shifting social conscience – an awareness which is evident in the younger generation - plays a vital part in the repositioning of sustainable fashion. Kim Jones, Dior Menswear Creative Director took a retrospective look at the purchasing habits of his contemporaries in comparison to his peers. 'People didn't buy 32 pairs of Jimmy Choos and Louboutins. People didn't have 16 pairs of sunglasses. People didn't have 22 dresses. They just didn't. They had these clothes to go out and have fun with. They wore these clothes. When you got this Westwood or whatever you wore it four times a week' (Jones, 2015).

It is, however, the consistent involvement with ethical and environmental endeavours that has established Vivienne Westwood as a designer synonymous with social responsibility. She has been proactive in promoting a Green Economy and is visibly present at Anti-Fracking demonstrations. She has travelled globally to protect the rainforest and consistently campaigned to Save the Arctic. It is the actions, not words, which have set Westwood apart. 'Transparency is the first synergy and important pillar in the self-understanding of the founder as transparency typically evokes trust. Those players who communicate in a transparent way cannot and do not want to hide anything' (Dickenbrok, 2018). The identity of Vivienne Westwood which began to take shape against a backdrop of anarchy in the 1970s has, over half a century, become progressively synonymous with activism. With few exceptions – for example, Stella McCartney and Katharine Hamnett - the fashion industry did not lead by example, but followed the status quo. Westwood, together with McCartney, was instrumental in changing public perception on sustainability.

On 10th December 2018 Vivienne Westwood received 'The Swarovski Award for Positive Change' at the British Fashion Council (BFC) Awards ceremony at the Albert Hall. With accolades by Greenpeace and Cool Earth, the BFC underlined the reasoning for the presentation, citing 'Her continued work to promote and engage with the industry positively in making a global change for the benefit for the environment.'

References

Adams, R. (2008), *The Englishness of English Punk: Sex Pistols, Subcultures and Nostalgia*, Popular Music & Society, Vol. 31.

Assange, J. (2017), *Julian Assange on the Emboldening Powers of Westwood*, AnOther Magazine.

Atkinson, P. (2008), *Do It Yourself: Democracy and Design.* Journal of Design History.

Buchanan, B. (2002), *Oedipus in Dystopia: Freud & Lawrence in Aldous Huxley's Brave New World*, Journal of Modern Literature Vol 25, No. 3/4, pp. 75-89.

Capuzza, J. (2015), *What's in a Name? Transgender Identity, Metareporting and the Misgender of Chelsea Manning*, Transgender Communication Studies. Histories, Trends and Trajectories.

Choi, K.H. (2005), *Vivienne Westwood in Context and the Englishness of her work*, International Journal of Costume Culture, p. 68.

Claeys, G. (2010), *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, The University Press, Cambridge.

Clarke, J. S, Holt, R. (2015), *Vivienne Westwood and the Ethics of Consuming Fashion*, Journal of Management Enquiry Vol. 25. Issue 2, pp. 199-213.

Deedson, M. (2000), *Malcolm McLaren: I don't mind being accused of being the Fagin, in many respects I was.* British GQ June 2000.

DeMott, R. (1989), *Working Days: The Journals of the Grapes of Wrath*, 1938-1941 Penguin Books.

Dickenbrok, C., and Martinez, L. (2018) *Communicating Green Fashion Across Different Cultures and Geographical Regions.* International Review on Public and Nonprofit Marketing. Vol 15. Issue 2, pp. 127-141.

Endres, D. (2011) *American Indian Audience: Rhetorical Analysis of Leonard Peltier's Reponse to Denial of Clemency.* Communication Reports. Vol 24. Issue 1

Fu, J. (2017) *Wikileaks Founder Julian Assange on his Relationship with Vivienne Westwood and Fashion Protest.* Hypebeast. October 1st 2017.

Grimes, M. and Wall, T. (2016) *Punk Zines 'Symbols of Defiance' from the print to the digital age.* Manchester University Press.

Grotjahn, M. (1947) *About the Symbolization of Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* American Imago Vol 4. No. 4. The John Hopkins University Press p. 41.

Jones, K. (2015), *The Obsessive Archive of Kim Jones*, AnOther Magazine.

Joy, A., Sherry, J., Venkatesh, A., Wang, J.J, and Chan, R. (2012). Fast Fashion, Sustainability, and the Ethical Appeal of Luxury Brands. *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture.* Vol 16, pp 273-296.

Kim, A and Ko, E, (2010) Impacts of Luxury Fashion Brand's Social Media Marketing on Customer Relationship and Purchase Intention. *Journal of Global Fashion Marketing.* Vol 1, Issue 3, pp 164-171.

Mekien, J. (1945), Shakespeare Quarterly. Vol 22. No. 2.

Mukai, C. (2011), Fashion: *A Catalyst for Change*, International Trade Forum.

O'Tunnell, M. Jacobs, J.S. (1989), *Using "real" books: Research Findings on Literature*, The Reading Teacher, International Literacy Association. Vol. 42 No. 7, p.470.

Ribeiro, A. (1998), *Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress Fashion Theory*, Vol 2. Issue 4, pp. 315-325.

Scanlon, X.C. (2016), *Putting Glam into Green: A Case for Sustainable Luxury Fashion Spirituality & Sustainability*, pp. 183-197.

Taylor, L. (1998), *Doing the Laundry? A Re-assessment of Object based Dress History*, The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture.

Tyner, J.A. (2004), *Self & Space, Resistance and Discipline: A Foucauldian Reading of George Orwell's 1984.* Social & Cultural Georgraphy. Vol 5, issue 1, pp. 125-149.

Vark, R. (2012), *Dipolomatic Asylum: Theory, Practice and the Case of Julian Assange.* University of Tartu. SSRN.

Westwood, V. (1996), *Painted Ladies* TV Series Episode 1.

Westwood, V. (1996), *Painted Ladies* TV Series Episode 3.

Westwood, V. (2013), *Climate Revolution*, Blog Entry, September.

Westwood, V. & Kelly, I, (2015), *Vivienne Westwood.* Picador.

Westwood, V. (2015), Alice's *Adventures in Wonderland*, Vintage Classics.

Westwood, V. (2015), *Get a Life* Blog Entry July.

Westwood, V. (2016), *Get a Life* Blog Entry.

Westwood, V. (2016), *Get A Life: The Diaries of Vivienne Westwood*, Serpent's Tail.

Westwood, V. (2018), Dazed, The Summer 2018 Issue.

Westwood, V. (2018), *Dazed*, The Summer 2018 Issue.

180 A WASTE TO VALUE PROPOSITION: ‘UNSPECIFIED OUTCOME’ DRIVEN LEARNING

Authors
Shalini Gupta
Varun Goel
Pearl Academy, India

Corresponding Author
shalini.gupta@pearlacademy.com

Keywords
design education
garment construction
recycling
design process
form generation

Abstract
Thousands of young people walk into a design school for the first time every summer, eyes bright with hope and the promise of leaving three years later armed with what it takes to be the best in the industry. Learning to stitch, cut, fit and re-fit every day. Patterns half done, gone wrong, mistaken stitches, snips and stains. When the day is over, all these mistakes are swept up and taken away. And tomorrow is a new day to learn some more. But what educators may not realise is that they are subconsciously endorsing wastefulness by demanding perfection.

Author Henry Petroski put it eloquently when he wrote, ‘Successful design is not the achievement of perfection but the minimization and accommodation of imperfection.’ This sparked the idea of 1) Collecting the waste generated during the process of pattern cutting and garment construction and 2) Finding ways to educate using this continuous effusion of waste that bears infinite possibilities to re-create value.

A group of ten Year One students were guided to use the waste collected to create garments as a part of a ‘form generation’ module. Traditionally, form generation is the kind of cutting technique that generates waste. Through an action-based research methodology the process of waste generation was analysed, and seen not as a pollutant to be discarded but as an opportunity to create. The end product symbolises a series of actions intended to change perceptions and, eventually, the indigenous industry, rather than merely embedding symbolic notions on the wearer.

The paper documents the process of ‘unspecified outcome’ driven learning through specific actions of waste collection, creating and delivering a module in Year One, and reflecting on the process and results. Here it is proposed that this will imbue the next generation of Indian designers with change agility, and the means to think outside of the regimented nature of assembly lines and mass-produced retail uniformity, in an attempt at making them better prepared for wholly uncertain future scenarios.

Introduction
‘Fashion is the most immediate and intimate form of self-expression’ (Corner, 2014). In a hyper connected world, representing one’s identity has become paramount to social self-preservation and this is ordinarily achieved via constant material consumption, a prodigious threat to a sustainable future. Hyper consumption leads to waste of both non-renewable natural resources, and materials used in production. This has meant a continuous effusion of unwanted fibre, cloth, colour, and patterns, making the global fashion industry one of the most polluting industries in the world (Wicker, 2017). Designers across the world today are exploring the various avenues of sustainable design and production from a social, political and ethical stand point in an attempt to re-create value from this waste. This may be the cumulative effect of the now evident ills of over consumption, tragedies like the Rana plaza disaster, films like ‘The True Cost’, or socially driven initiatives like ‘who made my clothes’ and ‘the maker movement’. Lidewij Edelkoort, fashion forecaster and founder of the trend forecasting company, Trendunion, has been a harsh critic of the fashion and clothing industry. In her article ‘Fashion is Dead, Long Live Clothing’ she proclaims ‘...there is the making of [fashion], which is done in countries where people are killed for making our garments’ (Raphael, 2015).

Interestingly, these tragedies are generally concentrated in developing economies like India and Bangladesh where a high density of population is putting immense pressure on limited resources, and is forcing people to work for and live on less than a minimum wage. Exploitation is rampant and corruption is the expectation. And yet, one looks to the west to provide solutions to these problems. Edelkroot, in ‘Anti-Fashion, a manifesto for the next decade’, throws light not only on practices in trade but also calls on design schools to change the way they teach their students. Most design schools, she claims, teach to create individual luxury runway stars, instead of engaging students with design practices that are sustainable (Edelkroot, 2014).

India is a great dichotomy of inherent sustainable traditions of upcycling and reusing, that are deeply rooted in our culture, on the one hand, and a global sourcing hub on the other. However, from a nationally renowned Design School, Pearl Academy, with 500 plus fashion graduates each year, only a handful take up or experiment with existing and new sustainable approaches to design and manufacturing. It is therefore paramount to consider the difference they could make to the indigenous fashion industry if even half of the students did. This makes Pearl the ideal space to challenge students' perceptions of what fashion design is and their role as future fashion designers (Sala, 2016).

This thought led to examining the undergraduate fashion design curriculum (Pearl Academy, 2019) as a whole to see what knowledge and skills the graduates were currently leaving with. It was found that after four years of study students accrued the following attributes,

- Extensive knowledge of the discipline
- Confident oral as well as written expression and communication
- Visualisation skills
- Proficient in contemporary technology and software

However, an increasing number of innovators and entrepreneurs today possess a set of attributes that are above and beyond extensive knowledge of the discipline. Some of these key attributes form the basis of Mezirows 'Transformative Learning Theory'[4] and do not necessarily present as assessable pre-planned, current curricular outcomes. From a list cross-referenced across desirable graduate profiles and the changing economic and social climate, the following attributes were chosen, in addition to discipline specific skills, that may be useful if inculcated in current and future graduates:

- Skilled in analysis and problem-solving
- Capable of critical thought, rational enquiry and self-directed learning
- Able to work collaboratively
- Open and intellectually curious

4 'The Transformational Learning Theory originally developed by Jack Mezirow is described as being "constructivist, an orientation which holds that the way learners interpret and reinterpret their sense experience is, central to making meaning and hence learning." (Culatta, 2019).'

A large number of employers and businesses are also seeking the above graduate attributes. Examining the curriculum vis a vis changing graduate profiles and expected outcomes, the attempt was to create and test a module that, through application and experimentation could broaden student approach to the design process and possibly instil the attributes mentioned above. The research hopes to allow for the students, our future designers, to think outside of the regimented nature of assembly lines and mass-produced retail uniformity. The imperfections and non-immediacy provided by this process where the outcome i.e. 'the product', is undefined and unplanned, can lead to change agile design articulation. 'The capacity to cope with change demands inordinate things from us. We need the eyes of a chameleon, the legs of an octopus and the speed and adaptability of a dolphin.' R.Ndala (The University of Adelaide, 2018).

Methodology

Interactive and experiential learning strategies were employed (Beard & Wilson, 2013:26-32), through an action research methodology, that compelled students to look within and question their own beliefs through reflection and action. Action research is a process of systematic inquiry that aims to improve social paradigms affecting the lives of a wider populous (Stringer, 2008). Action research is a befitting option for academicians as researchers, and stakeholders in the teaching and learning environment, to consider (Mills, 2011). It provides practitioners with new knowledge and understanding about how to improve educational practices or resolve significant problems in the classroom specifically and academic institutions generally (Mills, 2011; Stringer, 2008). Action research uses a systematic process (Figure 1: Action Research Helix (Stringer, 2008)) (Dinkelman, 1997:250-274; McNiff, Lomax, & Whitehead, 1996), is collaborative and participatory in nature (Hotler & Frabutt, 2012: 253-269), and offers multiple opportunities for those working within the teaching profession (Johnson, 2012).

This particular action-based research is aimed at encouraging and observing students creating garments from a collection of waste. The technique of waste manipulation is eventually intended at modifying the curricular strand of 'form generation' in the current fashion design curriculum. Through this intervention the hope is to open a dialogue about transformative process based learning that revisits traditional fashion education, and formulate methods that might enable fashion educators and fashion students to become agents of change within the learning space (Sala, 2016).

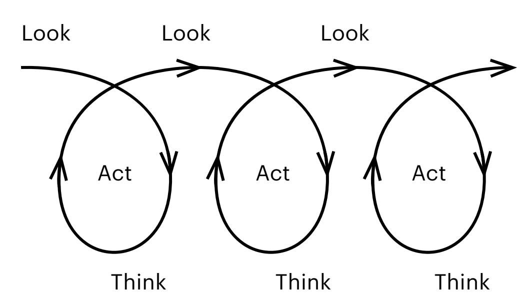


Figure 1: Action Research Helix (Stringer, 2008)

Action 1: Creating the module

A gap was identified in the form of un-assessed but desirable outcomes as mentioned above, and this became the key driver to think of how these outcomes could be included and assessed (Stringer, 2008). When trying to redesign the curricular strand of 'form generation', the question asked was, what should the students be able to do after they complete the module? The idea was to redesign the module in a way where the students understood 'form generation' but additionally the learning outcomes were process oriented, in alignment with the teaching and learning activities as well as the assessment.

After some iteration and discussion, the following broad outcomes were finalized.

1. Redefining the design process where waste and not a sketch or idea could be the starting point.
2. Stimulation to subjectively imagine a 'conscious and ethical practice' led future in fashion.
3. Understanding and appreciating dress / garment beyond set standards of garment category, sizes, gender etc.

The challenge now was to formulate specific learning outcomes for an 'unspecified outcome' i.e. 'product'. Using Bloom's Model of cognitive complexity (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001), the following outcomes were formulated that could possibly justify our intent.

1. **Experiment** with found material using basic taught techniques of construction. *Applying*
2. **Inspect** the relationship between fabric and form. *Analysing*
3. **Assess** the viability of the form vis a vis the body. *Evaluating* (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001).

The intent with the above higher order outcomes was to focus on the process as opposed to the final product. This is most important towards individual subjectivity in design. Specific product-based outcomes tend to have students focus on the end and tutors more likely to objectively mark them based heavily on the quality of the said product over the depth and quality of the process (Gjerde, Padgett, & Skinner, 2017: 73-82). Here the final outcome was not defined as a product but as a reflection on individual processes. Now using the basics of constructive alignment (Biggs & Tang, 2007:54-62), teaching and learning activities were created with the intent of achieving the above outcomes.

The sessions were planned in three parts; lecture, group discussion and then practice based experiential learning. This allowed for students to be fully engaged until the end of the class and possibly beyond. To elaborate, this methodology, namely the 'Interactive Lecture Method', involves the teacher beginning a discussion with an 'engagement trigger' like referencing previous knowledge or experiences. This aids in capturing and maintaining student attention. Following this the teacher integrates a task that engages students in applying and contextualising what they have learned through theory, action and reflection (Mcdonald & Teed, 2018). This is also a key driver in Mezirows 'transformative learning theory' which emphasises the importance of allowing students to practice newly acquired beliefs in order to change their perspective (Howie & Bagnall, 2013).

Action 2: Collecting the waste

One of the reasons to consider the module of form generation for this particular research was the amount of fabric waste it generated through subtraction or removal of large pieces of fabric between pattern pieces. This provided the opportunity for students of Year One to think of the waste generated through the action of collecting and putting it in a box, in addition to using the waste itself as inspiration. An empty bin called 'the box of possibilities' (Figure 2: Box of Possibilities) was placed in every garment construction and patternmaking lab in the building. The students were asked to put all extra fabric that they intended to throw away, be it from test fits, trial, toiles, final pieces gone wrong or parts that come out of cutting patterns, into this bin. This initial exercise at one campus of our design school with about 500 students across 3 levels, threw up approximately 8 kilograms of fabric waste every week. This means in 32 weeks which is 16 weeks for a semester and 2 semesters a year, an estimated 250 kilograms could be collected in one year.

Figure 2: Box of Possibilities

Action 3: Identifying the sample group

A small group of 10, year one students from the undergraduate fashion design program, Pearl Academy, Delhi, were selected based on their interest and availability for extra sessions as the module is currently being tested outside the regular curriculum.

The students were individually interviewed to establish the level of knowledge and skills they had previously acquired. These students had some basic knowledge of garment types and had some basic construction skills: they had worked on controlling the sewing machine and created a portfolio of seam finishes. They believed sustainability was important, but when quizzed further, they didn't know of any techniques or processes that were sustainable.

Action 4: Delivering the module

Action 4.1: The Lecture & Group Discussion

The group lecture started with a general discussion on what they thought of the 'box of possibilities'. All the students responded positively with reference to the idea and mentioned that it was a great initiative to have the box. They suggested that it might be helpful to have different boxes/bags for different items as some students found stationary thrown in which they picked up. Most of these students used the waste textiles from the box in their 'design of material'[5] projects where they needed to create swatch files identifying and labelling different fabrics. A student mentioned that the box helped keep the labs cleaner as they purposefully threw their fabric waste in there as opposed to leaving it around their workspace. They all felt a sense of pride and purpose when contributing to the box. Moving forward, when asked if they knew about terms like sustainable, organic, slow fashion, zero waste and ethical fashion they responded in the affirmative and showed a reasonable degree of general knowledge of the terms. However, they also mentioned that it never occurred to them to practice sustainable ideologies in their lives beyond their course prescribed outcomes. When asked why they then picked up the textile waste from the box, they responded that they wanted to save money.

With these thoughts at the forefront of their minds, the student group was asked a few pointed questions, such as, if they knew who made their clothes or how many times they wore each garment they owned? Their answers were not surprising but the questions were meant to provoke thought and that is what their responses showed. They didn't really think about who made their clothes, and they bought them because they were trendy and within their budget. They had given no thought as to how many times they might wear something. Mostly, when first bought, they wore the piece with excitement and then didn't really think about that piece. When asked about where they thought their clothes went after they disposed of them, the group was visibly blank and didn't really think of how these clothes may affect the environment or anyone else around them.

They were now shown a presentation that highlighted the need to upcycle, recycle and reuse. Through a class discussion, it was evident that the presentation had prompted them to think about not wasting resources and how waste in the fashion industry was affecting the environment. Following the discussion, they were shown *The True Cost*, a documentary showcasing the ills of the global garment industry. They looked visibly shaken after the documentary and started discussing their role as designers and what they could do to reduce their contribution to waste, or how they could find design solutions that didn't affect the environment adversely. Real education is about lighting a spark (Biesta, 2016:1), and this was the spark that set the context for the activity to follow. They then looked at a slide outlining the generic value chain of a garment, and discussed how they could possibly make better choices at each stage i.e. design, production, distribution, use, and disposal.

Here it is important to note the responses the students had for disposal or end of use. India as a society has inherently upcycled, reused, deconstructed, reconstructed, repaired, handed down and traded garments that have lived out their usefulness, and the students were aware

5. Design of Materials is a module in year one semester one focusing on the understanding of and experimentation with varied materials (Pearl Academy, 2019).

of these cultural practices through their parents and grandparents. Finally, they were given a short presentation on circular design and the circular economy. In the discussion that ensued they were prompted to think of how they may apply circular design to their design process, and build a community and culture around it through recycling and upcycling materials, zero waste techniques of pattern making, and using waste materials and textile waste to make new products. They were now moving away from their own understanding of why they consume, to a larger understanding of conservation and how they can contribute.

The students were then asked to articulate their design process if they were to use the waste from the box to make garments. They all agreed that the process would begin with the consideration of the material they picked up and not a sketch they had drawn. When asked if they might feel limited by the textile waste as it is a mix of different materials / dimensions / colours etc. the students responded that that is possibly the challenge and the best part of the exercise, and will give them immense scope for exploring, so they may devise outcomes that are individualistic and exciting.

To end the lecture, and before the experimentation began, the students were shown a few videos on how textile waste was being successfully managed in the fashion industry globally by some designers and brands.

Action 4.2: Practice Based Experiential Learning

The idea of making something or creating is possibly most exciting and rewarding to designers and design students alike. They picked up and sewed waste pieces together from the 'box of possibilities' to create yardage which they then manipulated into form. The garment was later dyed to release it of its many meanings and became one entity. The idea was not to expect outcomes but to give them the space to experiment outside the defined boundaries of the rest of the curriculum. Students were more open to explore forms as they didn't know the standard parameters of pattern making and garment making which may have stopped them from exploring some of their ideas. As discussed by Beard & Wilson, interpretation begins where perception ends (Beard & Wilson, 2013:32). This was done with Year One specifically, so they may carry the spirit along as they progress through the course. It was important, at this early stage, to make them aware of the industry and its issues, so they may formulate their problem statements now, and possibly present as future thought leaders.

Reflections

Collecting the waste

The response towards the Box of possibilities was exceptional where an average of 8kgs of textile waste was collected each week. However, the collection was not limited to this research. All the students from across levels and courses including postgraduate years 1 and 2, and undergraduate years 1, 2 and 3 used the textile waste to create samples for their projects or to make smaller components of test fits or components for their creative pattern making workshops.

Students were seen putting other materials such as fusing, interlinings, stationery and pattern paper pieces into the box which signified that students were realising the importance of the box and the concept of recycling and reusing. This in a way gave them a sense of community and collaboration outside of mandated group activities and, it is posited, can be seen as another form of the 'sharing economy' through peer communities (Selloni, 2017:17). This has also provided a new scope for the research, going forward.

Delivering the module

The brief to students was to create anything they liked from the waste textile pieces. Each of the 10 students interviewed described their current design process as some version of Ideate, Research, Conceptualise, Explore, and Make. The aspiration was for the process to be reorganized to Explore, Make, Contextualise. Only for this particular module they would not have a pre-researched and pre-ideated sketch. They would not have a concept to kick off the process. They were to work without guidelines and just experiment for what was possible. Taking away the right and wrong could help students subjectively examine and internalize the process. An attitude of experimentation could also reverse the fear to try new things (Beard & Wilson, 2013:19).

At first it confused them, but after they were exposed to certain forms and shapes that could be worn as fashion garments (Figure 3) they became more open to explore and accept unspecified outcomes. The students were guided purely by their sense of exploration and motivation to make something that would be unique in form. This, in a sense, reflected a capacity for critical thought, rational enquiry and self-directed learning. The fact that they were not trained in technical garment making did not stop them from exploring (Figure 4). Therefore the outcomes were far less the 'finished' end products of their work and much more examples of thinking-in-action (Figure 5; Figure 6; Figure 7; Figure 8) (Beard & Wilson, 2013).

Figure 3: Example By Tutor

One of the students who was not adept at handling the sewing machine started exploring the elimination of seams with chosen pieces of fabric from the box. This exhibited an attitude of analysis and problem-solving. Students were shedding norms and standards of garments making which induced a series of explorations that were, as expressed by one technical tutor, far more cutting edge, interesting and experimental than previously witnessed from Year One students. After the class students understood the importance of sustainability as an approach to garment making and were highly motivated to explore the concepts of recycle, reuse and circular design further. What was especially interesting is that they realised that each of them had undergone a design process which was very personal to them rather what was taught in classes. It left them more open and intellectually curious. One example was the of a student who started with joining the pieces, and then exploring form, and finally deciding possible themes for the same. This really reaffirmed the desired methodology of Explore, Make and Contextualise.

Figure 4:
Form Generation 1

Figure 5:
Form Generation 2

Figure 6:
Form Generation 3

Figure 7:
Form Generation 4

Figure 8:
Form Generation 5

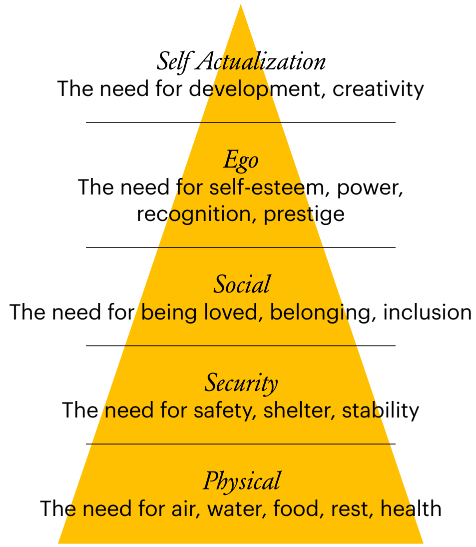
Another example was of a student who started the exploration by placing individual pieces of oddly shaped fabric on a dummy, experimenting with possible permutations and combinations and then joined the pieces together to create a garment. Once the form was achieved she went on to contextualise a theme. She also mentioned that her research and ideation was form centric rather than theme centric. And no student drew any designs on paper. These students had engaged with most of the educational resources we used, earlier, but observed that they had only now made the connections between these ideas and their personal contribution as fashion design students towards sustainable practices. And now, owing to this studio[6] based methodology, they had experienced theory and application of these concepts. Using form generation, with textile waste, they could relate to and recall the resources immediately through theories applied and activities practiced.

6. 'In studio based learning (SBL) the expectation is for students to iteratively generate and reimagine design solutions, communicate effectively, and collaborate with others. This establishes the studio as a dynamic place where students learn to experiment on their own, to teach and to use all studio members as resources in that search. Instructors support students as they grapple with complexity of design problem-solving through pedagogical practices that include assignments, associated meta-discussions, explicit prompts, reminders, modelling, and coaching (Cennamo et all 2011)'

Figure 9:
Student Exploration 1

Figure 10:
Student Exploration 2

Figure 11: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Burton, 2017)



With an ever growing population, globally, and in developing countries specifically, the industry is continuously expanding. This research is an attempt at an intervention right at the start of a student's journey on how to make an increasingly productive, less contaminating, progressively inclusive industry. These changes can, not only make more income for businesses but they can truly benefit the lives of millions of individuals.

This particular student group was a controlled one and met our expectations exceptionally. The intention was to encourage these students to make circular choices by the way they are taught, thus achieving some desired outcomes which may fill the gaps mentioned in what attributes were missing in the graduates vis a vis what employers and business expected. Due to the fact that there were no parameters for the design process to be followed, and the outcomes in terms of final product were unspecified, the students worked more responsibly, with more conviction and engaging a wider spectrum of thought. They made decisions for the garments based on how they wanted the form to function and not how it should function (Figure 9). This made them more accepting of, and open to possibilities in anything they might venture to do in the future. The process of design itself became more personal and self-directed (Figure 10).

Through this research the status quo has been challenged and this is paramount to subjective idealism and innovation in fashion. Using some of the more universally known theories in education, the aim is to make sustainable design, circular choices and considered fashion, integral to design education in this design school. All of the students and teachers have a role to play in the change that is to be achieved. Alternatives have to be sought to manage our waste better and this can start a dialogue about generating less waste to begin with.

Pearl Academy provides spaces in the curriculum called 'open labs', and 'immersions', starting from foundation - which is Year Zero - right through to Year Three. The intention is to use these spaces in order to engage larger groups of students, and refine the module further, and eventually integrate it into all design and production related courses including product design, interior architecture and jewellery design.

Through this module the intent was also to facilitate the student journey from me to we. As Dominique Hes and Andreanne Doyon (2016) note in their article Thriving, not just surviving . . . , 'the key is to change our attitude to development and growth, to change the story of what success looks like and the model by which we arrange our communities. This requires a shift in thinking from taking away from our world, community, economy and environment to giving to it' (Hes & Doyon, 2016). There is a sense that this has been achieved to an extent with the box of possibilities, but needs more specific research in that area to confirm.

Additionally, a proposed hypothesis is that, as a by-product, but an equally important outcome, the students, our future populous, learn to question socio-cultural stereotypes of the body and its relation to fashion. This research has provided the opportunity to expand the scope of study in this area.

References

Anderson, L. W., & Krathwohl, D. R. (2001). *A taxonomy for learning, teaching, and assessing, Abridged Edition.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Beard, C., & Wilson, J. P. (2013). *Experiential Learning: A handbook for education, training and coaching* (3rd ed.). London: Kogan Page.

Biesta, G. J. (2016). *The Beautiful Risk of Education* (1st ed.). New York: Routledge.

Biggs, J., & Tang, C. (2007). *Teaching for Quality Learning at University*, 3rd ed. . Berkshire: McGraw-Hill Education.

Burton, N. (2017, September 17). 'Our Hierarchy of Needs' retrieved from *Psychology Today*: https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/hide-and-seek/201205/our-hierarchy-needs

Cennamo, K., Brandt, C., Scott, B., Douglas, S., & McGrath, M. (2011). Managing the Complexity of Design Problems through Studio-based Learning. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Problem-Based Learning*, 5(2), 12-36.

Corner, F. (2014). *Why Fashion Matters.* London: Thames Hudson.

Culatta, R. (2019, Jan 3). *Transformative Learning* (Jack Mezirow). Retrieved from Instructional Design: InstructionalDesign.org

Dinkelman, T. (1997). *The promise of action research for critically reflective teacher education. The Teacher Educator,* 32(4), 250-274.

Edelkroot, L. (2014). *Anti Fashion: A Manifesto for the next decade.* Paris: Trend Union.

Gjerde, K. P., Padgett, M. Y., & Skinner, D. (2017). The Impact of Process vs. Outcome Feedback on Student Performance and Perceptions. *Journal of Learning in Higher Education*, 73-82.

Hes, D., & Doyon, A. (2016, August 9). *Guardian Sustainable Business.* Retrieved from The Guardian: https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/aug/09/thriving-not-just-surviving-why-business-needs-to-go-beyond-doing-less-bad

Hotler, A. C., & Frabutt, J. M. (2012). Mission Driven and Data Informed Leadership. Catholic Education: *A Journal of Inquiry and Practice*, 12(2), 253-269.

Howie, P., & Bagnall, R. (2013, September 30). A beautiful metaphor: Transformative learning theory. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 5. Retrieved from Learning Theories: https://www.learning-theories.com/transformative-learning-theory-mezirow.html

Johnson, A. (2012). *A short guide to action research* (4th ed.). New Jersey: Pearson Education.

Mcdonald, H., & Teed, R. (2018). *Pedagogy in Action > Library > Interactive Lectures.* Retrieved December 2, 2018, from https://serc.carleton.edu/sp/library/interactive/index.html

McNiff, J., Lomax, P., & Whitehead, J. (1996). *You and your action research project.* New York: Routledge.

Mills, G. E. (2011). *Action Research: A guide for the teacher researcher* (4th ed.). Boston: Pearson.

Pearl Academy. (2019, January 2). *Fashion Design.* Retrieved from Pearl Academy: https://pearlacademy.com/undergraduate/fashion-design-course

Raphael, S. (2015, March 2). *apparently fashion is dead… again.* Retrieved from i-d vice: https://i-d.vice.com/en_us/article/ywd3zm/apparently-fashion-is-dead-again

Sala, K. (2016). Revisiting Fashion Education: Inspiring transformative learning experiences for fashion design students. London: Global Fashion.

Selloni, D. (2017). New Forms of Economies: Sharing Economy, Collaborative Consumption, Peer-to-Peer Economy. In D. Selloni, *CoDesign for Public-Interest Services* (pp. 177-189). O: Springer International Publishing.

Stringer, E. (2008). *Action Research in Education* (2nd ed.). New Jersey: Pearson.

The University of Adelaide. (2018, January 3). Keys to Strengthening My Change Agility. Retrieved from Adelaide.edu: https://www.adelaide.edu.au/hr/docs/pdp-nav-change-agility.pdf

Wicker, A. (2017, May 9). *PLEASE Stop Saying Fashion is the 2nd Most Polluting Industry After Oil.* Retrieved from Sustainable Fashion and Travel for the Concious Women: https://ecocult.com/now-know-fashion-5th-polluting-industry-equal-livestock/

MANUFACTURING AND RETAIL

This is a broad subject area, and submissions in this section range from how to sustain Indian craft manufacturing processes; to consumer behaviour in shopping malls. Again, ethical issues and the environment were themes touched on within some of the papers.

No 13 Maulshree Sinha
An assay of the Indian craft communities - an integral part of the Indian fashion industry

No 60 Behnoosh Farashahi, Katherine Annett-Hitchcock
Challenges faced by apparel and textile entrepreneurs seeking US production and sourcing – a study of Startup Survey Data

No 68 Amy V. Benstead, Linda C. Hendry
The invisible worker: who's stitching your shoes?

No 83 Sushil Raturi
Impact of experiential marketing on customer purchase intention: a study of the Indian apparel retail industry

No 85 Joseph F. Wong, Kylie K. L. Tam
Spatial identity of fashion brands: the visibility network in complex shopping malls

No 87 Carly Wraeg, Ruth Sanderson
The Bag Charge: good for the global environment, detrimental to the fashion retail environment?

13 AN ASSAY OF THE INDIAN CRAFT COMMUNITIES - AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE INDIAN FASHION INDUSTRY

Author
Maulshree Sinha
Assistant Professor, National Institute of Fashion Technology

maulshree.sinha@nift.ac.in

Keywords
hybrid cultures
craft and fashion
artisan communities
Indian handicrafts
communities of practice

Abstract

The contribution of the artisan to the fashion landscape of the country can hardly be overlooked. Imagine a 'modern' India sans crafts.

This paper based on the study of the Indian Crafts Industry is, also, in part, an assay of the Indian crafts community from a social constructionist perspective, attempting to document and analyse the knowledge exchange within and beyond these communities. The study seeks to identify and illustrate the peripheral factors and issues which affect that knowledge transfer, aiming to synchronise with the processes and requirements of the present.

It is exigent to understand the community structures, the outlook and the perception of crafts by the craftspeople themselves, for an effective comprehension of the knowledge exchange within the craft communities. To keep the knowledge wheel turning, the study finds an insistent need to encourage interaction and collaboration among the craft communities and various interest groups employing different means and media to do the same.

The idea draws from Wenger's (2007) concept of 'Communities of Practice' – bringing together groups that share similar interests to join forces and facilitate each other's needs. Craftspeople of different regions can likely find something of mutual interest, and sharing of knowledge will lead to the emergence of new ideas. The challenge is capacity building and enabling small-scale producers to use the information they access effectively.

Towards this end, a comprehensive and efficacious amalgamation of a more contemporary approach is required, employing the latest that technology has to offer. Mapping the 'invisible' knowledge exchange networks of the craft communities reveals the top-down structure of the crafts industry; which incidentally, is also largely the result of the widespread illiteracy. Replacing the top-down structure with a bottom-up one will provide a more proactive role for the craft communities, thereby also the impetus for a much needed change in their social status.

The interpretive community of crafts

Marx framed craftsmanship in the broadest possible terms as 'form-giving activity,' emphasising that self and social relations develop through the making of physical things, enabling the all-around development of the individual (in Sennett, 2009). Sennett adds that craftsmanship is 'an enduring, basic human impulse, the desire to do a job well for its own sake. The craftsman explores these dimensions of skill, commitment and judgement by focusing on the intimate connection between hand and head' (Sennett 2009:9).

Donkin (2001) goes further to add that craft occupies a middle ground between art and mechanised manufacture, though the boundaries between them are permeable. To her, craft is not just about making things – it is about cultural identity; therefore she acknowledges the structure, values, history and identity of the communities in which crafts are practiced. It is the function of the end product that creates the difference between art and manufacturing. However, over a long term, crafts may achieve an artistic status later in their life. Donkin describes three characteristics of crafts: crafts resulting from a certain type of making; objects created by hand through the skilled use of tools; and essentially functional objects (Donkin, 2001). Additionally, Risatti observes that 'while purpose and function instigate the making of craft objects, form, material, and technique are the elements necessary to bring them into being as physical, tangible things' (Risatti, 2007:80). Moreover, these physical elements have a universality that affects the way they come together to form the craft object.

Crafts in the Indian context

The largest democracy in the world, India also boasts multiple cultural origins. Indian crafts which have evolved amidst this diversity are mostly community-based, tradition-driven, and purchased for cultural or utilitarian reasons by a largely domestic market. It is a part of everyday life. Jaitly (2007) points out that the word 'handicrafts' came to describe ornamental, decorative objects that may be utilitarian, but actually served the upper echelons of Indian society, whereas common potters, weavers and others who made non-artistic crafts were categorised as mere village industry. Jaitly argues that crafts make the 'wheels of the economy' turn, thus meriting serious attention instead of condescending patronage, over-romanticised projection, or apologetic 'discount' support (Jaitly 2005).

Traditional arts or crafts were created as a communication between maker and user. They have a very indigenous face and roots - addressing the needs and reflecting the peculiarities of the society they belong to, which is why they received state patronage by kings and monarchs who supported and sustained artisans and their crafts. The artisans put their creativity and imagination to cater to the needs of their respective society. With increased promotion of machine-made foreign products in the Indian market by British authorities during their rule over India, the artisans lost their hold over the patron-client network, and their access today is through the middlemen (Jena, 2010).

According to Joneward (2017), after 40 years of planned development, government planners and policy-makers remain conceptually confused about the role of the craft sector in India. Some stress the importance of keeping the cultural heritage alive, while others emphasize the employment generation potential of the sector. As a consequence, artisans have been viewed as part of the welfare sector, propped up by subsidies and grants, rather than as part of the core economic sector.

This research, and other recent research, however, also indicates that the key issue faced by the crafts sector in modern India is the disenchantment and the consequent migration of the new generation from the traditional crafts. As Tyabji (2007) says, craft is a profession that neither gives adequate economic returns nor social status. While craft traditions are a unique mechanism for rural artisans entering the economic mainstream for the first time, they also carry the stigma of inferiority and backwardness; craftspeople are seen as picturesque exhibits of our past, rather than dynamic entrepreneurs of our present and future. All this has led to increased migration of craftspeople from crafts. Skilled workers in remote locations are faced with a hand-to-mouth existence, and have no choice but to leave their traditional work. For the gen-next coming from the family of traditional craftspeople, the respective 'crafts' are already dead, or dying a fast one. Such disillusionment certainly does not bode well for the sector. Bhatt (2007), however, argues that crafts can counter this techno-aesthetic dominance, for they inherently represent material and environment. Also, having an incredibly rich heritage the crafts sector has the potential to unleash the power of the Indian fashion industry too.

As Chatterjee (2015) says the need of the hour is positioning of India's craft traditions as addressing the most urgent challenges of sustainable development and of offering a confident identity that defines globalisation in its own terms.

The Quest

The goals before us are, therefore, very clear – to identify and address the current state of affairs within the crafts sector. This study examines the current state of the craft sector in India, exploring the various factors influencing the sector and how they impact artisans and craft workers; and further relates these to the individual craft communities studied.

This research begins with the objective to gain an understanding of the ways in which knowledge has been transferred in craft communities in India, through mapping of the structure of craft communities and external bodies, between which knowledge exchange takes place, and forthwith identify and understand some underlying problem areas. The focus areas for this research have been the different craft communities in the Kutch region of Gujarat and various craft communities in Himachal Pradesh, along with various interest groups like Craft Development Organisations (CDOs) and craft activists.

The analysis of the knowledge exchange networks reveal the top-down structure of the crafts industry. While it is proposed to keep the knowledge wheel turning, it seems time to re-look at the present 'top-down structure'. Also an insistent need has been felt to encourage dialogue about crafts among the young, and in various interest groups including the craftspersons themselves.

The study: theoretical framework and methodology

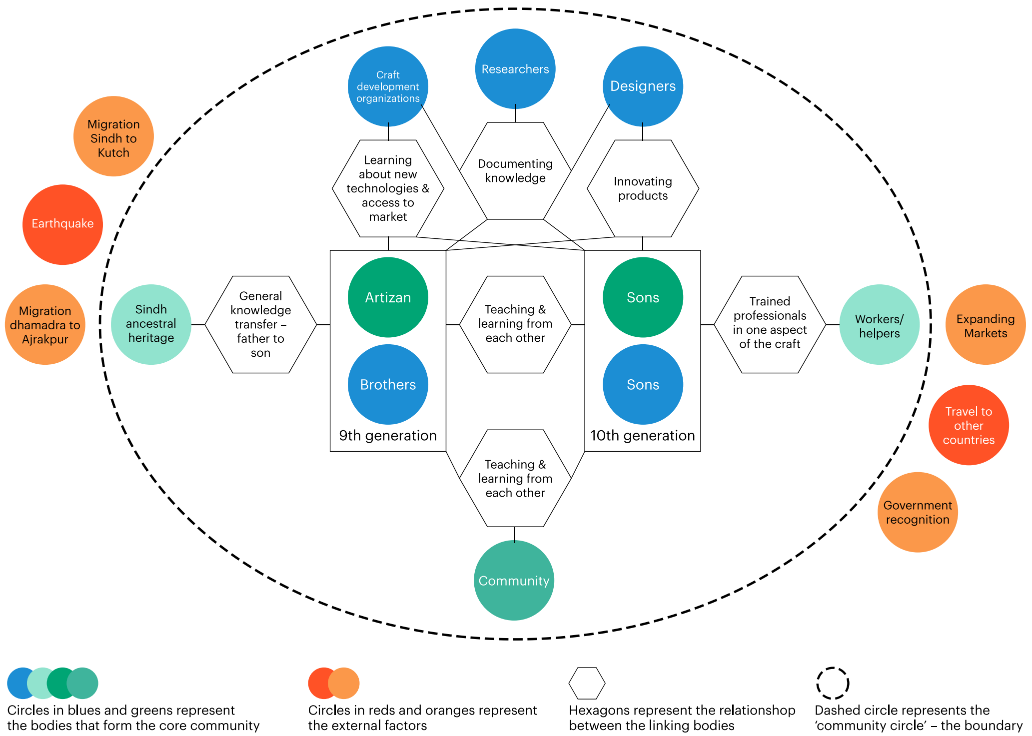
> 'Our experience of the world arises from multiple, socially constructed realities'
>
> (Gibbs 2010:7)

This research was grounded in a social constructionist framework, and utilised an interpretivist approach to data analysis. A 'cross-sectional study' was undertaken in two states of the country, Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh. This involved studying multiple case studies to explore relationships within each setting, and across settings (Baxter 2008). Three craft communities in the Kutch region of Gujarat and five communities in Kullu and Kangra regions of Himachal Pradesh, along with various craft development organisations were studied. This enabled both horizontal (comparison) and vertical (in depth) analysis of how the communities are structured, and how that structure affects the knowledge exchange networks in each. The studies employed ethnographic methods, including interviews and non-participant observation, to understand and document the perceptions, feelings, ideas and thoughts of the participants.

The analysis of the case studies of craft communities leads directly into a mapping of the knowledge exchange networks in each community, including the relationships between each player and the influential factors. This was further followed by a cross-case analysis looking for patterns, themes and relationships (Patton, 2002). The theory of 'communities of practice' proposed by Wenger (2007) is then used as an additional interpretative lens to analyse the data which introduces learning as a process of social participation. After an interpretive account of the interviews and field observations, the networks are generated using network theory. Drawing from 'graph theory' in network analysis, as explained by Streeter and Gillespie (1992), the networks are presented as sociograms, which display the relations among network members in a two-dimensional space. The relationships and links are then taken into consideration to develop a more holistic picture of the knowledge exchange that takes place in craft communities generally. These are then analysed holistically, to understand in totality the whole system of the Indian crafts industry.

Below is presented an example of the Knowledge Exchange Networks (sociograms) along with the analysis which was generated for each of the communities:

Figure 1: The Ajrakhpur Masters



The Knowledge Exchange Network:

Dr. Ismail Mohammad Khatri from Ajrakhpur, is a well-known craftsman and a national award winner. He also holds a doctorate degree given to him by De Montfort University in the UK, for his expertise. The Khatris, Ismail bhai and his two brothers are the ninth generation of the family practising Ajrakh printing. They experimented with chemical dyes, but Ismail bhai's father, realising the hazardous effects on both people and environment, reverted back to using natural dyes, and thus played a role in reviving the traditional process of printing.

Ismail is also a Craftmark member, which facilitates his business. Apart from the sons and nephews who work with him, he employs a few other helping hands. His craft derives its body and soul from nature; craftsmen work in unison with their environment where all the elements of nature – the river, mud, trees, sun and even the animals – play a part in the making.

Analysis:

The analysis of the data collected primarily through open-ended interviews and non-participant observation directed the mapping of knowledge flows and the media and mechanisms for exchange. Applying Wenger's theory of 'communities of practice', learning was understood as a process of social participation. Integrating this with the social constructivist lens gave clarity and a holistic dimension to the analysis of the knowledge exchanges that take place in the craft community. As in Figure. 1, since Dr Ismail Khatri and his family are important players in the way the community works, they have been placed at the centre of the network, with the various bodies they interact with linked around them. The two current generations are placed in the centre, showing how basic craft skills are transferred between father and son; there is a continuous exchange of knowledge that takes place between them. Both learn from and teach each other, and share their knowledge either verbally or through demonstrations. Their craft knowledge is now tacit, having been exposed to the family profession from childhood. Their community shares the knowledge of block printing with them, and this exchange too happens both ways. The family employs a few printers, dyers and weavers to help them with the production process who are either part of the community or from outside. These 'helpers' hired for their expertise are skilled professionals; although they might also be taught specific skills as required by the employers. The role of craft development organisations, designers and researchers in this network is essentially to assist this family and community, and make them economically sustainable. These external players become the means through which the craft community gets access to new technologies and new markets. The interventions also take the form of design innovations that involve an understanding of the new markets.

The study also looked at the CDOs: HIMBUNKAR, Kala Raksha, and Dastkar that are making attempts to 'rescue' and 'restore' the significance of crafts.
1. The Himachal Pradesh State Handloom & Handicrafts Development Cooperative Federation Ltd. known as "HIMBUNKAR", a state level organisation of primary cooperative societies consisting of weavers and artisans providing training technical knowhow, raw material and avenues for marketing to its artisans members.
2. Artisan initiative and participation continue to be the pillars of Kala Raksha's work, a craft development organisation based in Gujarat. Artisan Design Committees create exquisite contemporary work based in their traditions. They focus on the holistic development of the artisans. In 2005, their education initiative blossomed into Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya, the first institution of design for traditional artisans, and in 2010, they launched the trademark Artisan Design.
3. Dastkar, based in Delhi, assists craftspeople through support service activities such as capacity building workshops, skills training, collaborative design innovation and product development; helping them transform traditional skills into products that have contemporary appeal, thereby providing craft communities with a source of permanent employment and sustained earning.

Agents of change and evolution in the Indian crafts industry

Interestingly, common patterns were seen across the analysis of all the craft communities and CDOs under study. These are discussed below:

Industrialisation and globalisation

Jaitly (2005) believes that 'crafts can be termed as a decentralized creative industry where the human mind and hand is more important than the small machines and tools they may use.' Donkin observes that the push towards modernisation and mechanisation has crippled some sectors of the craft industry. For instance, it has been well documented that the increase in power-loom products had a negative impact on the livelihoods of weavers (Donkin, 2011). Imitation of handmade products by machine has generally adversely impacted craft industries. Jaitly (2005) points out that in China, mechanisation is efficiently organised to imitate the hand work of India, in order to encroach upon the markets for India's special skills. On the growth in world tourism during the globalisation phase, Jena (2010) notes that the growth in the handicrafts sector, has increased demand for ethnic and culture-specific goods, leading to an increasing global reaction to the homogenisation of mass-produced goods.

Design interventions

When the relationships between maker and user broke down, design emerged as a separate entity indicating a separation between concept and execution. Government, in collaboration with design schools, has introduced training programmes for craft communities, and the designer has emerged as a bridge between the artisan – who is no longer attuned to the requirements of the client – and the market. As Sethi (2005) elaborates, the assumption is that the artisan can no longer be a designer, producer and marketer rolled into one; the 'designer' has now become an interface between tradition and modernity, matching crafts to modern living.

On the contrary, some, such as, Frater, feel the need to supplement the artisan's creativity and production-power, instead of training them to do something that is inherent to them. Thus there is a debate about the need for these 'design interventions'. Donkin (2001) suggests interventions and development programmes that can extend education and training to young people, which is required to maintain and restore crafts heritage. However, as Frater argues that "In craft, what is usually called design intervention, indicates a separation between concept and execution. In the process, the concept retains its value, while the execution becomes labour" (Frater, 2011). The crafts people today appear to have lost faith in their ability to innovate and have become dependent on the workshops and interventions. They expect blueprints to create - embroidery patterns to be printed and given to them to recreate. They no longer innovate and are thus no longer part of the decision-making process to change, to evolve.

Lack of infrastructure and low economic and social status of crafts

The infrastructures required to support and sustain the massive numbers of crafts-people is insufficient, with lack of formal education or financial support among craftspeople. Another concern is the low social status associated with crafts.

All this has led to increased migration of craftspeople from crafts. The census report shows a 33% decline in the number of weavers in the handloom sectors since 1995. Skilled workers in remote locations are faced with a hand-to-mouth existence, and have no choice but to leave their traditional work.

Analysis and emergence of themes

Ancestral Heritage

'Crafts and crafts knowledge are living links to the past and a means of preserving cultural meaning into the future'

Liebl and Roy (2000:2)

As seen in the case studies, Indian handicrafts are passed down a long line of inheritance through the transfer of tacit knowledge as part of ancestral heritage. The current generation of craftspeople are practising the craft today because it 'has been in the family.' Artisans are exposed to the craft and craft knowledge since childhood. They 'see and learn' first, and later 'learn by making'. The more they make, the more they learn, and the more they internalise the process of making.

In India, most crafts are regional and caste-based - this could be seen in the case studies. The craftspeople have strong and long associations with the crafts they practice, and in each case the craft has become synonymous with the community it is practiced in. But there is also an amount of heterogeneity in each, as these communities employ workers from outside who may not be of the same caste and religion; this does not affect the association between communities with the craft. The major limiting factors can be listed as the 'gender roles' and the 'social status'. This distinction is linked to both societal and religious beliefs that women are to remain in the house while men are the bread-winners. The link of crafts to caste is seen most in the crafts communities at the lower end of the social scale. This further acts as a de-motivator for the younger generation.

Recognition and awareness

In a few of the case studies, the craftspeople had won awards and were living examples of how recognition of the craft created awareness, making it more attractive to the outside world, and more importantly, for the younger generation of craftspeople to remain in the craft and understand that the profession is worthwhile. Recognition and appreciation build confidence, and once craftspeople have confidence in what they are doing, they will be less likely to shift to being casual labourers.

There has been a degree of interest in the welfare of the crafts and craft communities by craft development organisations, designers, and the government. The government tries to intervene and assist but the approach mostly lacks the real need of the craftspeople. For example, the government collaborates with various fashion and design schools for training and cluster development programmes; these simply make the artisans dependent upon these schemes and institutions by focusing on 'training' rather than 'enhancing knowledge.'

According to Kumar (2006), the diverse nature of the artisan sector results in contradicting and working at cross-purposes. Some actors focus on the product, while some stress the sociological or anthropological aspects of the product and the practice, and others focus on markets. There is a need, however, for a comprehensive approach. The current trend is that innovations are coming from within craft communities - they are the people who carry the seeds of the particular identity as they know best how it should be translated, transformed and what shape should be given to it. But artisans recognise that innovation driven by commercialisation is different, and many are concerned that the essential identity of their art is endangered. A key question emerges: how much a craft needs to change to be accepted in the new market before it loses its cultural identity?

The media – TV, social networks, websites, newspapers and magazines – play a large role in creating awareness and recognition of crafts, particularly in opening new markets. It follows as a corollary that to ensure commercial success, craftspeople should to a certain extent understand and exploit media.

Sustainability

Chatterjee (2006) points out that crafts suffer from the charity syndrome: 'This is what we make. Please buy it,' and not the confidence of 'This is what we know you need. Buy it!' This is because, in India, as Liebl and Roy (2007) point out, skills and the knowledge systems remain largely informal, poorly protected, inadequately documented, socially and culturally disadvantaged, and imperfectly adaptive. Though handicrafts constitute a significant segment of the decentralised sector of its economy and employ millions of artisans, most rural industries have a limited capacity to generate even subsistence income, and a vast majority suffers from poverty, lack of access to social services, illiteracy, exploitation by middlemen, and extremely low social status (Liebl and Roy, 2007).

Jaitly (2007) points out that in the past 100 years, wherever industrial goods have competed with local crafts, the latter have died out and craftspeople turned to other occupations. Many craftspeople want to remain in their profession, but access to funds and loans, raw materials, and development initiatives are limited because, despite being highly skilled, craftspeople are poorly educated or illiterate and come from caste groups of low status. This opens the door for middlemen to exploit the sector, in the form of loans with high interest rates, or by simply limiting their direct access to markets, thus increasing craftspeople's dependency on them. Lack of education, and of mere literacy, comes out as a major drawback limiting their prospects. Initiatives using new technologies to connect artisan with client need to be explored, taking into account the low education level of the craftspeople and their limited access to and understanding of the technologies.

Industrialisation has exposed crafts to exploitation of a different kind. The growth of Chinese manufacturers in particular has taken up a huge share of the market for handmade products. Initiatives to certify the authenticity of crafts are therefore being undertaken by, for example, trademarking them. Craftmark is an initiative by the All India Artisans and Craftworkers Welfare Association (AIACA), certifying authentic, handmade Indian products. Liebl and Roy (2007) go further, insisting on development and implementation of appropriate intellectual property legislation.

The way forward

To cater to new markets, crafts need constant innovation to adapt traditional skills to new products for changing markets. Design interventions in terms of latest trends, technical know-how and contemporary fashion needs have, no doubt, helped the crafts and craftspeople gain a foothold in the Indian Fashion Industry. Crafts have become the USP of Indian designers (Gupta, 2012). However, as Jogenward (2017) says, the craft industry needs a more inclusive and holistic framework, which has the potential to support the dignity and autonomy of artisans, the continuity of indigenous knowledge, and the sustainability of local economies and communities. The following is, therefore, suggested to this end:

Artisan forum

The idea of an artisan forum stems from the lack of interactions between craft communities. Knowledge is guarded, and with little or no sharing with people of similar interests, will eventually die out. Although craftspeople have fairly logical reasons for not sharing their knowledge – craft being their sole source of income being the primary one – the fact is that we are all living in a global economy, and need to change with the times. Every community comes up with its own ways of fulfilling needs. As a result, today we have different crafts in different regions, serving similar purposes. It follows therefore, that craftspeople of different regions can likely find something of mutual interest, and sharing of knowledge will lead to the emergence of new ideas. This idea draws from Wenger's (2007) concept of communities of practice – bringing together groups that share similar interests to join forces and facilitate each other's needs. As already mentioned, most of the crafts are community based, we just need to get these 'communities of practice' formed so that the crafts communities begin interacting with each other, finding areas of mutual interest, and thus innovation begins from the roots. This will strengthen the craftspeople, build their confidence and we will get to witness true innovation. However, the suggested bottom up structure is a systemic shift that will necessitate addressing issues like lack of education and literacy. This will require the support of the communities, the craft development organisations, the design institutes and the government; not in terms of dictating but in terms of empowering the craftspeople, by providing them with basic education, resources, technical knowhow and keeping them abreast with the upcoming trends. This might even shift the status quo and bring a change in the social structure. As Bhasin (2017) suggests maybe we need to evaluate the full potential of the old 'khaki' generation slogan – 'Be Indian, Buy Indian', and emphasises the need to unlock the full potential of the export market through marketing initiatives like Handmade with Pride in India.

One such initiative has, in fact, been tested in Kutch, as part of the Disaster Management and Emergency Relief Operations after the January, 2001 earthquake. One of the initiatives of CARE India and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) in collaboration with NIFT Delhi, was to get the potters in Anjar (Kutch) to meet the potters in Uttam Nagar (Delhi).

The Anjar potters, who were using open pits for firing were introduced to the newer, more efficient and lower-cost technology of kilns that had helped the Uttam Nagar potters tremendously. To begin with, institutions like the National Institute of Fashion Technology, and the Indian Institute of Crafts and Design, and others could take this forward as part of their craft studies programme and hold workshops that help bring together craft communities of different regions. This initiative is an excellent example of how communities sharing similar interests can help each other. But, it is also an example of selective inclusion: this initiative helped only selective communities which were chosen based on specifics defined by the organisations. Thus, there is need for a platform where communities can interact with each other without involvement of any middlemen; they don't need the interpretive and selective lens of organisations to interact with each other.

This is where digital technology too might play a role. Today, mobile-enabled information services deliver a wide range of information to farmers and fishermen in India (Mittal et al. 2009). This approach could be applied to the crafts sector. Penetration and access to mobiles is not the challenge; the challenge is capacity building and enabling small-scale producers to use the information they access effectively. Social media is still being explored and its full potential is yet to be determined. This could also be the platform to bring the communities together. We do know that many small-scale craft groups are already featuring their products on social media platforms like Instagram. What if they had a dedicated platform to share, discuss and innovate collaboratively?

However, it needs to be noted that this kind of an initiative will bring about a systemic change and as in systems, the components and their interconnections will need to be mapped and possibilities explored. This proposal also calls for breaking away from top-down approaches, and planning with, and for the artisans. Such a forum could help artisans raise their voice and create a bottom-up structure in which planning starts from the artisan's home and workplace. Even so, further questions will arise that will need answers to keep the balance in terms of economic requirements of the craftspeople and the country. Maybe, in the process, the questions posed by Jogenward (2017) might be answered: In the context of economic and cultural globalisation, can the craft sector be reframed within the emerging paradigm of sustainable rural development to protect local livelihoods and environments? Can artisans procure a sustainable livelihood by means of their craft skills and knowledge? According to her, the inadequacy of the modernisation paradigm to address the concerns of artisans necessitates a more congruent framework of analysis and criteria of progress to address the challenges of improving economic viability of craft communities.

The ethnocultural trends like Ethnic fusion, which is not limited to only the Indian apparel industry, but have permeated the very lifestyle of a 'modern Indian', is now embracing craft products, and mixing it up with the brands available in the 'mall-culture'. But, then, if social media is to be believed, the trend is not limited to India but is a global trend, a translation of the slogan: 'The Future is Handmade'. We can further attempt to shift the Indian mindset to embrace this, realising the power of the craft they had ditched earlier in the run for the race against the Silicon Valley. That is when India will understand what globalisation really means. Imagine a 'modern' India sans crafts.

References

All India Artisans and Craftworkers Welfare Association (AIACA), (2006), Examining Employment Figures in the Handloom Sector [pdf] *Delhi: All India Artisans and Craftworkers Welfare Association.* Available at: <http://www.aiacaonline.org/pdf/research-NCAER-studyemployment-figures-handloom-sector.pdf >

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008), Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. *Qualitative Report. 13, 544-559.* Available at: <http:// www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR13-4/baxter.pdf>

Bhasin, A. (2017), Crafts in the Policy Space: Including Craft in Trade Negotiations. Asia InCH. [online] Available at: <https://asiainch.org/article/crafts-in-the-policy-space-including-craft-in-trade-negotiations/>

Bhatt, J. (2007), Philosophy and Practice of Crafts and Design. *Seminar Magazine.* [online] Available at: <http://www.india-seminar.com/2007/570/570_jatin_bhatt.htm>

Brower, A. M. (1996), Group Development as Constructed Social Reality Revisited: The Constructivism of Small Groups. *Families in Society. 77, 336-344.* Available at: <http:// www.d.umn.edu/~kheltzer/sw8441_fall07/Constructivism%20of%20small%20groups.pdf>

Chatterjee, A. (2006), The Indian Craft, Sunrise or Sunset in the Global Market. *Asia InCH.* [online] Available at: <https://asiainch.org/article/the-indian-craft-sunrise-or-sunset-in-a-global-market/>

Chatterjee, A. (2015), Managing an Indian Heritage: What should globalization finally mean? *Crafts Council of India. July 2015.* [online] Available at: <https://www.craftscouncilofindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/CCI-Newsletter-July-2015.pdf>

Donkin, L. (2001), Crafts and conservation synthesis report for ICCROM. [pdf] *Rome: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property,*iccrom.org/sites/default/files/2017-12/iccrom_02_craftsandconservation_en.pdf>

Eames, R. & Eames, C. (1958), The India Report. [pdf] *Ahmedabad: National Institute of Design.* Available at: <http://www.seeproject.org/images/The%20India%20Report.pdf >

Export Promotion Council for Handicrafts, (n.d.). Background note on definition of handicrafts. *Export Promotion Council for Handicrafts, Circular. Government of India.* Available at: <http://www.epch.in/Circulars/Circulars/DEFINITION.pdf>

FICCI, NIFT Care, (n.d.). Craft Initiatives in Kutch: Rehabilitation - a Replicable model. Asia InCH. Available at: <https://asiainch.org/article/craft-initiatives-in-kutch-rehabilitation-a-replicable-model/>

Frater, J., (2011). Three Initiatives for the Artisan Designer. *Craft Unbound.* [online] Available at: <http://www.craftunbound.net/news/three-initiatives-for-the-artisan-designer>

Garvi Gurjari (2011), About Us. *Gujarat State Handicrafts Development Corporation Limited* [online] Available at: <http://www.gurjari.co.in/aboutus.htm>

Gibbs, G., (2008), *Analysing qualitative data.* London, SAGE Publications Ltd.

Gomm, R., et. al (2000), *Case study method: key issues,* key texts. London, SAGE.

Gupta, T. (2012), Textile Crafts and their contribution in Indian Fashion. *American Sociological Association 2012.*

Heskett, J., (2005), *Design: a very short introduction.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Jaitly, J., (2005), Crafts as Industry. *Seminar Magazine* [online] Available at: <http://www.india-seminar.com/2005/553/553%20jaya%20jaitly.htm>

Jaitly, J., (2008), Employment in the Craft Sector. *Asia InCH.* [online] Available at: <https://asiainch.org/article/employment-in-the-craft-sector/>

Jena, P.K., (2010), Indian Handicrafts in Globalization Times: An analysis of Global-Local Dynamics. [online] *Croatian Interdisciplinary Society.* Available at: <http://indecs.eu/2009/ indecs2010-pp119-137.pdf>

Jongeward, C., (2017), Cultural Investing: Artisans, Livelihoods, and the Indian Context. *Asia InCH.* [online] Available at <https://asiainch.org/article/cultural-investing-artisans-livelihoods-and-the-indian-context/>

Kala Raksha, (2011), Kala Raksha: Preservation of Traditional Arts. [online] Available at: <http://www.kala-raksha.org >

Kumar, K., (2007), Crafts at school. *Seminar Magazine.* [online] Available at: <http://www.india-seminar.com/2007/570/570_krishna_kumar.htm>

Liebl, M. and Roy, T., (2000), Handmade in India: Preliminary Analysis of Crafts Producers and Crafts Production in India; Issues, Initiatives, Interventions. Policy Sciences Center, Inc. *World Bank.*

Lucie-Smith, E., (1981), *The story of craft: the craftsman's role in society.* Oxford, Phaidon.

Patton, M. Q., & Patton, M. Q., (2002), *Qualitative research and evaluation methods.* Thousand Oaks, Calif, Sage Publications.

Ranjan, M. P., & Ranjan, A., (2007), *Handmade in India.* New Delhi, Council of Handicraft Development Corporations.

Ranjan, M. P., (2008), Design inside Education: Let us start early, for our schools in India. *Design for India: Crafts in Education.* [blog] 22 April. Available at: <http://design-for-india.blogspot.com/search/label/Crafts%20in%20Education>

Risatti, H., (2007), *A theory of craft: function and aesthetic expression.* Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.

Robson, C., (2002), *Real world research: a resource for social scientists and practitioner researchers.* Oxford, UK, Blackwell Publishers.

Sennett, R., (2009), *The craftsman.* London, Penguin.

Streeter, C. L. & Gillespie, D. F., (1992), Social Network Analysis. *Journal of Social Service Research 16, 1/2,* 201-222.

The Crafts Council of India. [online]. Available at: <http://www.craftscouncilofindia.org >

Tyabji, L., (2007), The Problem. *Seminar Magazine.* [online] Available at: <http://www.indiaseminar.com/2007/570/570_problem.htm>

Vodafone Group, (2009), India: the impact of mobile phones. [S.l.], Vodafone Group Plc. Available at <http://vodafone.com/content/dam/vodafone/about/public_policy/policy_papers/public_policy_series_9.pdf>

Wenger, E., (2007), *Communities of practice: learning, meaning, and identity.* Cambridge [u.a.], Cambridge Univ. Press.

Wenger, E., et al, (2002), *Cultivating communities of practice: a guide to managing knowledge.* Boston, Mass, Harvard Business School Press.

Williamson, K., (2006), Research in Constructivist Frameworks Using Ethnographic Techniques. *Graduate School of Library and Information Science.* University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/2142/3671>

Wood, S., (2011), Sustaining crafts and livelihoods: Handmade in India. *Craft + Design Enquiry.* [online Available at: http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p211931/pdf/ch07-Sustaining-crafts-and-livelihoods.pdf

60 CHALLENGES FACED BY APPAREL AND TEXTILE ENTREPRENEURS SEEKING US PRODUCTION AND SOURCING – A STUDY OF STARTUP SURVEY DATA

Authors
Behnoosh Farashahi
Katherine Annett-Hitchcock
North Carolina State University, Wilson College of Textiles, USA

Corresponding author
kate_annetthitch@ncsu.edu

Keywords
entrepreneurship
apparel
domestic sourcing
domestic manufacturing
reshoring

Abstract

In the midst of global reshaping of the fashion industry, the United States is experiencing a growth in consumer demand for 'Made in USA' textile and apparel products. Data shows this industry ranks third in reshoring activity and foreign direct investment in the United States. The presence of entrepreneurial small businesses has contributed significantly to this growth. Manufacturing firms with fewer than 20 employees account for 82% of the industry.

The purpose of this study is to first present a profile of the identity of these entrepreneurs, and then investigate the potential challenges that entrepreneurs face as they balance production issues with other values. The study uses five years of secondary survey data responses (n=1,319), obtained from an organization that provides sourcing and educational support for the US textile and apparel industry.

An analysis of the data suggests that casual apparel is the most popular product category (25%), followed by performance sportswear (16.8%). Based on results of the study, 62% of respondents indicate their commitment to 100% US sourcing and production. However, among those who were committed to 100% domestic sourcing and production, 90.4% needed support for their production operations and 69.8% were unable to find a source for their materials procurement. The results suggest that participants are more challenged in the areas of production and sourcing, compared to marketing and branding. The US is encouraging entrepreneurship and small business job creation (U.S. Small Business Administration, 2017). However, the outcome of this study suggests a gap between the meta-goals and values of these entrepreneurs, who embrace bringing industry 'home', and the daily logistical issues that they face in making these goals a reality. Conclusions and recommendations of the paper highlight potential ways of reducing this gap and suggest managerial strategies.

Introduction

Consumer interest has seen a recent growth in demand for 'Made in USA' products (Consumer Reports, 2015). A recent report by Reshoring Initiative (2018) suggests that the apparel and textile industry ranks third in reshoring and foreign direct investment in the United States. From 2010 to 2017, the reshoring of apparel and textile manufacturing has created more than 48,000 jobs. Moreover, reshoring of apparel and textile production can be used as a strategy to reduce carbon emissions caused by long distance transportation. As the global population is expected to increase in the following decades (Roster & Ortiz-Ospina, 2017), the need for apparel and textile products will grow consequently. On the other hand, the production, maintenance, and eventual disposal of textile and apparel products have devastating impacts on the environment (Chen & Burns, 2006: 258). As a result, multiple initiatives and organizations have been created to advocate for environmentally sustainable and ethically made apparel and textiles (Mead, 2018; Sustainable Apparel Coalition, n.d.).

Recent studies show that consumers are increasingly attracted to artisanal products that are ethically produced on a smaller scale by entrepreneurs and have higher perceived quality than fast fashion apparel (Pookulangara & Shephard, 2013). The presence of entrepreneurs and small business owners has become very significant in this industry. According to the Census Bureau (2018), small textile and apparel manufacturing firms (less than 20 employees) account for 82% of the total manufacturing firms in the industry (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). However, many entrepreneurs are limited in terms of the available resources and capital. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to first present a profile of the identity of a sample of apparel and textile entrepreneurs, and then investigate the potential barriers that these entrepreneurs face as they balance production issues with other values.

The results of this study will be beneficial for identifying the areas of support most needed by entrepreneurs and small businesses, thus facilitating governmental, private and, public entities in study and policy generation for this sector of US entrepreneurship.

Review of literature

Textile and apparel entrepreneurship

The Cambridge online dictionary defines entrepreneur as a 'person who attempts to make a profit by starting a company or by operating alone in the business world, esp. when it involves taking risks.' (Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary, n.d.). Stevenson views entrepreneurship as a management approach, and defines it as 'the pursuit of opportunity without regard to resources currently controlled.' (Stevenson, 1983: 3). A textile and apparel entrepreneur has been defined as a person who creates a new fashion firm or sets up a new fashion brand (Burke, 2013). Fashion entrepreneurship includes two different dimensions; fashion or the creative part in which new products are developed in response to current trends, and the entrepreneurship dimension that includes the process of searching, evaluating, and exploiting new opportunities in the business (Vecchi & Buckley, 2016: 113-114).

In the textile and apparel industry, entrepreneurship is highly associated with innovation (Unay & Zehir, 2012) and entrepreneurs are often believed to be ambitious, innovative, disciplined, with positive attitude, and willingness to take risks (Vallone, 2008: 106). Apparel and textile entrepreneurship can be social or commercial. Social entrepreneurship is the innovative and value-creating practices that take place within or across the business, nonprofit, or government sectors (Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006: 3). The primary goal of social entrepreneurs is to generate social value for the public benefit. On the other hand, the fundamental purpose of commercial entrepreneurs is to create profitable products and services that results in private monetary gain (Austin et al., 2006:3).

State of textile and apparel industry within the US

As of 2017, the textile and apparel industry employed 550,500 workers in the United States (National Council of Textile Organizations, 2018). The total value of apparel product (NAICS 315) shipments from USA exceeded $10 billion (United States Census Bureau, 2017). During the past decade, three intertwined trends of reshoring, innovation, and entrepreneurship have emerged within textile and apparel industries in the United States (Hodges, 2017: 157). Innovation and employment of new technology can potentially influence competitive advantage among textile and apparel entrepreneurs and small firms. Such innovation can contribute to the growth of reshoring trends and rebuilding the manufacturing infrastructure within the United States (Hodges, 2017: 159). For fast fashion products, or when a company receives an urgent order with smaller quantities, using in-house facilities when available or outsourcing to domestic suppliers can help apparel and textile companies achieve customer satisfaction through reduced production lead time (Sardar & Lee, 2013). Therefore, reduced lead time is a competitive advantage for domestic sourcing and production.

The other push towards small business support comes from federal organizations such as SelectUSA, BusinessUSA, Reshoring Initiative, and Assess Costs Everywhere (ACE). ACE provide analytic framework and resources to encourage manufacturers to invest in manufacturing or sourcing in the United States. The United States Department of Commerce suggests a 10-factor framework to assist U.S. companies in estimating the total costs and risks associated with offshore production. This framework includes factors such as inventory and shipping costs, product quality assurance, intellectual property, and regulatory compliance cost that might offset lower labor costs in other countries (U.S. Department of Commerce, n.d.). Reshoring Initiative (Reshoring Initiative, 2018) identifies automation, additive manufacturing, image of made-in-USA, reduction in lead time, proximity to consumers and tariffs, as factors that contribute to the increase of the reshoring trend.

Consumer awareness is also putting pressure on enterprises to be more mindful of the impact of their sourcing decisions on society (Reshoring Initiative, 2018). For example, Walmart is committed to purchasing $250 billion worth of USA-made products by 2023. They pledge to accomplish this goal by increasing their current purchase of U.S. manufactured products, finding new domestic sources, and reshoring the manufacturing of the products they currently buy (Walmart Inc., n.d.).

Barriers to domestic sourcing and production

Research has shown that apparel and textile entrepreneurs face multiple challenges that are particular to this industry. Entrepreneurs and small businesses may experience production challenges due to quantity limitations, and therefore cannot create high margins and leverage capacity because of low product volume (Van Den Berg & Almanza, 2016). In the early stages of company growth, it might be possible for entrepreneurs to develop and make products in-house, but at some point, it may be necessary to outsource production which means higher cost, uncertainty about the contractor, less control over the production, and possibly a higher risk (Kurz, 2010: 17).

Entrepreneurs can also find it challenging to source suitable manufacturing sites, machinery, and suppliers while taking into account the production and transportation of raw material and the final products (Plieth, Bullinger, & Hansen, 2012: 5-6). A study of apparel and textile entrepreneurs identified local sourcing of material, manufacturing, networking with professionals in the industry, and lack of local incubators as challenges for the entrepreneurs (Annett-Hitchcock, 2016: 12-13). The offshoring of apparel production to other countries that started in the 1980s has resulted in the shortage of the available workforce with proper skills and experience in cut and sew operations. The trained labor that worked in apparel manufacturing in the 1970s and 1980s are retired, and the younger generation is interested in skilled manufacturing or engineering jobs or would prefer to work in office environments (Hall, 2014). This has resulted in U.S-based apparel manufacturers turning down orders due to shortage in skilled cut and sew labor (Hall, 2014). In summary, the literature shows a growing interest in the 'Made in USA' products caused by consumer demand and entrepreneurs' personal values and preferences. However, the apparel and textile entrepreneurs face external barriers that makes the domestic sourcing and production challenging. An investigation into the entrepreneurs' needs can help create policies and identify resources that could better help entrepreneurs in overcoming these challenges.

Methodology

In order to provide a profile of Apparel and Textile Entrepreneurs in the US, this study used qualitative and quantitative research methods. Secondary survey data provided by the Carolina Textile District (CTD) were analyzed. Established in 2013 in North Carolina, USA, the Carolina Textile District's (CTD) mission is to help both textile and apparel entrepreneurs and existing companies within their supply chain by connecting them to a network of textile manufacturers and other related resources. For each client, the initial requirement for working with CTD is to submit an online application in the form of a survey. This study investigated those intake surveys obtained from March 2013 through April 2018. Responses from participants who identified themselves as 'Startup' or 'Existing or Established' companies that have been in business for less than five years were used. The establishments with more experience, knowledge, and resources were excluded from data analysis, in order to provide comparable units of analysis. Responses from companies originating outside the United States were also eliminated. Using secondary data from CTD was a convenience sampling method. However, CTD's popularity among textile and apparel firms in the United States due to the services they provide in the areas of product development and domestic production support and materials sourcing, make the District an appropriate data source for addressing the purpose of this study.

The authors believe that surveys allow for appropriate data collection for this research. Surveys are a valuable tool in providing a quantitative and qualitative description of the status, attitudes, and opinions of the sample. Using a survey, researchers can generalize the characteristics, behaviors, and attitudes of the sample to a population (Creswell, 2013: 145-146). This survey includes demographic data, plus responses to closed-ended questions. The responses to these questions were analyzed using JMP Statistical Analysis Software. The researcher also used Tableau Public 2018 for data visualization.

The demographic items used for data analysis to provide a profile of the companies included: location (state), product category, and stage of the company. In order to understand the potential barriers faced by the companies, responses to two closed ended questions were used:

A. What is your commitment to domestic sourcing and production throughout your supply chain?

B. What type of support do you need? Please check all that apply for this project.

Results and conclusion

Results

The purpose of this study is to first present a profile of the identity of a sample of apparel and textile entrepreneurs, and then investigate the potential challenges that entrepreneurs face as they balance production issues with other values. After refining the data, the sample consisted of 1,319 textile and apparel entrepreneurs and small sized companies. Using descriptive statistics such as percentages and frequencies of the demographic variables including State, Product Category, and Stage of Company, a profile of the textile and apparel entrepreneurs was developed. The designations for demographic variables are established by CTD and the company self-selects into one of the categories. It is necessary to mention here that since the demographic question related to Product Category, and Question B (What type of support do you need? Please check all that apply for this project) are multiple choice questions, the total percentage of these responses may exceed 100%.

The results show that CTD clients are distributed across 49 states of the United States and the District of Columbia. The majority of respondents were located in North Carolina (35.7%), followed by New York (6.6%), and Georgia (6%) (see Figure 1). The higher number of clients in North Carolina could be explained by the geographic location of CTD relative to the clients in North Carolina. The product category most often cited by respondents was 'casual apparel' (25%), followed by performance and sportswear (16.8%), 'other' (16.5%), 'fashion apparel' (12.8%), and 'home-décor and bedding' (12%) (Table 1). The stage of company (defined by the researcher as startups and existing companies that have been in business for less than five years) were divided as follow: 76% of the sample identified themselves as 'start-up' and 24.3% acknowledge their company as 'existing or established' (Table 2).

Figure 1: Heat map of the respondent's location by state, created by the authors

Note. Heatmap is a geographical representation of data, in which the density of occurrence in locations are presented through color intensity.

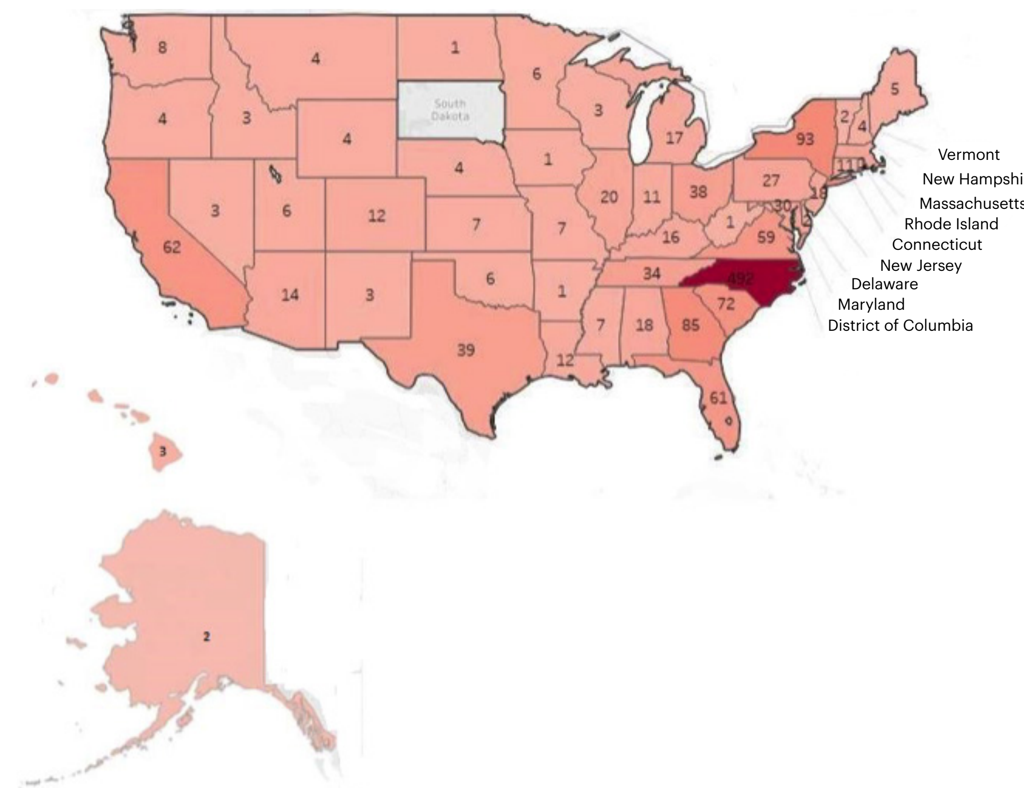


Table 1: Product Category distribution (product category names established by CTD)

Variable	Frequency	Percentage %
Casual Apparel	330	25.0
Performance and Sportswear	222	16.8
Other	218	16.8
Fashion Apparel	169	12.8
Home Décor and Bedding	159	12.0
Accessories	155	11.7
Bags and Suitcases	151	11.4
Children's Apparel	136	1.3
Under Garments/ Swimwear	93	0.7
Hosiery	54	0.4
Outdoor Gear	33	0.2
Maternity Apparel	16	0.1
Pet Product	8	0.1
Total Responses	1318	

Table 2: Stage of Company distribution (stage of the company names established by CTD)

Variable	Frequency	Percentage %
Start-up	990	76.0
Existing or Established	312	24.0
Total	1302	100

To investigate the textile and apparel entrepreneurs' commitment to working with domestic sourcing and production, Survey Question A (What is your commitment to domestic sourcing and production throughout your supply chain?) was used. Based on the results (shown in Figure 2), 62% of the respondents indicated their commitment to 100% US sourcing and production, while 25.3% considered final cost as their highest priority and determinant factor for their sourcing and production location. Finally, 12.7% expressed their plan to source their material overseas but produce their final product within the US. Among the 62% (n=729) of respondents who indicated their commitment to 100% domestic production and sourcing, 90.4% needed help for production, 69.8% were in search for material sourcing, and 62.7% needed assistance for sample development. A breakdown of these responses is presented in Table 3 and Figure 3.

In order to identify the limitations and barriers of textile and apparel entrepreneurship in the US, the researchers used the responses to Survey Question B (What type of support do you need? Please check all that apply for this project.). The results show that the majority of the textile and apparel entrepreneurs need CTD assistance in finding resources for Production (89.8%), followed by Material Sourcing (68.6%) and Sample Development (61.0%). The outcomes of data analysis reveals that fewer respondents needed help for the Marketing (9.5%), Business Development (8.5%), and Branding (8.3%).

Figure 2: Commitment of textile and apparel entrepreneurs to domestic production

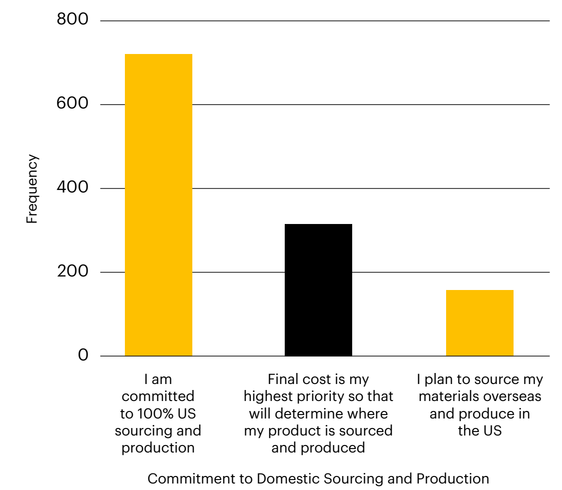


Table 3: Areas of support needed by textile and apparel entrepreneurs

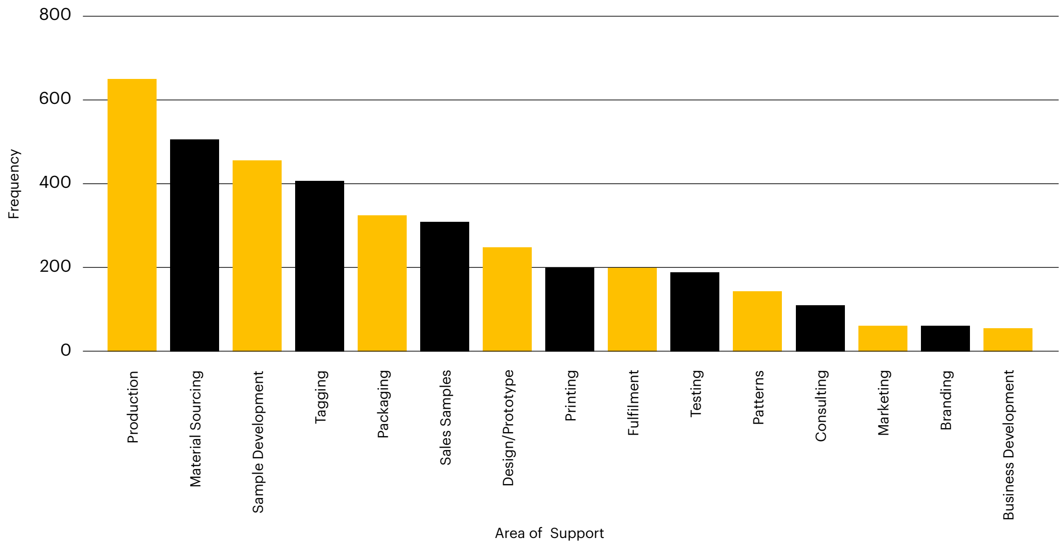
Area of Support	Frequency	Percentage %
Production	1180	89.8
Material Sourcing	901	68.6
Sample Development	802	61.0
Tagging	711	54.1
Packaging	598	44.5
Sales Samples	564	42.9
Design/Prototype Development	415	31.6
Printing	379	28.8
Fulfillment	356	27.1
Testing	346	26.3
Patterns	252	19.2
Consulting	208	15.8
Marketing	125	9.5
Business Development	112	8.5
Branding	109	8.3
Total Responses	1314	

Conclusion

Based on the results of this study, it can be concluded that the majority of apparel and textile entrepreneurs in this study are interested in and committed to full or partial domestic sourcing and production. This is in agreement with the current positive reshoring trend occurring in the textile and apparel industry (Reshoring Initiative, 2018), and can be explained from different perspectives. First is the rise of interest in 'Made in USA' products by consumers (Moser & Montalbano, 2018), due to the impact of country of origin on perceived quality (Chao, 1998; Kalicharan, 2014). Consequently, companies are pushed to turn to domestic production to answer current consumer preferences and needs. Second is apparel and textile entrepreneurs' interest for domestic production that can also be caused by the personal satisfaction they gain through supporting local enterprises and the feel of contributing to the society and their community by creating jobs. The final factor can be the proximity of the new technology and emergence of local on-demand manufacturing (Moser & Montalbano, 2018). This will make US production competitive for entrepreneurs since it enables them to produce in smaller batches in shorter periods of time.

The outcome of this study also suggests a significant barrier that the textile and apparel entrepreneurs face. As mentioned before, among the 1176 surveyed companies, 62% expressed their commitment to 100% domestic sourcing and manufacturing, and 12% indicated their interest in domestic production. However, among those who were 100% committed to domestic sourcing and operations, 90.4% needed support for their production and 69.8% required assistance in finding material sources. This suggests that textile and apparel entrepreneurs are challenged in finding production and sourcing operations, especially if they are committed or interested in domestic operations. One explanation could be the decline of available workforce with proper technical training and experience due to offshoring of textile and apparel production in recent decades. In addition, many entrepreneurs value domestic production and are interested in having their own business, but they don't have the appropriate skills for technical tasks, and they need to find experienced individuals to help them with their operations.

Figure 3: Areas of support needed by textile and apparel entrepreneurs that indicated their commitment to 100% sourcing and production



The United States is encouraging entrepreneurship and small business job creation (U.S. Small Business Administration, 2017). However, the outcome of this study reveals a gap between the meta-goals and values of these entrepreneurs, who embrace bringing industry 'home', and the daily logistical issues that they face in making these goals a reality. Few textile and apparel entrepreneurs needed an expert for their marketing, business development, and branding aspect of their enterprise, but they are significantly in need for assistance in manufacturing and material sourcing. Moreover, as of 2015, Georgia, the Carolinas, and California account for more than 50% of all textile jobs (Ranald, 2016: 19). This means that the available resources and experience in the field is focused in very specific geographical areas. This knowledge could assist in targeting the growth of training programs that could result in more skilled labor in the textile and apparel industry across these regions. Investment in this industry can promote employment growth since a single textile job can support three additional jobs within and outside the textile and apparel industry e.g. chemical, shipping, warehousing etc (NCTO, n.d.). Another suggestion would be providing incentives and encouraging the creation of entrepreneur spaces or incubators in order to facilitate entrepreneurship and help new enterprises find the technical support and networks they need, especially for small run production. As the issue of sustainability in material sourcing arises, a transparent domestic supply chain that could connect entrepreneurs, farmers, and manufacturers would further narrow that current gap, resulting in local economic growth and carbon footprint reduction.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Studies

Data for this study was provided by a single organization, limiting the sampling methodology to a convenience sample. Also, due to the location of CTD, the majority of respondents were located in Eastern and Southeastern states in the US. Another limitation of this study was the use of 'production' as a general term, as it was originally used by CTD. Future studies could look into specific needs of entrepreneurs in the areas of production and sourcing. For example, future research could be conducted on entities similar to CTD such as Brooklyn Fashion + Design Accelerator, Opportunity Threads, Nashville Fashion Alliance, and Studio 317 in Portland, Oregon, to see how entrepreneurs' needs are being addressed across the United States.

References

Annett-Hitchcock, K. (2017). All fashion is local: Assessing the needs of fashion and textile startups in an era of global fashion dissonance. Proceedings from *The Annual Conference of the International Fashion Federation of Technical Institutes*, Amsterdam, Netherlands

Burke, S. (2013). *Fashion entrepreneur: Starting your own fashion business*, Burke Publishing.

Chen, H., & Burns, L. D. (2006). Environmental analysis of textile products. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, 24(3), 248-261. doi: 10.1177/0887302X06293065

Consumer Reports. (2015). Made in America. Retrieved from https://www.consumerreports.org/cro/magazine/2015/05/made-in-america/index.htm

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*, Sage publications.

Hall, B. (2014). Made in USA threatened by labor shortage. Retrieved from https://sourcingjournalonline.com/made-usa-threatened-shortage/

Hodges, N. J. (2017). In Link A. N. A. (Ed.), *Knowledge-intensive entrepreneurship: An analysis of the European textile and apparel industries.* New York: Springer Nov. 2017.

Kurz, E. (2010). *Analysis on fashion design entrepreneurship: Challenges and supporting models.* University of Boras/ Swedish School of Textiles.

Moser, H., & Montalbano, S. (2018). Why made-in-USA fashion is turning heads. Retrieved from https://www.industryweek.com/economy/why-made-usa-fashion-turning-heads

NCTO.U.S. *textile industry | ncto.org.* Retrieved from http://www.ncto.org/facts-figures/us-textile-industry/

Plieth, H., Bullinger, A. C., & Hansen, E. G. (2012). Sustainable entrepreneurship in the apparel industry - the case of manomama. *Journal of Corporate Citizenship*, 11-21.

Pookulangara, S., & Shephard, A. (2013). Slow fashion movement: Understanding consumer perceptions—An exploratory study. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 20(2), 200-206.

Ranald, P. (2016). The trans-pacific partnership agreement. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 22(1), 81-98.

Reshoring Initiative. (2018). *Reshoring initiative 2017 data report: Reshoring plus FDR job announcements up 2,800% since 2010.* Retrieved from http://reshorenow.org/blog/reshoring-initiative-2017-data-report-reshoring-plus-fdi-job-announcements-up-2-800-since-2010/

Stevenson, H. H. (1983). *A perspective on entrepreneurship (Vol. 13).* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School.

U.S. Department of Commerce. Assess costs everywhere. Retrieved from https://acetool.commerce.gov/

Unay, F. G., & Zehir, C. (2012). Innovation intelligence and entrepreneurship in the fashion industry. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 41, 315-321.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2017). *Annual survey of manufactures.* Retrieved from https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ASM _2016_31AS 101&prodType=table

Vallone, A. (2008). *A study of the success and failure of apparel entrepreneurs.* Auburn University, Department of Consumer Affairs.

Van Den Berg, H., & Almanza, Ò. (2016). *The challenges fashion entrepreneurs face when entering the fashion industry.* Lund University. Department of Business Administration

Vecchi, A., & Buckley, C. (2016). In Alessandra Vecchi and Chitra Buckley, editors, EBSCOhost. and Vecchi A.,editor. (Eds.), *Handbook of research on global fashion management and merchandising.* Hershey, PA: Business Science Reference.

Walmart Inc. Investing in american jobs. Retrieved from https://corporate.walmart.com/global-responsibility/opportunity/investing-in-american-jobs

68 THE INVISIBLE WORKER: WHO'S STITCHING YOUR SHOES?

Authors
Amy V. Benstead
School of Materials University of Manchester, UK
Linda C. Hendry
Lancaster University Management School, UK

Corresponding author
amy.benstead@manchester.ac.uk

Keywords
homeworking,
global supply chains
social sustainability
exploitation
identity

Abstract

This paper investigates how vulnerable homeworkers are supported in global supply chains. Home workers are the hidden workforce in the fashion industry and products such as footwear require hand stitching which often takes place by women in their homes in rural, low income areas. Current social sustainability practices in the industry focus on the visible workforce in Tier 1 factories. Yet homeworking takes place in dispersed global supply chains often organised through a network of agents resulting in a lack of visibility. Legislation protecting the workers is also often weaker. Homeworkers are therefore a vulnerable workforce and can be subject to exploitation.

Current sustainable supply chain management (SSCM) literature has considered the link between buyers and first tier suppliers for managing sustainability and researchers are beginning to consider how responsibility can be delegated amongst sub-suppliers in complex multi-tier supply chains. In the context of homeworking, research has focussed on non-governmental organisation (NGO) led initiatives rather than buyer driven action for improving working conditions. Using a longitudinal case study, this paper considers the buyers' perspective and their ability to drive change.

Initial findings suggest that homeworking gives women an identity, the opportunity to access flexible work and support their family. Evidence shows improvements can be made through working with a local and international NGO to map the supply chain and further understand the challenges facing the homeworkers. This has led to internal changes relating to policy and purchasing practices and external improvements to the working conditions for the homeworkers such as fairer pay. These research findings will be of benefit to the fashion industry aiding managers to improve their social sustainability in the context of homeworking.

Introduction

A recent media report has highlighted shadow economies whereby homeworkers in global fashion supply chains are underpaid without employment contracts and insurance (The New York Times, 2018). Homeworking is an example of product assembly that takes place outside of the factories, and is therefore beyond the immediate first tier (ETI, 2010). Therefore, home workers are the hidden workforce in the fashion industry and products such as embroidered garments and footwear require hand stitching which often takes place by women in their homes in rural, low income areas, resulting in a lack of visibility (ETI, 2010; HWW, LBL & Cividep, 2016). However, current social sustainability practices in the industry focus on the visible workforce in Tier 1 factories (Archana & Dickson, 2017). Homeworking takes place in dispersed global supply chains often organised through a network of agents further contributing to their lack of visibility. Further, legislation protecting the workers is often weaker. Homeworkers are therefore a vulnerable workforce and can be subject to exploitation (Barrientos et al. 2011). As a result, brands and retailers are being encouraged by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to acknowledge homeworking in their global supply chains and take positive action to improve working conditions (HWW, LBL & Cividep, 2016; OECD, 2017).

This paper therefore addresses the following research question:

> How can buyers ensure better support for vulnerable home workers within global supply chains?

The remainder of this paper is organised as follows. First, a brief review of the relevant literature is provided. The research method is then outlined followed by the findings to date, which are discussed, before finally drawing the paper together in a conclusion.

Literature review

The literature review is divided into two sections. Firstly, a brief overview of the literature on sustainability and multi-tier supply chains is provided. The second section focuses on homeworking.

Sustainability and multi-tier supply chains

Many researchers within the Sustainable Supply Chain Management (SSCM) literature have recognised that companies should extend their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) strategies in supply chains beyond the first tier (Giminez and Tachizawa, 2012). There is however a lack of understanding in the literature with regards to how this can be achieved. It has also been acknowledged that it is challenging in complex global multi-tier supply chains as distance between the focal firm and suppliers increases resulting in reduced visibility (Seuring and Gold, 2013). Further, sustainability issues usually occur in these less visible suppliers, often in developing countries where law enforcement is weak (Barrientos 2008; Carter et al. 2015).

In their literature review of SSCM in global supply chains, Koberg and Longoni (2018) found that the majority of articles reviewed have considered sustainability within the traditional supply chain where there is a link between the buyer and first tier suppliers but no direct link with sub-suppliers. There are however examples of a few recent studies that have considered how responsibility for managing sustainability is delegated amongst sub-suppliers in complex multi-tier supply chains (Wilhelm et al. 2016a; Wilhelm et al. 2016b; Grimm et al. 2018). Grimm et al. (2016) have also suggested mapping the supply chain to understand the structure of the end to end supply chain for reaching sub suppliers.

Homeworking in global supply chains

According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Home Work Convention (1996, C177, Article 1) which promotes the equal treatment of home workers and other wage earners, home work and the homeworker are defined as follows:

"(a) the term home work means work carried out by a person, to be referred to as a homeworker,

- *(i) in his or her home or in other premises of his or her choice, other than the workplace of the employer;*
- *(ii) for remuneration;*
- *(iii) which results in a product or service as specified by the employer, irrespective of who provides the equipment, materials or other inputs used."*

Homeworking is found in global supply chains in both developed and developing countries (Barrientos et al. 2011). In the fashion industry, female based homeworkers are a significant proportion of employment in countries such as India, Thailand and Pakistan (Chen, 2014). It can include both paid and unpaid family labour often resulting in a risk of child labour (Barrientos et al. (2011). It is also widely acknowledged that homeworking provides the female worker with the ability to satisfy their traditional gender roles and meet cultural norms by balancing being carers and workers (Anchana and Dickson, 2017; Tartanoglu, 2018).

Current literature has considered the characteristics of homeworking in the supply chain. Homeworkers are invisible, low paid and not always identified as workers (Delaney et al. 2015). Additionally, they are often invisible to the state and regulations (Barrientos, 2014; Burchielli et al. 2014). Further, they are typically isolated from others workers in their sector with limited knowledge of their markets and prices. (Chen, 2014). Work is often distributed via agents and subcontractors and they are therefore disconnected from brands, suppliers and trade unions (Delaney et al. 2015). Their lack of representation makes them vulnerable with little protection. As a result, they are subject to exploitation often with short term contracts, irregular work and at risk of forced labour (Barrientos et al. 2011).

Studies have considered how homeworkers can gain more bargaining power within global supply chains. However, research focusses on NGO led projects rather than buyer driven action. For example, Delaney et al. (2015) conducted research in the leather footwear sector in India and observed the work of the Federation of Homeworkers Worldwide (FHWW), an international NGO. Their paper focussed on how NGOs can help form cooperative networks amongst homeworkers to help provide connections with suppliers and gain greater power and influence when negotiating working conditions. Similarly, Anchana and Dickson (2017) focus on the effect of NGOs' CSR initiatives and practices for empowering homeworkers and influencing suppliers and brands. Their research encourages brands to acknowledge homeworkers, map their supply chains and extend CSR practices beyond the first tier. There is therefore an opportunity to study homeworking to further understand how buyers can improve sustainability in multi-tier supply chains.

Methodology

A single in depth longitudinal case study company is used (Yin, 2018), referred to hereafter as Company X, a multi £billion turnover company. The focus is on the fashion and sports industry, given that the literature suggests that homeworking is common in this context (e.g. HWW, LBL & Cividep, 2016). Data collection included interviews and secondary data. An initial 10 interviews were conducted in 2016 with employees in different roles across the organisation including e.g. sourcing and corporate responsibility (CR). A further 4 follow up interviews with members of the CR team were conducted in 2018. All interviews have been fully transcribed. Secondary evidence from modern slavery statements, policies, reports and website material was also used to provide triangulation.

Findings

The findings below begin with an overview of homeworking in the company's supply chain and the issues uncovered followed by a brief outline of the strategies used to improve the working conditions for homeworkers.

Homeworking mainly takes place in the company's leather footwear supply chain in Tamil Nadu in southern India, where the leather uppers for footwear are hand stitched. Unlike many companies, Company X decided not to ban homeworking as this would not improve the lives of homeworkers. It was argued that prohibiting homework could lead to suppliers continuing to use homeworking but declining to disclose, which would then make tackling issues more difficult and ultimately have a negative impact for homeworkers. Instead, the company have taken a positive approach to homeworking and made a commitment to improve the situation for what they believe is a vital part of their supply chain for footwear. Additionally, they acknowledge that many women have few alternatives and rely on homeworking as a valuable and flexible income stream alongside their family and domestic duties. Homeworking also provides women with the ability to work if they are unable to travel or work in a facility with men due to marital and cultural norms.

Company X have however recognised that there are many risks involved with homeworking. The work is low paid often below the legal minimum wage and typically informal without a contractual agreement. This means that the workers are not receiving the same rights as contractual workers with no security of employment and no control over their employment conditions. The work is often organised through a network of agents which results in a lack of visibility of homeworking in the supply chain.

As a result, in 2016, Company X partnered with an international and a local NGO to pilot a programme as part of their first phase to provide improved working conditions for homeworkers. This was followed by a second phase operationalise the plan more widely. Key elements of both phases are outlined on the next page:

First Phase – pilot programme – improving employment for homeworkers

Supply chain mapping
The NGOs assisted in mapping the supply chain for one supplier in the leather shoe supply chain that Company X deals with directly. The supplier owns its own factories but uses homeworkers for some hand stitching work which is subcontracted to agents who distribute the work to homeworkers. Through tracing the supply chain, they were able to understand the patterns of distribution, the different actors involved and the prices given. Through this mapping process it became apparent that the homeworkers are paid by the piece but rarely keep a record of the number of hours worked.

Interviews
The local NGO conducted interviews with 30 homeworkers to further understand their situation, issues, challenges and find solutions.

Regional Conference
Company X organised a conference in India with other brands, suppliers and homeworkers to share learning from their pilot programme to encourage change and improvements within the industry.

Second Phase – operationalising the plan – improving employment for homeworkers

Following the key learnings gained from the first phase, the company embarked on a second phase to operationalise their plan to improve working conditions for homeworkers. The second phase is ongoing and involves the following:

Improved homeworker employment system
The company are working with the NGOs to establish fairer piece rates and improved payment systems. Additionally, they are ensuring that homeworkers are recognised as part of the workforce.

Homeworking policy
A key step has been the introduction of a detailed homeworker policy to provide suppliers with a set of guidelines. This clearly outlines the expectations of suppliers and stipulates that homeworking is accepted but must be disclosed. It is also the responsibility of the supplier to establish transparency with the agents that they work with.

Purchasing Practices
The company are aware that their purchasing practices can impact homeworkers. As a result they are ring-fencing costs so that buyers are not allowed to negotiate on prices that involve homeworking.

Agent commission
Conversations are taking place with agents to further understand the cut that they are taking. Together, they are also considering how the cost of the hand work can be valued by creating a system for categorising work carried out by complexity which will then be documented.

Training suppliers and agents
Training is being conducted with suppliers and agents to inform them of the issues concerning homeworking and how to meet the company's policy guidelines.

Empowering homeworkers
Workers are also receiving training to inform them of their rights. Additionally, they are being encouraged to keep records. Once a system has been created to categorise the value of the work carried out, workers will receive this documentation and therefore be better informed with regards to the prices they should be receiving. It is intended that workers become empowered through knowing their entitlements and are able to collectively bargain and negotiate better working conditions with the agents.

Discussion and conclusion

A single in depth longitudinal case study has been used within the fashion industry to investigate how homeworkers can be supported within global footwear supply chains. Empirical data has provided insights into the action that a buying firm has taken through working with a local and international NGO.

First, the findings suggest that homeworking gives women an identity, the opportunity to access flexible work and support their family. Supporting, Anchana and Dickson (2017) and Tartanoglu (2018) they are able to satisfy their traditional gender roles and cultural norms by balancing being carers and workers. The findings however confirm that these workers are not often paid a fair wage given the volume of work (Barrientos et al. 2011).

The findings extend the literature by furthering our understanding of extending CSR strategies beyond the first tier (Koberg and Longoni, 2018; Giminez and Tachizawa, 2012). Evidence is provided to demonstrate the links that have been made between the buyer, supplier, agents and homeworkers. The findings confirm the importance of the role of homeworkers in the footwear supply chain and highlight how to tackle the disconnect homeworkers face between the different actors in multi-tier supply chains (Delaney et al. 2015). This has been achieved by collaborating with a local and international NGO and therefore extends the literature by furthering our understanding of the benefits of NGO involvement for achieving sustainability (Rodriguez et al. 2016; Hahn and Gold, 2014). In the case of homeworking, our research has demonstrated how initiatives can be buyer driven rather than being NGO led. This provides a different perspective compared to previous research such as Delaney et al. (2015) and Anchana and Dickson (2017) which has focussed on NGOs leading projects and introducing initiatives.

Evidence shows improvements can be made through working with local NGOs to further understand the challenges facing the homeworkers and how work is distributed by mapping the supply chain (Grimm et al. 2016; Anchana and Dickson, 2017). A system has been developed to monitor homeworking standards and ensure that homeworkers are better protected through establishing formal practices relating to pay, working hours and working conditions.

Company X acknowledged and allowed homeworkers in their supply chain and took a positive approach to homeworking driving improvements in the supply chain. Additionally, this adds evidence to the conclusion of Anchana and Dickson (2017) that encouraged brands to acknowledge homeworkers and extend their CSR practices beyond the first tier. Likewise our findings demonstrate how the buyer can make internal changes to their purchasing practices that can impact homeworkers. For example, ring-fencing costs to prevent buyers negotiating on prices that involve homeworkers.

Furthermore, the findings provide evidence of a buyer giving responsibility to suppliers (outlined in their homeworking policy) to ensure that they are establishing transparency with agents that they work with. Company X has organised training with both suppliers and agents to inform them of issues and support them in meeting their homeworking policy. This provides insights into how responsibility can be delegated to sub suppliers (Wilhelm et al. 2016a; Wilhelm et al. 2016b; Grimm et al. 2018).

We also build on previous literature regarding empowering homeworkers (Anchana and Dickson, 2017). This has been achieved through giving them information on their rights e.g. though training which allows them to collectively bargain and negotiate better working conditions with the agents. Additionally, the current plans to categorise and document the value of hand work will also ensure that the homeworker is aware of the payment they should be receiving. This therefore tackles the issue of isolation leading to limited knowledge of markets and prices that has been highlighted in the literature (Chen, 2014)

These research findings will benefit managers aiming to improve their SSCM in the context of modern slavery and homeworking.

References

Archana and Dickson M.A. (2017), Social Sustainability in Apparel Supply Chains: Organizational Practices for Managing Sub-Contracted Homework' In: Henninger C. et al. (eds) Sustainability in Fashion: *A Cradle Upcycle Approach*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, ISBN: 9783319512532.

Barrientos, S. (2008), Contract labour: The 'Achilles heel'of corporate codes in commercial value chains. *Development and Change*, 39(6), 977-990.

Barrientos, S. et al. (2011), Economic and social upgrading in global production networks: A new paradigm for a changing world. *International Labour Review*, 150(3- 4), 319-340.

Benstead A.V. et al. (2018), Horizontal Collaboration in response to modern slavery legislation: An action research project, *International Journal of Operations and Production Management*, 38(12), 2286-2312.

Burchielli, R. et al. (2014), Garment homework in Argentina: Drawing together the threads of informal and precarious work. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 25(1), 63-80.

Carter, C.R. et al. (2015), Toward the theory of the supply chain. *Journal of Supply Chain Management*, 51(2), 89-97.

Chen, M.A. (2014), Informal economy monitoring study sector report: Home-based workers. Cambridge, MA, USA: WIEGO.

Delaney, A. et al. (2015), Positioning women homeworkers in a global footwear production network: How can homeworkers improve agency, influence and claim rights? *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 57(4), 641-659.

Ethical Trade Initiative (ETI). (2010), *Homeworker Briefing*, [Online] Available at https://www.ethicaltrade.org/sites/default/files/shared_resources/homeworkers_and_homeworking.pdf (Accessed October 2018).

Gimenez, C. and Tachizawa, E.M. (2012), Extending sustainability to suppliers: a systematic literature review, *Supply Chain Management: An International Journal*, 17(5), 531-543.

Grimm, J.H. et al. (2018), Interrelationships amongst factors for sub-supplier corporate sustainability standards compliance: An exploratory field study. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 203, 240-259.

Grimm, J.H. et al. (2016), Exploring sub-suppliers' compliance with corporate sustainability standards. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 112, 1971-1984.

Hahn, R. and Gold, S. (2014), Resources and governance in "base of the pyramid" partnerships: Assessing collaborations between businesses and non-business actors. Journal of Business Research, 67(7), 1321-1333.

Homeworkers Worldwide (HWW), Labour Behind the Label (LBL) and Cividep. (2016), *'Stitching Our Shoes'*, [Online] Available at http://labourbehindthelabel.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Homeworkers-Document-WEB.pdf (Accessed August 2018).

International Labour Organisation (1996), C177 - *Home Work Convention, 1996 (No. 177)*, Available at https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312322 (Accessed November 2018)

Koberg, E. and Longoni, A. (2018), A systematic review of sustainable supply chain management in global supply chains. *Journal of Cleaner Production.* 207, 1084-1098

OECD. (2017), *'OECD Due Diligence Guidance for Responsible Supply Chains in the Garment and Footwear Sector'*. [Online] Available at https://mneguidelines.oecd.org/OECD Due-Diligence-Guidance-Garment-Footwear.pdf (Accessed August 2018).

Pagell, M. and Wu, Z. (2009), Building a more complete theory of sustainable supply chain management using case studies of 10 exemplars. *Journal of supply chain management*, 45(2), 37-56.

Rodríguez, J.A. et al. (2016), NGOs' initiatives to enhance social sustainability in the supply chain: poverty alleviation through supplier development programs. *Journal of Supply Chain Management*, 52(3), 83-108.

Seuring, S. and Gold, S. (2013), Sustainability management beyond corporate boundaries: from stakeholders to performance. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 56, 1-6.

Tartanoğlu, Ş. (2018), The voluntary precariat in the value chain: The hidden patterns of home-based garment production in Turkey. *Competition & Change*, 22(1), 23-40.

The New York Times. (2018), *Inside Italy's Shadow Economy*, Available at. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/fashion/italy-luxury-shadow-economy.html. (Accessed October 2018).

Wilhelm, M. et al. (2016a), Implementing sustainability in multi-tier supply chains: Strategies and contingencies in managing sub-suppliers. *International Journal of Production Economics*, 182, 196-212.

Wilhelm, M.M. et al. (2016b), Sustainability in multi-tier supply chains: Understanding the double agency role of the first-tier supplier. *Journal of Operations Management*, 41, 42-60.

Yin, R.K. (2018), *Case study research: Design and methods*, 6th edn, SAGE, Thousand Oaks, Calif, ISBN 9781506336169.

83 IMPACT OF EXPERIENTIAL MARKETING ON CUSTOMER PURCHASE INTENTION: A STUDY OF THE INDIAN APPAREL RETAIL INDUSTRY

Author
Dr. Sushil Raturi
National Institute of Fashion Technology, Mumbai, India

sushil.raturi@nift.ac.in

Keywords
experiential marketing
sensory experience
emotional experience
creative cognitive experience
purchase intention

Abstract

The presence of multiple brands in the Indian apparel retail industry is turning out to be beneficial to the customers in terms of wide variety, and is also creating immense competition amongst the apparel retailers. The marketers are continuously looking for strategies to attract, retain and make customers loyal to their brand. An apparel customer has traditionally been viewed as one whose purchase decision is based upon functionality and the aesthetic appeal of a product. But now, the apparel retailers have realised that they aspire for something more. Experiential marketing provides an answer to customer desire for something more in the form of 'creating an experience'. According to Pine and Gilmore (1999) the use of experiential marketing as a communication tool is growing within companies as it is believed to provide a competitive advantage in comparison to traditional communication. This was also supported by Kotler (2003). Experiential marketing has been the focus of several studies in the area of consumer buying behaviour with respect to fast moving consumer goods, consumer durables, luxury goods and services; but in the absence of research on the relationship between experiential marketing and customer purchase intention for apparel retail in the Indian context; there is a gap of knowledge. This paper is an attempt to fill this knowledge gap, looking at the impact of experiential marketing on customer purchase intention for apparel retail in India. The data of 1224 respondents was analysed in this research. The results from the study concluded that emotional, creative cognitive and physical experience have significant positive impacts on the customer purchase intention, while the sensory and social experience were not found to have significant positive impacts on the purchase intention of the customer.

Introduction

Holbrook and Hirschman (1982) were the first to introduce the experiential marketing concept under the domain of consumer buying behaviour. Pine and Gilmore (1999) carried forward the study on experiential marketing and stated that this form will emerge as a new strategic tool to stay ahead of the competitors. Kotler (2003) also pointed out the importance of modern marketing over traditional marketing. In all these studies, experiential marketing emerged as a revolutionary marketing strategy and a strategy for the future. Various researchers have defined customer experience as an experience that excites, ignites and dazzles customers. Schmitt (1999), one of the pioneers in the area of experiential marketing stated that experience created using sense, feel, think, act and relate enhances customer experience. This finding was further studied and tested by various researchers in different parts of world for different products and services. These studies have also brought out the relationship between various components of experiential marketing and purchase intention.

On the basis of the available literature, it has been observed that there is a lack of research in establishing relationships between the various components of experiential marketing and purchase intention in the Indian context for the apparel retail Industry. Indian apparel retailers have acknowledged the importance of experiential marketing and thus would like to understand the impact of the various components of experiential marketing on customer purchase intention in an Indian context. Thus, a study was undertaken with the objective given overleaf.

Research objective

To study the impact of various components of experiential marketing on customer purchase intention.

Literature review

The literature review in the paper examines two aspects: (a) the concept of experiential marketing and (b) purchase intention and the relationship between experiential marketing and purchase intention.

Concept of experiential marketing

Stringent global competition has forced companies to develop new business strategies with a customer focus, so as to develop competitive advantage. Marketers have realised that differentiating their business through traditional marketing elements such as product, price, promotion and place will not give them competitive advantage. The future of business lies in creating experience.

The work of Holbrook and Hirschman (1982:17-21) on experiential marketing was carried forward by Taranto (1998:6-8), through his research on brand experience where he pointed out that events are increasingly being used to change perceptions and build relationships. Through these live brand experiences the consumers foster an emotional attachment and create a relationship with the brand. Pine and Gilmore (1999:97-105) in their book on 'Welcome to the experience economy', explained experiential marketing as a strategic concept, and emphasized that mere experience will not give brands competitive edge; the experience should be special which gives customers unforgettable memories. These types of experiences and memories will not only attract customers, but will also influence customer purchase intention.

Wood (2009:247 – 268) attempted to find out the reason for the growth of experiential marketing, and stated the reasons as: firstly, the over use of traditional media and therefore the need to do something unique from competitors; secondly, the consumer's desire for novelty, individualism; and thirdly, the need to build an emotional attachment to brands which cannot be differentiated on the basis of their functionality.

In-depth work in the area of experiential marketing was done by Schmitt (1999:13-68), this brought out different components of experiences: sensory experiences (sense), emotional or affectionate experiences (feel), creative cognitive experiences (think), physical experiences (act) and social-identity experiences (relate). The sensory experience is created through sight, sound, touch, taste, and smell. If companies want customers to easily differentiate their products from competitors and emphasise product function and benefits to create product value, they would use sense. The affectionate experience is created through emotion. The emotions are devoted to the creation of moods and emotions that adhere to the company and brand. Think has been stated as a third type of experience in which marketers engage customers on a deeper level. Schmitt explained that the objective to think marketing is to create cognitive, problem-solving experiences that engage customers creatively. The fourth type of experience as brought out by Schmitt is act marketing. The purpose of act marketing is to enrich customer's lives by targeting their physical experiences, showing them alternate ways of doing things, as well as alternate lifestyles and interactions. The goal for companies in using act marketing is to change long-term behaviour and habits in favour of a particular product or service. The fifth and final type of experience is relate marketing. The relate marketing expands beyond the individual's private sensations, feelings, cognitions and actions by relating the individual self to the broader social and cultural context reflected in a brand. These five components of experiences are connected, and companies must employ experiential hybrids that combine two or more experiences in order to broaden experiential appeal. The big challenge for the companies is to develop a right combination of these five components of experience for a particular demography and a particular product category.

The work done by Schmitt was further diagnosed by various researchers in different demographics and derived some interesting conclusions. McCole (2004:531-539) in his study studied one of the dimensions of Schmitt i.e emotional experience, and observed that through emotional experience a relationship is built which leads to purchase intention, purchase and repurchase. Andreani (2007:1-8) also supported the findings of Schmitt (1999) and pointed out that in experiential marketing, customers are able to differentiate one product or service from another since they experience themselves emotional aspects of product or service in the process of selecting and consuming the product or service .

Gentile et al. (2007:71-93) took forward the work of Schmitt and suggested that the customer experience has six components that can be explored by marketers:

1. Sensorial component
2. Emotional component
3. Cognitive component
4. Pragmatic component: stimulates acting, use of something.
5. Lifestyle component: stimulates people's values and beliefs through the adoption of lifestyle and behaviours
6. Relational components: stimulates relationships, social life, communities, social identity, related to the previous component.

The marketers have realised that just stimulating these components is not enough. To be significant, the experiences need to be extraordinary; something which helps people re-define themselves.

Gupta and Vajic (2000: 33-41) brought a new dimension to experiential marketing by introducing the word interaction, and stated that 'an experience occurs when a customer has any sensation or knowledge acquisition resulting from some level of interaction with different elements of a product or service created by a brand.' Their work was supported by Lasalle and Britton (2002:30-33), stating that experiential marketing is 'an interaction, or series of interactions, between a customer and a product; customer and company or its representative that lead to a reaction'. This reaction emerging from interaction results in building a relationship between customer and product. Smilansky (2009:1-297) took forward the work of Lasalle and Britton (2002) related to interaction, and stated that the experiential approach is focused on a two-way interaction in real-time, a live brand experience and thereby a significantly deeper consumer bonding process. In order for brands to facilitate that two-way interaction, the consumer and the brand must be able to engage with each other.

Pine and Gilmore (1999:13-44) looked at experience from a different perspective and identified that retail experiences consist of holistic realms (aesthetic, entertainment, education, escapist), which allow flow between the static and dynamic elements within the experiential environment.

The static elements are aesthetic qualities that include:

1. Physical goods (its functional attributes)
2. Look and feel of the store, which includes logos and signage, packaging, brochures and advertising that help to establish the store's identity and brand experience
3. Experiential theme/message

These elements provide benefits such as sensory pleasures, feelings of status, privacy and security. In addition, static design elements are represented by the atmospheric/ambient conditions of the store (visual, aural, olfactory and tactile attributes), which are used to increase consumer's consumption rate, and influence customer product evaluations and purchase buying behaviour. The dynamic elements are related to exchange of dynamic information, which is an outcome of human interaction through the customer–staff–store interface. This element helps to create a sense of belonging.

A study by Pandey and Darji (2011:27-32) for Indian malls revealed that both the static as well as the dynamic parameters hold more or less equal importance in defining a satisfactory experience for the customer. These parameters would help many new entrants in the designing of their store as well as enhancing customer shopping experience. As brought out by the study, it even helps the existing players to make the necessary improvements.

Wu, M. Y., & Tseng, L. H. 2015:104) looked at experiential marketing from the perspective of gaining customer satisfaction and loyalty. The experience created by marketers leads to customer satisfaction, repurchase and brand loyalty in long run. Cuellar, et al. (2015:534-553) described that repurchase and loyalty created through experiential marketing leads to increasing sales and profit. These studies covered the entire spectrum of business through the use of experiential marketing, i.e customer acquisition to loyalty and sales to profit generation.

Purchase intention and relationship between experiential marketing and purchase intention

Having discussed the literature available on the different components of experiential marketing, the next stage is to look at purchase intention, and the relationship between experiential marketing and purchase intention.

Dodds, Monroe et al. (1991:29) defined purchase intention as an inclination or showing interest to buy something. Purchase intention means the likelihood that a consumer will buy a particular product; the higher the purchase intention, the greater the purchase probability. Assael (1998: 21-23) explained that purchase intention is a behaviour that emerges in response to an object. Purchase intention is also a repeat purchase indicating the desire of customers to make purchases again. Consumers tend to make purchases of an item if the customer has obtained the expected level of satisfaction. Bellman, Loshe and Johnson (1999:11:17) supported the previous studies and concluded that purchase intention is influenced by the levels of consumer experience. Schiffman and Kanuk (2000:77-86) in their consumer buying behaviour study concluded that the greater the purchase intention, the greater is consumer desire to buy a product. Turney and Littman (2003:45-47) supported the findings of Schiffman and Kanuk and asserted that intention to buy is the buyer's prediction of which company he will select to buy. The study also emphasised that intention to buy is a reflection of real purchase behaviour.

An experiment conducted by Igbaria, Guimaraes and Davis (1995:73-81) examined the result of customer experience within the structure of the customised Technological Acceptance Model and discovered that the customer experience creates immediate and oblique effect on purchase intention. In different research works, several scholars, including Hsieh and Li (2008:17-24), Blackwell, R. D. and Holbrook (2000:67-72) also indicated that there is a positive correlation between experiential marketing and purchase intention. A study of 2100 online customers by Boyer and Hult (2006:33-37) on customer behavioural intentions for online purchasing pointed out that behavioural intention will be at variance based on customer experience level. If the customers increase their positive shopping experience, then their chances of intention to purchase the products and services would be higher.

Researchers have also contributed in developing the relationship between various components of experiential marketing and their impact on customer purchase intention. The research work done by Krishna (2012:23-27); Grębosz & Wronska, (2013:49-51) have contributed to the topic of using sensory marketing as a strategy which has a positive impact on purchase intention. Sensory marketing engages the five senses, and subsequently exert an impact on their emotion, judgment and buying behaviour. But the research work is limited to purchase intention; whether this has resulted in actual purchase was not analysed.

Nasermoadeli, Choon, Maghnati (2013:17-23) found out that only emotional experience and social experience are positively related to the purchase intention. In addition, the research findings also established the relationships between various components of the customer experience as: the sensory experience is positively related to the emotional experience; the emotional experience is positively related to the social experience; the sensory experience is positively related to the social experience. The findings of the study were on the basis of a survey of students of a private university in Malaysia.

The review of literature brought out through various research by researchers have clearly pointed out the importance of experiential marketing in the modern era, and some researchers have also established the relationship between the various components of experiential marketing with customer purchase intention. But no research work has been found in the context of Indian apparel retail which establishes the relationship between components of experiential marketing, and customer purchase intention. The section below indicates the hypothesis formulated between various components of experience and customer purchase intention. These hypotheses are based on the components of experiential marketing as brought out in the review of literature by Schmitt (1999).

Hypothesis

On the basis of research objectives and literature review hypotheses were formulated which are:

H1. There is a significant positive influence of sensory experience on customer purchase intention

H2. There is a significant positive influence of affectionate experience on customer purchase intention

H3. There is a significant positive influence of creative cognitive experience on customer purchase intention

H4. There is a significant positive influence of physical experience on customer purchase intention

H5. There is a significant positive influence of social identity experience on customer purchase intention

Methodology

The study was conceptualised in 2018. The data collection was done during May-July 2018. Primary data was gathered using survey as a mode of data collection. To conduct customer surveys structured questionnaire was prepared. The methods used for primary data collection were:

i. Personal interview
ii. Electronic mailing questionnaires

The major source of secondary data in the review of literature was research papers published in national and international journals. The sampling type for the customer survey was non-probability sampling method. Within non-probability sampling method, judgmental sampling method was used. The sample size for the customer survey was 1351, of which after editing 1224 responses were processed for analysis. The sampling frame comprised individual males and females in the age group of 18-50 years. The researcher used a structured questionnaire with close-ended questions, a Likert scale questionnaire and respondents' profile. After developing the questionnaire and before starting the survey, a pilot test was conducted to find out whether respondents are comfortable to answer the questions. It was also tested to see if they understand the questions in terms of language and technicalities. The questionnaire was also tested for typographical and grammatical errors. The pilot testing was done by sending the questionnaire to 25 respondents whose profile matched with the profile of the respondents who are in the sampling frame of the research study. On the basis of problems found out while filling the questionnaire, changes were made and a final questionnaire was prepared for the consumer survey. The primary data from consumers were collected from Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad. Before performing the analysis of data, the data collected was processed, comprising data editing, data coding and data entry. This was followed by data analysis using frequency table and t test using SPSS 18.0 Version.

Analysis

The customers' perceptions were studied to determine the influence of different components of experiential marketing on customer purchase intention. The opinion of customers was sought using a five point Likert scale. The analysis of the opinions of the respondents on these five attributes of experiential marketing is presented in Tables 1 to 7. The frequency data is presented in Tables 1 to 5.

Table 1 clearly indicates that only 34% of the respondents are in agreement with the opinion that experience created by sensory factors influences customer purchase intention.

Table 1: Influence of sensory experience on customer purchase intention

	Frequency	Percent %
Strongly Disagree	438	36
Disagree	262	21
Neutral	112	9
Agree	162	13
Strongly Agree	250	21
Total	1224	100

Table 2 below shows that more than 60% of the respondents indicate that experience created by emotion influences customer purchase intention.

Table 2: Influence of emotional experience on customer purchase intention

	Frequency	Percent %
Strongly Disagree	183	15
Disagree	159	13
Neutral	97	8
Agree	342	30
Strongly Agree	416	34
Total	1224	100

Table 3 shows that more than 75% of the respondents indicate that experience created by creative cognitive factors influences customer purchase intention.

Table 3: Influence of creative cognitive experiences on customer purchase intention

	Frequency	Percent %
Strongly Disagree	101	8
Disagree	120	10
Neutral	61	5
Agree	321	26
Strongly Agree	621	51
Total	1224	100

Table 4 shows that more than 60% of the respondents indicate that experience created by physical factors influences customer purchase intention.

Table 4: Influence of physical experience on customer purchase intention

	Frequency	Percent %
Strongly Disagree	251	20
Disagree	132	11
Neutral	99	8
Agree	181	15
Strongly Agree	561	46
Total	1224	100

Table 5 shows that 40% of the respondents indicate that experience created by social identity factors influences customer purchase intention.

Table 5: Influence of social identity experience on customer purchase intention

	Frequency	Percent %
Strongly Disagree	408	33
Disagree	201	25
Neutral	21	2
Agree	249	20
Strongly Agree	245	20
Total	1224	100

The discussion of frequency tables above clearly indicated that in three components of experiential marketing (affectionate, creative cognitive and physical) more than 60% of the respondents agree or strongly agree with the opinions that their purchase intention is influenced by these types of experiences.

The above result was also tested using mean values of the opinions. The scales used were 1 to 5 (where 1 is strongly disagree, 2 is disagree, 3 is neutral, 4 is agree and 5 is strongly agree). A mean value above 3 indicates that the opinion is averaged towards the agreement on the opinion.

Table 6: Customer perception –mean value

Statements related to components of experiential marketing influencing customer purchase Intention	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Sensory experience influences customer purchase intention	1224	1.711	1.54
Affectionate experience influences customer purchase intention	1224	3.417	1.61
Creative cognitive experience influences customer purchase intention	1224	3.918	1.22
Physical experience influences customer purchase intention	1224	3.518	1.27
Social Identity experience influences customer purchase intention	1224	1.833	1.29

Table 7: T test for customer perception on influence of attributes of experiential marketing on customer purchase intention

	Test Value =3		
	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Sensory experience influences customer purchase intention	-13.271	1223	.000
Affectionate experience influences customer purchase intention	18.430	1223	.014
Creative cognitive experience influences customer purchase intention	11.407	1223	.000
Physical experience influences customer purchase intention	19.953	1223	.014
Social identity experience influences customer purchase intention	-13.112	1223	.000

In three cases the mean value is above 3 which indicates agreement of the respondents for these three attributes of experiential marketing in influencing customer purchase intention. While in two cases the mean value is below 3 which indicates disagreement of the respondents for these two attributes of experiential marketing in influencing customer purchase intention.

The opinions were finally tested for significance. To test the opinions for the significance, the following hypotheses were used.

H1. There is a significant positive influence of sensory experience on customer purchase intention
H2. There is a significant positive influence of affectionate experience on customer purchase intention
H3. There is a significant positive influence of creative cognitive experience on customer purchase intention
H4. There is a significant positive influence of physical experience on customer purchase intention
H5. There is a significant positive influence of social identity experience on customer purchase intention

In three out of five cases, the t value is found to be significant, hence the null hypothesis is rejected and alternate hypothesis is accepted, thus, H2, H3, H4 are accepted. It is proved that:

- There is a significant positive influence of affectionate experience on customer purchase intention
- There is a significant positive influence of creative cognitive experience on customer purchase intention
- There is a significant positive influence of physical experience on customer purchase intention

However in remaining two out of five cases, the t value is found to be insignificant, hence the null hypothesis is accepted, and the alternate hypothesis i.e. H1, H5 are rejected. It is proved that:

- There is no significant influence of sensory experience on customer purchase intention
- There is no significant influence of social identity experience on customer purchase intention

Conclusions and implications

Conclusion

In this study, the relationship between various components of experiential marketing and customer purchase intentions for the Indian apparel retail industry has been examined. The lack of research about the impact of various components of experiential marketing on purchase intention in the context of the Indian apparel retail Industry and the interest for the topic led the author to undertake this study and develop this research paper.

The author reviewed the research work done by various researchers in this area and compiled this in the form of review of literature. On the basis of the review of literature, the hypotheses were formulated. This was followed by primary data collection where customers were interviewed through structured questionnaires to capture their perceptions about experiential marketing and purchase intention. The five major independent variables as brought out through secondary research (Schmitt, 1999) were sensory, emotional, creative cognitive, physical act and social identity. The study has one dependent variable i.e. purchase intention.

The findings brought out that there is a positive significant relationship between emotional, creative cognitive, physical act experiences with purchase intention. But experiences created using sensory and social identity were found to have no impact on customer purchase intention.

Business implications

The research findings provide some advice for the industry players in drafting various managerial strategies to increase the purchase intention, by emphasizing the different components of customer experience, especially emotional, creative cognitive and physical experience. As brought out in the research findings; emotional experience increases customer purchase intention; the apparel marketers should emphasize experience created through emotions by building the product story, showing the product philosophy to touch the hearts of consumers. Also, by creating free and relaxed store atmospherics, the store can enhance the marketing feel which will ultimately lead to an increase in consumers' purchase intention. The objective of the marketers should be to build an emotional connection of the customer with the brand.

Marketers should also try to engage consumers in a creative manner during their promotions involving consumers in creative problem-solving tasks, and thus enabling them to think, and interact accordingly with the product or service.

The experience created should also emphasise the Physical experience which offers consumers alternative behaviour and lifestyle models in a potent mix of commercial logic and artistic/cultural expression.

An appropriate use of these three components would contribute to the creation of a favourable retail environment for the apparel retail industry, and subsequently trigger consumer purchase intention. The apparel retailers should also look at creating hybrid experiences in the store so that it stimulates customer emotions, and provides them with physical and creative cognitive experience. This hybrid experiential strategy will enhance customer purchase intention.

References

Andreani, F. (2007). *Experiential marketing : A Marketing Approach.* Vol 2 No 1, pp 1-8 Publisher Agency Diponegoro University.

Assael, H. 1998. *Consumer Behavior and Marketing Action.* Boston, M.A.

Bellman, S., Lohse, G. L., & Johnson, E. J. (1999). Predictors of online buying behavior. Communication of the ACM, 42(12), 32-38.

Blackwell, R. D., Miniard, P. W., & Engle, J. F. (2005). *Consumer behavior,* Cincinnati: South-Western College Publishing.

Boyer, K.K., Hult, G.T.M. (2005). Customer Behavioural Intention for online purchase: An examination of fulfillment method and customer experience level. *Journal of Operations Management.*

Cuellar, S. S., Eyler, R. C., & Fanti, R. (2015). Experiential Marketing and Long-Term Sales. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 32(5), 534-553.

Dodds, W.B., Monroe, K.B. and Grewal, D. (1991) 'Effects of Price, Brand, and Store Information on Buyers' Product Evaluations', *Journal of Marketing Research* 28(3): 307–1.

Gentile, C., Spiller, N., & Noci, G. (2007). 'How to sustain the customer experience: An overview of experience components that co-create value with the customer'. *European Management Journal*, 25(5), 395-410.

Grundey, D. (2008). 'Experiential Marketing vs Traditional Marketing: Creating Rational and Emotional Liaisons with Consumers'. *Romanian Economic Journal*, Department of International Business and Economics from the Academy of Economic Studies Bucharest, vol. 11(29), pages 133-151, (3).

Grębosz M. Wrońska, B. (2013) 'Sensory Impact on the Purchase of Textile Products'. *Fibres and Textiles in Eastern Europe.*

Gupta, S. and M. Vajic, (2000). 'The contextual and dialectical nature of experiences: Creating Memorable Experiences' in New Service Development: *Creating Memorable Experiences*, by Fitzsimmons, J.A. and Fitzsimmons, M.J., Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp: 33-51.

Holbrook, M.B. and E.C. Hirschman (1982), `The experiential aspects of consumption: Consumer fantasies, feelings, and fun'. *Journal of Consumer Research 9*, 132-140.

Hsieh, A.T. and Kai, C. (2008). The moderating effect of brand Image on public relations perception and customer loyalty. *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, 26(1): 26-42.

Hulten, B., Broweus, N. and Van Dijk, M. 2009. Sensory Marketing. Palgrave Macmillan.

Igbaria, M., Guimaraes, T., and Davis, G. (1995). Testing the determinants of microcomputer usage via a structural equation model. *Journal of Management Information Systems*, 11(2), 87–114.

Kotler, P. (2003). Marketing Insights from A to Z: *80 Concepts Every Manager Needs to Know.* John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Krishna, A. (2010). *Sensory marketing: Research on the sensuality of products.* New York: Routledge.

Lasalle, D., Britton, T.A. (2002), *Priceless: Turning Ordinary Products into Extraordinary Experiences.* Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

McCole, P. (2004). Refocusing marketing to reflect practice: The changing role of marketing for business. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, 22(5), 531-539.

Nasermoadeli, A., Ling, K., Maghnati, F (2013) Evaluating the Impacts of Customer Experience on Purchase Intention, *International Journal of Business and Management;* Vol. 8, No. 6; 2013.

Pandey, S. & Darji, P. (2011), 'Indian consumers and experiential marketing - the retail way', *Practices and Research in Marketing*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 27-32.

Pine, B. J. and Gilmore, J. (1999), *The Experience Economy: Work is Theatre and Every Business a Stage.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Qader, I. K. A. (2013). The evolution of experiential marketing: Effects of brand experience among the millennial generation. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 3(7), 331-340.

Schiffman, L.G., Hansen, H. and Kanuk, L. (2011) *Consumer Behavior: A European Outlook.* Financial Times Prentice Hall, New York.

Schmitt, B. H. (1999). *Experiential Marketing.* New York, NY: Free Press.

Simamora, B. (2004). *Consumer Behavior Research Guide.* Utama. Jakarta.

Smilansky, S. (2009). *Experiential marketing: A practical guide to interactive brand experiences*, UK Kogan Page Publishers.

Taranto, R. (1998). *Special events - A unique tool of marketing and promotion.* Business date, 6(1), 5-8.

Turney, P. D., & Littman, M. L. (2003). Measuring praise and criticism: Inference of semantic orientation from association. *ACM Transactions on Information Systems*, 21(4), 315-346.

Verhoef, P. C. (2009). Customer Experience Creation: Determinants, Dynamics and Management Strategies. *Journal of Retailing*, 85(1), 31-41.

Wood, E. H. (2009). Evaluating event marketing: Experience or outcome? *Journal of Promotion Management*, 15(1-2), 247-268.

Wu, M. Y., & Tseng, L. H. (2015). Customer satisfaction and loyalty in an online shop: an experiential marketing perspective. *International Journal of Business and Management*, 10(1), 104.

85 SPATIAL IDENTITY OF FASHION BRANDS: THE VISIBILITY NETWORK IN COMPLEX SHOPPING MALLS

Authors
Dr Joseph F. Wong
Hong Kong Design Institute
Kylie K. L. Tam
Architectural Services Department, Hong Kong SAR Government

Corresponding author
jfwong@vtc.edu.hk

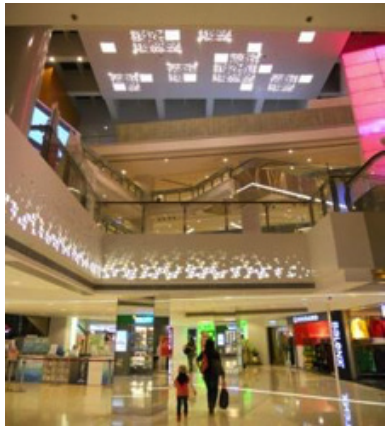
Keywords
shopping mall design
visibility network
fashion retail experience
fashion identity
spatial analysis

Figure 1: Shopping mall environments in Hong Kong

Abstract

In an increasingly digitised world, the growth of e-commerce and the resulting shift of sales from ‘bricks to clicks’ has inevitably transformed the identity of the physical fashion store. While fashion brands are evidently streamlining their store portfolios with fewer new luxury stores openings in the past year, they are actually investing more in larger stores in strategic locations in the most expensive cities such as London, New York, Tokyo and Hong Kong. Many of these new mega-stores are located in major large-scale urban shopping malls because the new generation of digitally savvy millennial consumers targets multiple-activity *socio-entertainment destinations* rather than *shopping-only destinations*. With higher per-shop investment, it is imperative for fashion brands to find the best position within a shopping mall to maximize value. This study looks beyond conventional shopping mall tenant distribution theories based primarily on physical separation / adjacency, and pioneers new methods to examine its spatial structure as a complex visual network that builds up consumer experience. Visual network analysis of a shopping mall can provide valuable insights for fashion brands to improve placement strategy and for management to distribute tenants to maximise the positive impact on sales generated through strategic clustering of different tenant types. Methods adopted from social network analysis are used to construct inter-visibility networks to understand the interrelationships among fashion shops in three high-end luxury malls in Hong Kong – Pacific Place, IFC and Elements.

The findings suggest a self-organizing spatial structure among fashion shops that evolves over time to maximize inter-visibility. There appears to be a tendency for the visual network of fashion shops in a mall to develop into a connected network through lease cycles to maximize mutual benefits as comparative goods stores.



Introduction

Large-scale shopping malls are important extensions of the urban fabric into interior spaces in both vertical and horizontal dimensions, creating a new form of public recreation and leisure spaces for people to enjoy over three major functions: social, entertaining and economic (Baines and Taylor, 2008). Shopping malls in Hong Kong provide places not only for people to consume but also to hang out and meet up, thus serving as a key social focal point for people and communities (Baines et al., 2003). Millions of locals and tourists alike in Hong Kong spend more and more time in large-scale shopping malls and generates a diverse range of consumption (Figure 1).

With ever escalating scale and complexity, the present shopping malls are a much more three-dimensional experience where visual linkages play an increasingly important role in defining shopping experience and shaping customer behaviour within a mall. Current models of tenant and rental strategies are formulated with metric distances from the 'centre' of the mall or from other visitor magnets, such as, anchor stores, food courts, access points, and so on. We argue that the visual field properties of a shopping mall, in particular with fashion shops as visual landmarks, play a critical role in determining visitor movement and behaviour. However, conventional theories and guidelines on tenant distribution in shopping malls are almost based entirely on physical separation and adjacency (Brown, 1991). Very limited attention has been given to the visual connections from one shop to another. Therefore, visual network analysis of a shopping mall can provide valuable insights for both sides – tenants and mall management – to improve tenant placement strategy and to generate better sales performance: tenants can make more informed decision on the most suitable location within a mall, and mall management can distribute tenants to optimize benefits through strategic clustering or dispersing of different types of tenants.

As a phenomenon that evolves over time, the visual network among tenants becomes more apparent or developed in older malls due to the latent learning curves on both the tenant and mall management sides. Redistribution of shops can only happen over a long time-frame with typical rent leases running over two years. The visual network and the key or important visual linkages can thus only gradually build themselves over successive rent cycles. As a result, the older malls should exhibit stronger visual connections among fashion shops, which benefits from clustering, as there is more time for shops to migrate to their optimal location in terms of inter-visibility. Creating fashion / luxury brand visual network can also serve to maximise 'positive spillover effect' (Yuo and Lizieri, 2013) to benefit the entire mall.

To learn more about the properties of the visual network constructed by fashion shops in shopping malls, this research examines three existing high-end shopping malls in Hong Kong – Pacific Place, IFC and Elements. This study also aims to identify key factors and characteristics of the visual network and its various stages to see the relationship between visual network and fashion shop location strategy.

The visual ecosystem of shops

With different actors interacting in a changing environment, the shopping mall retail environment resembles an ecosystem (Chung and Ng, 2010), in which the phenomenon of the survival of the fittest is played out constantly throughout the life span of the mall environment. It is not uncommon to see the same shops in a shopping mall being 'institutionalized' and occupy the same location year after year while others constantly move from location to location over different lease cycles. Economic forces create a dynamic spatial structure where a constant relocation of tenants is set in motion to maximize the return of the mall operator and tenants. The main driver behind constant tenant movement is the use of *percentage rent* in shopping malls, in which there are two components in the rent charged – a fixed monthly rent and a percentage of sales revenue during the month (Yuan and Krishna, 2008). Both mall tenants and management share the incentive to maximize overall benefits by optimizing the location and mix of tenants.

a. Shopping malls as an extension of urban space

Shopping malls have evolved from a destination for serving basic purchasing needs to *emergent urban spaces* that no longer just allow people to shop but are 'turning out to be one of the most important sites for the transformation of urban life' (Erkip, 2003: 1090). A key design consideration for shopping mall planners, designers and management, is to organize the multiplicity of space to give 'a sense of things to discover,' and to 'encourage people to wander and explore' (Poynor, 2005: 94). Shopping mall spaces possess strong 'city space qualities' that allow them to become an integral part of the urban fabric (Gehl, 2007). In fact, the earliest fully-enclosed shopping centres are designed to simulate vibrant urban spaces (Gruen and Smith, 1960). The urban experience to any of these cities is defined not only by tours to cultural landmarks but also visits to their main shopping malls, which 'recreated the complexity and vitality of urban experience without the noise, dirt and confusion' (Crawford, 2002: 24).

Different types of visitor behaviour necessitate different movement strategies, which in turn require corresponding architectural responses (Josal and Scalabrin, 1996).

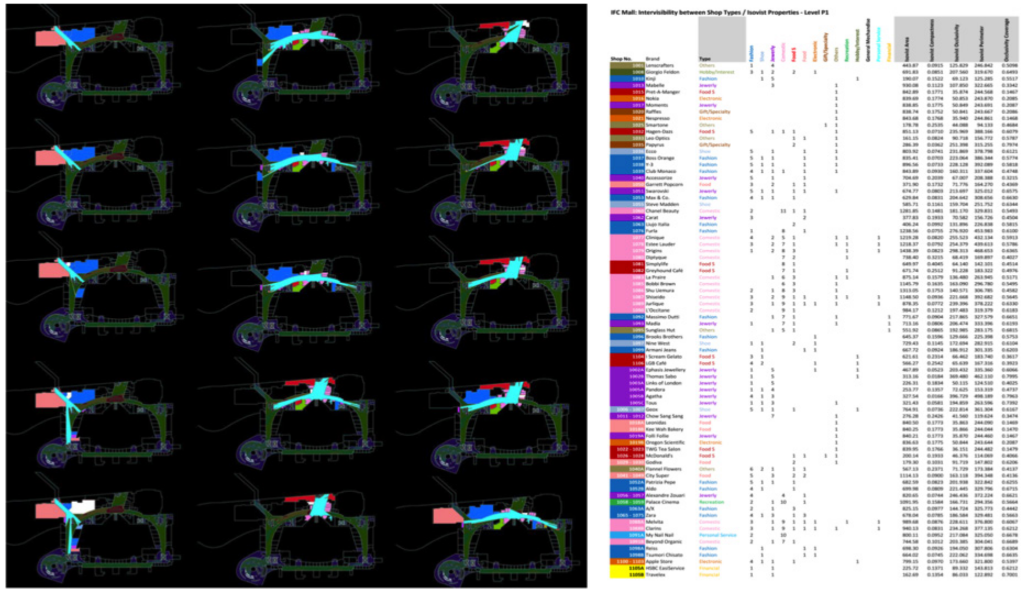
Shopping malls compete against one another to 'create a context for the consumption of luxury' (Farrell, 2003: 26). Looking beyond the façade of décor and finishes, the visual context to maintain the atmosphere of luxury can be just as important – customers of high-end luxury goods may not want to be seen around low-end discount stores. Fashion shops play a critical role in generating this atmosphere. Farrell (2003: 27) further point out that the major organisational principle of shopping centres malls has focused on fostering magnets, from large anchor stores to smaller 'mini magnets' composed of a handful of complementary stores through an 'aggregation of juxtaposition.' Therefore, visual clustering – the formation of a network of inter-visible shops – can contribute to optimising 'pedestrian' movement in shopping malls.

b. Movement in shopping malls: physical distance vs visual distance

Studies have shown that there is a qualitative change in customer behaviour in shopping malls that follows the principle of economy of movement resulting in a reduction in unplanned and disorganized circulation (Bitgood and Dukes, 2006; Spilkova and Hochel, 2008). These findings have strong implications on shopping mall design and its success as an urban space. For new shopping malls, the circulation layout should be designed to minimize the aggregate metric distances between shops so that visitors need to cover less distance to visit more shops while at the same time enjoy as much as possible the non-shopping features. For operating shopping centers, the scope for re-configuring the circulatory layout is very limited. However, although the actual physical separation between shops and features in an existing layout cannot be changed substantially, the perceived distance between them can be altered through manipulating the properties of the visual fields from the different programs and features.

Similar to pedestrians in a street system, shoppers determine their direction of movement by what they can see within a controlled environment (Hillier, 1996). Therefore, investigations of *program/feature visibility* – the probability of seeing a space from another space – and *program/feature inter-visibility* – the probability of seeing different program types and features from a particular type – are two of the critical factors in terms of the distribution of different types of programs within a shopping mall (Figure 2). Past studies have exclusively focused on the physical separation and disposition of spaces to analyse placement strategy but have largely ignored the visual relationships between them, for example, studies on clustering and dispersion approaches (Carter and Haloupek, 2002; Wee and Tong, 2005), shoppers' turning behaviour at intersections (Bitgood and Dukes, 2006; Spilkova and Hochel, 2008), group size and movement in malls (Jazwinski and Walcheski, 2011), arousal and pleasure at the mall (Wakefield and Baker, 1998), and so on, have exclusively based their studies on the physical distribution of shops.

Figure 2: Inter-visibility analysis of same and different shop types in shopping mall



c. Shopping motivational orientation

There are two fundamental shopping motivational orientations. The first one is the *task-oriented motivational orientation*, which means customers only obtain needed products and do not enjoy spending time on shopping activity. Utilitarian shoppers are commonly experiencing task-oriented motivational orientation. Another one is *recreational motivational orientation*, also known as a social oriented shopping orientation. This second type of customers enjoy the shopping activity and are willing to spend time on it. Hedonist shoppers commonly experience recreational motivational orientation (Kaltcheva & Weitz, 2006).

According to Baker et al. (1992: 449), 'Pleasure refers to the extent to which a person feels good in the environment, and arousal relates to the extent to which a person feels excited or stimulated. Approach behaviour includes a willingness or desire to move towards and explore the environment (e.g., propensity to buy).' Pleasantness is based on the degree to which the stimulus enables people to accomplish their goals. Stimuli that help to achieve the goal are experienced as pleasant, while stimuli that discourage the achievement of the goal are experienced as unpleasant. Kaltcheva and Weitz (2006: 109) further states, 'Pleasantness is defined as the hedonic valence that means pleasant or unpleasant of the affective response to a stimulus.'

Figure 3: Shopping motivation model (Baker et al, 1992)

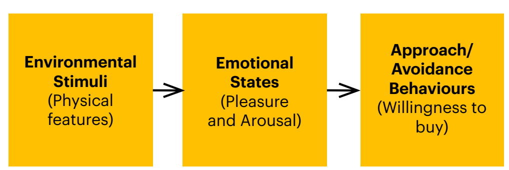


Figure. 3 illustrates the shopping motivation model incorporating motivation orientation, arousal and pleasantness. Upmarket Hong Kong shopping malls are dominated by recreational consumers due to the high number of high-end luxury brands. Therefore, creating arousal through the formation of a visual network of shops may succeed in reinforcing the environmental stimuli in addition to the physical features. Visual linkages of fashion / luxury shops can create visual stimuli that produce 'arousal' and increase the likelihood of patronage. Besides, the effect of the bid rent theory would move different types of shops gradually to their optimal position and the focus of this thesis is that these positions are linked to the visibility network among certain types of shops. One of the most important primary goals of the main street mall is to maximize visibility to shops (Southworth, 2005). Our hypothesis pushed this goal even further and looks into various means of maximizing visibility, to utilize careful consideration of the inter-visibility of the same type and different type shops to improve footfall and patronage.

d. Investigation on tenant mix and inter-visibility

A properly planned feature location and tenant strategy in a shopping mall can have a positive influence on all the shops within the mall (Eppli and Benjamin, 1994). As mentioned by Dawson (1983), the two major questions on location revolve around firstly, the number, nature and size of the features and outlets within the mall, and secondly, the placement of these elements relative to each other. According to Hall (1966), people obtain the majority of spatial information through their visual sense when perceiving a space. Thus, shopping malls can benefit from considering the visual properties of their program placement in addition to spatial ones, for example, inter-visibility with shops of similar types for certain shop types, and using features to facilitate visitor movement. While it is widely accepted that visibility is an important factor for mall designs as well as tenant distribution, there has been no research that investigates its actual effect(s).

This study focuses on the inter-visibility among programs of the same type – in particular fashion shops - to study the effects of *visual adjacency*, as opposed to *physical adjacency*, in major shopping malls in Hong Kong. In particular the following factors are examined:

- The relationship(s) between the physical network and visual network of the shopping malls.
- The characteristics of the network properties of fashion shops and luxury brand shops in the shopping malls.
- The self-organising structure driven by the dynamic network of inter-visibility among shops within the shopping malls.

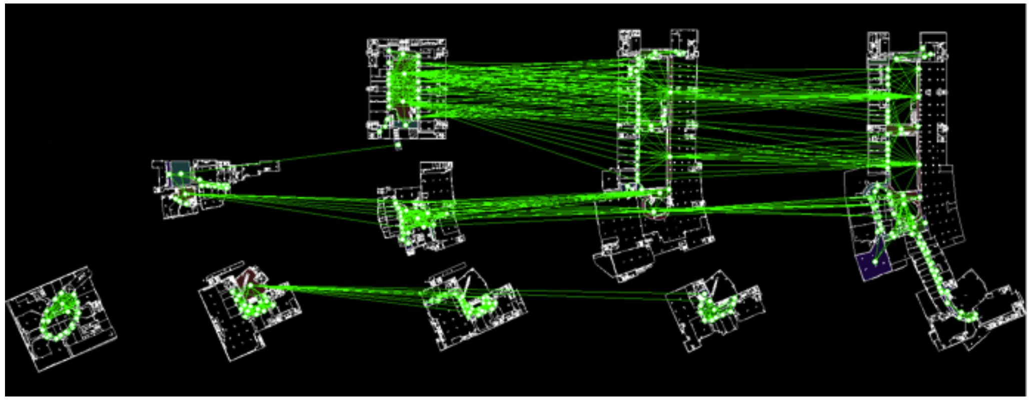
Methodology

a. Inter-visibility network analysis

In order to understand the complex web of visual inter-relationships among the many programs and features in a shopping mall, we adopted methods from social network analysis. Studies on social networks depict units as a set of *nodes* that are connected by *links*, which represents different types of relationships (Scott, 1992; Wellman, 2011). In a social network model of the museum, the nodes represent the spaces and features, and edges are used to depict the different types of relationship between any pair of spaces. The underpinning assumption in social network analysis is that the relational properties among network members are more important than the individual attributes of the members themselves. Thus, the involved methods focus more on the examination of the relational aspects of network structures. Marsden and Friedkin (1994:3) state that, 'The proximity of two actors in social networks is associated with the occurrence of interpersonal influence between the actors'.

Network analysis stems from the study of a group of actors engaged in a 'conversation,' directly or metaphorically, and one of the more important emphasis is on the emergence of sub-networks within the larger group (Mische and Pattison, 2000; Snow and Benford, 1988). We argue that the visual connections among shops are one of the key 'conversations' present among other relationships linking up the shops in a shopping mall. Applying network analysis to study the visual field established by the disposition of different program and features can therefore uncover key structural information and properties that can contribute to optimizing shopping mall layout design and movement strategy.

Figure 4: Visual connection between shops (inter-visibility) represented by green lines



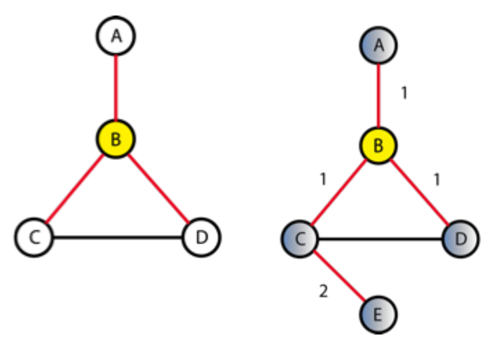
After verification of inter-visibility between different shops in the malls through on-site verification (Fig.4), 3D-modelling and comparing images, the open source software Gephi (Bastian et al. 2009) is used to conduct network analysis. If supported by the grant, on-site verification of the visual links will also be conducted to ensure the information used for the analyses is accurate. In particular, this part of the research will investigate the following important aspects of social networks in the emergent inter-visibility networks generated by the space syntax analytical methods:

- The extent to which visual linkages translates into 'flow of resources' (Wasserman and Faust, 1994), that is, the flow of customer traffic.
- The relative influence of spaces over one another in the inter-visibility network and its sub-structures (Reis Pinheiro, 2011).
- Identification of main typologies of program inter-visibility network models as 'lasting patterns of relations among actors' (Wasserman and Faust, 1994).

b. New measures of centrality in a network: degree and closeness

Centrality is widely considered to be one of the most significant attributes in social network analysis as it helps to identify the key actors – occupying the most 'central location' – in a network (Everett and Borgatti, 2005). There are three fundamental concepts of centrality: *degree*, *closeness* and *betweenness* (Brandes, 2001; Scott, 1992), but only *degree centrality* and *closeness centrality* will be studied in depth in this research. This study has adopted the definitions from Brandes (2001) (Figure. 5).

Figure 5: Network centralities – degree centrality and closeness centrality



Degree Centrality	*Closeness Centrality*
Immediately connected nodes – directly visible.	Total visible steps to all other nodes in network.
A = 1	A = 1+2+2+3 = 8
B = 3	**B = 1+1+1+2 = 5**
C = 2	**C = 1+1+1+2 = 5**
D = 2	D = 1+1+2+2 = 6

Degree Centrality (C_D) – Measures the number of nodes directly linked to node v by an edge.

$$C_D(v) = Deg(v) \quad \text{--------------------------} \quad (1)$$

Lower degree centrality represents lower inter-visibility. It can be used for indicating the local anchor in the network analysis.

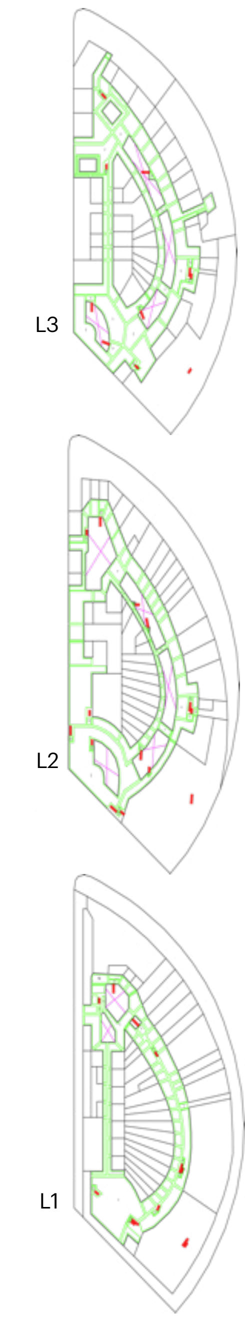
Closeness Centrality (C_C) – Measures the proximity of one node to all other nodes in a network, regardless of the dimension of the paths to the other nodes. A high closeness centrality means that the node is close to, i.e. a low average distance from, all other nodes in the network.

$$C_C(v) = \frac{1}{t \in V \setminus v\, d_G(v,t)} \quad \text{--------} \quad (2)$$

c. Luxury shopping malls in Hong Kong

Three very well-known high-end shopping malls in Hong Kong – *Pacific Place* (1988) in Admiralty, *International Finance Centre* (IFC) *Mall* (2005) in Central and *Elements* (2007) in Tsim Sha Tsui – of similar market position that house a wide-range of luxury fashion stores are selected for this study (Figure.5). The findings will be presented in a series of coloured network diagrams for each of the above measures for identification of patterns and trends. In the graphs, each node represents a space within the mall – a shop or a connecting circulatory space – and the vertices connecting the nodes represent visual linkages between two spaces.

Figure 6: Floor plans of selected shopping malls for this study



Pacific Place (1988)

IFC Mall (2005)

Elements (2007)

Findings: Centrality of fashion shops

a. Visual network properties of shopping malls

Pacific Place It is obvious from Figure 7 that the visual network of Pacific Place is more complex than its physical network. This shall be the case for all three malls. Table 4.1 lists out the anchor shops (top five in value) in the visual and physical networks of Pacific Place in terms of degree centrality and closeness centrality. The relatively more important anchor locations in the visual network are occupied by well-known high-end fashion retail shops such as Gucci and Louis Vuitton. In the physical network, however, such important spaces are occupied by department stores, such as Lane Crawford Home and Harvey Nichols.

Figure 7: Visual and physical network diagrams of Pacific Place

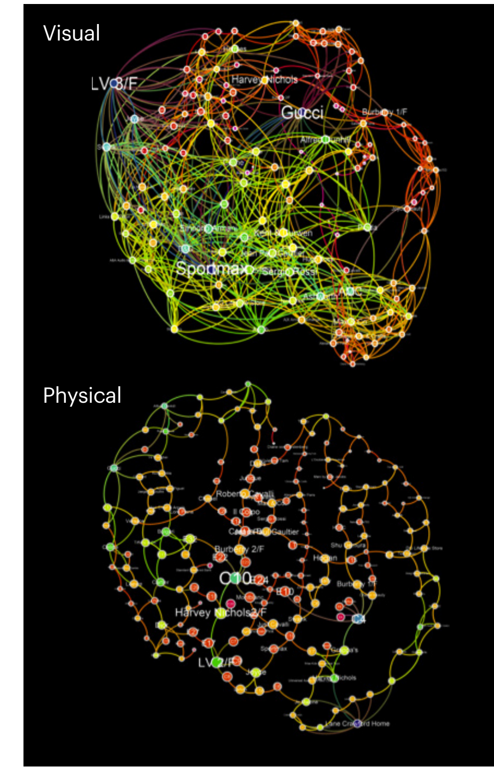


Table 1: Centrality comparison of visual and physical networks of Pacific Place

Visual Network

Top 5 Degree Centrality	Top 5 Closeness Centrality
1. Gucci 2. Sportmax 3. Louis Vuitton (3F) 4. Joyce 5. Swank	1. Sportmax 2. Emporio Armani 3. Bang & Olufsen 4. Kent & Curwen 5. Louis Vuitton (3F)

Physical Network

Top 5 Degree Centrality	Top 5 Closeness Centrality
1. Lane Crawford Home 2. Alfred Dunhill 3. Gucci 4. Harvey Nichols (1F) 5. D2R	1. Circulation Space 10 2. Harvey Nichols (1F) 3. Louis Vuitton (2F) 4. Escalator 24 5. Burberry (2F)

IFC Mall Table 2 illustrates that Lane Crawford and Zara are the only fashion shops occupying the important spaces in the visual network of the IFC Mall. The remaining important spaces are occupied by cosmetic stores and restaurants. In the physical network, important spaces are occupied by large stores, such as Lane Crawford and the Apple Store, as well as mid-priced fashion retails, such as 7 for all mankind and Atsuro Tayama. Anchors shops in the physical network and visual network of IFC Mall are not leased to high-end fashion retails despite IFC Mall's well-known image as a high-end mall in Hong Kong. This is evidence that tenant visibility may not have been taken into consideration when tenant placements are determined.

Figure 8: Visual and physical network diagrams of IFC Mall

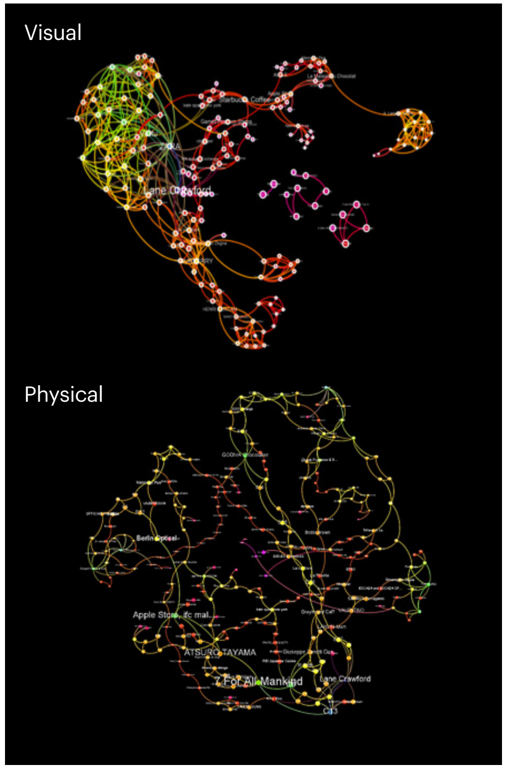


Table 2: Centrality comparison of visual and physical networks of IFC Mall

Visual Network

Top 5 Degree Centrality	Top 5 Closeness Centrality
1. Lane Crawford	1. Dymocks
2. Zara	2. Nespresso
3. Origins	3. TWG Tea
4. Dior Beauty	4. Lei Garden
5. Vertu	5. Santa Maria Novella

Physical Network

Top 5 Degree Centrality	Top 5 Closeness Centrality
1. Lane Crawford	1. 7 For All Mankind
2. Apple Store (1F)	2. Circulation Space 13
3. City Super	3. Circulation Space 6
4. Apple Store (2F)	4. Atsuro Tayama
5. Elegant Watch & Jewellery	5. Lane Crawford

Elements The important anchor shop locations in the visual network of Elements are occupied by fast-fashion shops, such as Zara and H&M, as well as mid-priced fashion shop BCBGMAXAZRIA (Table 3). In the physical network, on the other hand, some of the more important spaces are occupied by high-end fashion retail shops, such as Shanghai Tang, Bally, Mulberry, Chanel and Alfred Dunhill. Therefore, although the layout plan indicates that some high-end fashion shops are highly connected locally, the customers visual experience in this shopping mall is dominated by fast-fashion shops and mid-priced fashion retails.

Figure 9: Visual and physical network diagrams of Elements

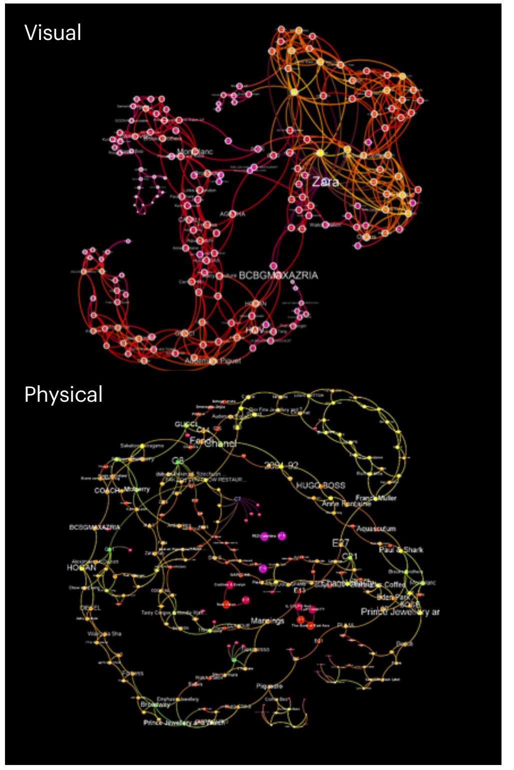


Table 3: Centrality comparison of visual and physical networks of Elements

Visual Network

Top 5 Degree Centrality	Top 5 Closeness Centrality
1. Zara	1. Zara
2. H&M	2. Fortress
3. Zara Men	3. Shiseido
4. CK Jeans	4. BCBGMAXMAZRIA
5. Dior Beauty	5. Hugo Boss

Physical Network

Top 5 Degree Centrality	Top 5 Closeness Centrality
1. Prince Jewellery and Watch	1. New Vision
2. Broadway	2. Bank of East Asia
3. Shanghai Tang	3. Circulation Space 1
4. Bally	4. Crabtree & Evelyn
5. Mulberry	5. Escalator 17

b. General comparison between visual and physical networks

According to Table 4.4, the comparison of the visual networks and physical networks shows that the three malls exhibit very similar characteristics. Firstly, the average degree centrality of the visual networks is always higher than that of the physical network. The visual connectivity of shops is much higher than physical connection of shops among the three malls. This is easily comprehensible as a space is always visually connected to more spaces than physically. Secondly, the average closeness centrality of the visual networks is also always higher than that of the physical networks. The average visual steps are always shorter than the average physical steps among the three shopping malls. A higher number of visual links than physical links draws the spaces closer together in the visual network.

The last column in Table 4 shows the multiplier effect of the visual network in terms of increasing connections. The V/P multiplier is significantly higher in Pacific Place for both degree centrality and closeness centrality than IFC and Elements. This illustrates that the architectural layout of malls plays a major role in shaping the visual experience of customers, and that the richness of the visual network depends strongly on the actual physical layout, which controls visibility. Furthermore, the multiplier effect moving from the physical network to the visual network does not follow a fixed pattern. In Pacific Place, the V/P multipliers for both degree and closeness centralities are within a reasonable range of each other. However, the V/P multiplier for closeness centrality is much higher than that for degree centrality in IFC, while the reverse is true in Elements (degree > closeness). This difference can be explained by the fact that degree centrality is a *local measure* whereas closeness centrality is a more *global measure*.

Table 4: Comparison of visual network and physical network characteristics

Mall	Centrality	Visual Network	Physical Network	V/P Multiplier
Pacific Place	Degree Closeness	10.057 3.008	2.794 9.668	3.600 3.214
IFC Mall	Degree Closeness	5.112 4.743	2.815 11.870	1.816 2.503
Elements	Degree Closeness	5.733 6.407	2.864 10.185	2.002 1.590

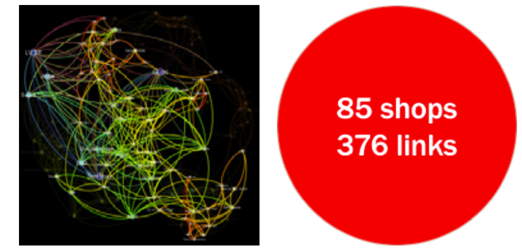
Table 5 lists the top five shops in the three malls in terms of degree and closeness centrality. By highlighting the fashion shops (red outline), it can be seen that fashion retails shops occupy almost all top five centrality positions in Pacific Place and most top five positions in Elements. IFC Mall is the exception with only the top two positions in degree centrality occupied by fashion shops and all top five positions in closeness centrality occupied by non-fashion shops. Most of the fashion shops with the highest centralities in Pacific Place are also luxury brands. Marketing and retail literature informs us that the comparison of goods, especially in fashion shops, requires good visibility inside a mall to attract customers. One would therefore expect the fashion and luxury shops to occupy locations with high visual centralities. However, this is not the case in IFC Mall, where non-fashion shops take up many of the top centrality positions. Furthermore, in spite of their high-end mall branding, middle market fast-fashion brand Zara took up top centrality locations in both IFC Mall and Elements.

Table 5: Top five centrality comparison of visual networks of the three malls

	Pacific Place	IFC Mall	Elements
Top 5 Degree Centrality			
1.	Gucci	Lane Crawford	Zara
2.	Sportmax	Zara	H&M
3.	Louis Vuitton (3F)	Origins	Zara Men
4.	Joyce	Dior Beauty	CK Jeans
5.	Swank	Vertu	Dior Beauty
Top 5 Closeness Centrality			
1.	Sportmax	Dymocks	Zara
2.	Emporio Armani	Nespresso	Fortress
3.	Bang & Olufsen	TWG Tea	Shiseido
4.	Kent & Curwen	Lei Garden	BCBGMAXMAZRIA
5.	Louis Vuitton (3F)	Santa Maria Novella	Hugo Boss

c. Comparison of fashion shops visual networks

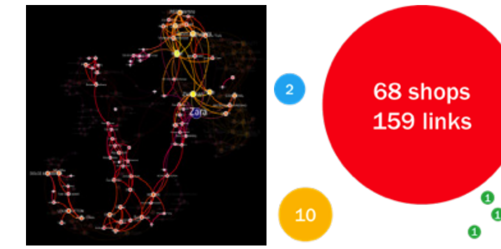
Figure 10: The fashion shops visual networks of Pacific Place



Pacific Place Fashion Shops Visual Network

Top 5 Degree Centrality	Top 5 Closeness Centrality
1. Sportmax	1. Sportmax
2. Louis Vuitton (3F)	2. Emporio Armani
3. Gucci	3. Hogan
4. Emporio Armani	4. Kent & Curwen
5. D&G	5. D&G

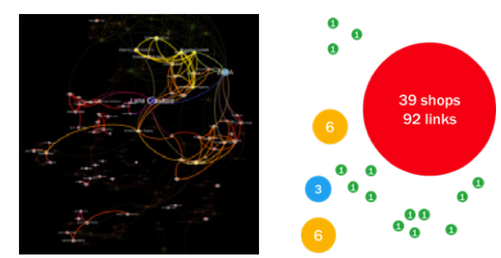
Figure 12: The fashion shops visual networks of Elements



Elements Mall Fashion Shops Visual Network

Top 5 Degree Centrality	Top 5 Closeness Centrality
1. Zara	1. Zara
2. H&M	2. BCBGMAXMAZRIA
3. Daks	3. Hugo Boss
4. Red Valentino	4. Hogan
5. Zara Men	5. Y-3

Figure 11: The fashion shops visual networks of IFC Mall



IFC Mall Fashion Shops Visual Network

Top 5 Degree Centrality	Top 5 Closeness Centrality
1. Lane Crawford	1. Geox
2. Zara	2. Lane Crawford
3. Brunello Cucinelli	3. Zara
4. Moncler	4. Fratelli Rossetti
5. Tory Burch	5. Etro

Figs. 10-12 show the fashion shops network of the three malls and the number of components and the number of nodes in each component diagrammatically. The visual network of Pacific Place has all its fashion shops integrated into a single 'giant component' forming a *connected network* and is thus the most integrated among the three malls. The visual network of IFC Mall is more segregated with a series of smaller clusters scattered around the network. Elements has a larger cluster with a number of smaller size components. Both IFC Mall and Elements have a visually *disconnected network* of fashion shops.

Table 6: Comparison of fashion shops visual network properties

	Pacific Place	IFC Mall	Elements
Fashion Shops Network			
No. of fashion shops	85	68	84
No. of connections	376	105	176
Visual connection per fashion shop	4.424	1.544	2.095
Giant Component in Fashion Shops Network			
No. of shops in giant component	85	39	66
% of shops in giant component	100%	57.35%	78.57%
No. of connections in giant component	376	92	159
% of connections in giant component	100%	87.62%	90.34%
Visual connection per fashion shop in giant component	4.424	2.359	2.409

The percentage of nodes and edges in the fashion network that are linked to the giant component further shows how inter-connected is the fashion network. Obviously, the higher the percentage of nodes that are linked to the giant component, the better it is for these comparison goods shops to have a positive impact on one another. Hence, we can compare the fashion shops visual network of the three malls by evaluating the following (Table 6):

a) *The number of shops (nodes) in the fashion shops visual network.* Pacific Place has the highest number of nodes in the fashion shops visual network with 85, closely followed by Elements with 84, and IFC Mall has the fewest at 68.
b) *The number of visual connections (edges) in the fashion shops visual network.* Although Pacific Place and Elements have almost the same number of shops, the number of visual connections among the fashion shops in Pacific Place (376) is more than doubled that of Elements (176).
c) *The number of shops (nodes) in the giant component.* All 85 fashion shops in Pacific Place are interconnected visually and are all linked into one giant component. Elements has the second highest number (66) and percentage (78.57%) of shops in the giant component, while IFC Mall has the fewest (39) and lowest percentage (57.35%).
d) *The number of visual connections (edges) in the giant component.* Since all the nodes are included in the giant component in Pacific Place, so naturally 100% of the edges are also in the giant component. More interestingly, the percentage of visual connections in the giant component for both IFC Mall (87.62% to 57.35%) and Elements (90.34% to 78.57%) are much higher than their percentage of shops in the giant component. This means that more visual connections per shop are linked inside the giant component than those outside, which points to the clear advantage of being connected to, and becoming part of, the giant component in the visual network.
e) *The average number of visual connections (edges) per shop (node) in the giant component.* Pacific Place has again the highest number at 4.424 visual connections per shop. IFC Mall and Elements have numbers that are fairly close at 2.359 and 2.409 respectively.

From the above analysis, the results support the hypothesis that the fashion shop visual network is more integrated in older shopping malls. Pacific Place, the oldest mall among the three subject malls, has consistently come out on top of all the evaluation criteria set above. On the other hand, IFC Mall and Elements, which are completed within two years of each other, have exhibited somewhat similar numbers and it is difficult to determine at this time which mall has the more developed fashion shops visual network.

Conclusion

Visual network of tenant distribution, in particular for fashion shops, is an important factor in shopping mall layout and design as it affects consumer shopping and wayfinding behaviours. A better thought out retail visual network in shopping malls can improve the sales performance of tenants and build up a better image. Hence, architects, tenants and mall management should consider visual network for enhancing tenant distribution to improve the overall performance of the shopping mall. In this research, network analysis tools are introduced to build up graphs of tenant inter-visibility networks in shopping malls to gain a better understanding of the visual field relationships among fashion shops that may benefit from clustering.

The visual networks of the three shopping malls are more complicated than their physical networks, and the linkages of the visual networks are also far more integrated. Pacific Place, the oldest mall by 17 years among the three, has much higher visual connectivity and integration among shops than both IFC Mall and Elements. Important anchor shop locations at Pacific Place – those with the highest network centralities – are occupied by luxury and fashion brands. This seems to result from the natural movement of shops selling comparison goods, such as fashion shops, to gradually strengthen their visual network over time. As both tenants and mall management would want to constantly improve one's location and tenant distribution respectively, as driven by the percentage rent system, a longer mall operating period leads to stronger development of this visual network. This is evident in the development of a single giant component in Pacific Place that links up every fashion shop in the mall. It is not hard to envision that once the two younger malls have operated for longer periods, more visual connections will be formed among fashion shops currently in separate clusters within their networks, and gradually they will become larger components with more and more inter-connected nodes.

In this research, it is clearly established that fashion shops play a critical role in shaping the visual experience of customers in a complex shopping mall. Furthermore, the newer high-end shopping malls have a relatively weaker visual integration among fashion shops while the older high-end mall has developed into a more comprehensive visual network over time. Although the self-organising nature can help build strong and comprehensive visual networks through time, over several tenant relocation cycles, it is more important to actively learn more about the characteristics of the tenant inter-visibility network and make use of this knowledge to further enhance shopping mall design by constructing stronger visual networks through better tenant distribution.

References

Baines, J. & Taylor, N. (2008), If we have a City Plan, why do we still allow retail developers to suit themselves - at a community's cost? Paper prepared for the International *Association for Impact Assessment Annual Meeting*, Perth, 3-9 May 2008.

Baines, J., Taylor, N., Morgan, B., Buckenham, B. & McClintock, W. (2003), Retail facilities in New Zealand – a comparative analysis of functional and social roles. *Host communities: Siting and effects of facilities, Working paper FS31.* Christchurch: Taylor Baines and Associates.

Baker, J., Levy, M. & Grewal, D. (1992), An experimental approach to making retail store environment decisions. *Journal of Retailing*, 68(4), 445-460.

Baker, J., Parasuraman, A., Grewal, D. & Voss, G. (2002), The Influence of Multiple Store Environment Cues on Perceived Merchandise Value and Store Patronage Intentions. *Journal of Marketing*, 66, 120-141.

Bastion, M., Heymann, S. & Jacomy, M. (2009), Gephi: An open source software for exploring and manipulating networks. *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Weblogs and Social Media.*

Bitgood, S. & Dukes, S. (2006), Not another step! Economy of movement and pedestrian choice point behavior in shopping malls. *Environment and Behavior*, 38, 394-405.

Brandes, U. (2001), A faster algorithm for betweenness centrality. *Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, 25, 163-177.

Brown, S. (1991), Tenant placement in planned shopping centres: Implications of an observation survey. *Journal of Property Research*, 8, 179-187.

Carter, C. & Haloupek, W. (2002), Dispersion of stores of the same type in shopping malls: Theory and preliminary evidence. *Journal of Property Research*, 19(4), 291-311.

Chung, Y. and Ng, H. (2010), Buyers-to-shoppers ratio of shopping malls: A probit study in Hong Kong. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 17, 349-354.

Crawford, M. (2002), Suburban life and public. Smiley, D. & Robbins, M. (Eds.) Space, sprawl and public space: *Redressing the mall.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 21-30.

Dawson, J. (1983), *Topics in applied geography: Shopping center development.* London: Longman Group Ltd.

Eppli, M. & Benjamin, J. (1994), The evolution of shopping center research: A review and analysis. *Journal of Real Estate Research*, 9, 5-32.

Erkip, F. (2003), The shopping mall as an emergent public space in Turkey. *Environment and Planning A: Environment and Planning*, 35, 1073-1093.

Everett, M. & Borgatti, S. (2005), Extending centrality. In Carrington, P, Scott J and Wasserman S (Eds.) *Models and methods in social network analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Farrell, J. (2003), *One nation under goods: Malls and the seductions of American shopping.* Washington: Smithsonian Books.

Gehl, J. (2007), Public spaces for a changing public life. Thompson, C. & Travlou, P. (Eds.) *Open space: People space.* Oxon: Taylor& Francis, 3-22.

Gruen, V. & Smith, L. (1960), Shopping towns USA: *The planning of shopping centers.* New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation.

Hall, E. (1966), *The hidden dimension.* New York: Anchor Books.

Hillier, B. (1996), *Space is the machine.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jazwinski, C. & Walcheski, C. (2011), At the mall with children: Group size and pedestrian economy of movement. *Environment and Behavior*, 43(3), 363-386.

Josal, L. & Scalabrin, J. (1996), Planning, designing, and renovating retail properties. White, J. & Gray K (Eds.) *Shopping centers and other retail properties: Investment, development, financing, and management.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 190-209.

Kaltcheva, V. & Weitz, B. (2006), When should a retailer create an exciting store environment? *Journal of Marketing*, 70, 107-118.

Marsden, P. & Friedkin, N. (1994), Network studies of social influence. In Wasserman, S. & Galakiewicz, J. (eds) *Advances in social network analysis: Research in the social and behavioural sciences.* Thousand Oaks: Sage, 3-25.

Mische, A. & Pattison, P. (2000), Composing a civic arena: Publics, projects, and social settings. *Poetics*, 27, 163-194.

Poynor, R. (2005), Inside the blue whale: A day at the Bluewater Mall. Saunders, W. (Ed.) *Commodification and spectacle in architecture.* Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 88-99.

Reis Pinheiro, C. (2011), *Social network analysis in telecommunications.* Hoboken: Wiley.

Scott, J. (1992), *Social network analysis.* London: Sage.

Snow, D. A. & Benford, R. D. (1988), Ideology, frame resonance, and movement participation. *International Social Movement Research*, 1, 197-217.

Southworth, M. (2005), Reinventing main street: From mall to townscape mall. *Journal of Urban Design*, 10(2), 151-170.

Spilkova, J. & Hochel, M. (2008), Toward the Economy of Pedestrian Movement in Czech and Slovak Shopping Malls. *Environment and Behavior* 41 443-455.

Wakefield, K. & Baker, J. (1998), Excitement at the mall: Determinants and effects of shopping response. *Journal of Retailing*, 74(4), 515-539.

Wasserman, S. & Faust, K. (1994), *Social network analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wee, L. & Tong, K. (2005), *The 4 Rs of Asian shopping centre management.* Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic.

Wellman, B. (2011), Social network analysis: An introduction. Scott, J. & Carrington, P. (Eds.) *The Sage handbook of social network analysis.* London: Sage, 11-25.

Yuan, H. & Krishna, A. (2008), Pricing of mall services in the presence of sales leakage. *Journal of Retailing*, 84(1), 95-117.

Yuo, S. & Lizieri, C. (2011) Tenant placement strategies within multi-level large-scale shopping centers. *Journal of Real Estate Research*, 35(1), 25-51.

87 THE BAG CHARGE: GOOD FOR THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT, DETRIMENTAL TO THE FASHION RETAIL ENVIRONMENT?

Authors
Carly Wraeg
Ruth Sanderson
Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

Corresponding author
C.L.Wraeg@mmu.ac.uk

Keywords
retail practice
consumer behaviour
packaging
marketing
promotion

Abstract

The use of plastic is growing in importance for societal, sustainable and environmental debate. Since the 5p plastic bag charge was introduced in England on 5th October 2015 single use plastic bags sales have fallen by 86 per cent. This has had an impact on the high street as consumers choose to use 'bags for life' rather than the branded carrier bag. Classed as secondary packaging, these bags have historically provided prime advertising space for fashion retailers and brands, serving to not only carry product, but also the retailer or brand message. With a high street that is in a state of flux and decline at numerous levels across the industry, this paper seeks to identify the possible impact on both retail practice and consumer behaviour.

In light of the challenging issues currently facing the fashion industry, the physical shopping experience has been gaining momentum in importance. In order to entice the online shopper back into store, retail theatre and service are key strategies to achieve this. The experience of observing the purchase being wrapped in branded paraphernalia, to then enjoy the unwrapping of the goods once home, has become an integral part of the consumer post-purchase evaluation.

The academic literature surrounding the impact of the loss of this 'free advertisement' opportunity is severely lacking. However, there is growing interest in the phenomena referred to as 'unboxing,' increasingly present on social media platforms. It is argued that such activities have seen secondary packaging, such as branded carrier bags become integral to status and peer influencing.

This exploratory study adopts a qualitative research approach, utilising semi-structured interviews with key retailers and consumer focus groups. The chosen methodological approach will provide great insight into this under investigated phenomenon.

Introduction

The carrier bag has sparked much discussion since the announcement that high street stores in England with over 250 employees nationwide, would charge 5p per bag from October 2015 (Sutherland, 2018). Implemented by the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, most discussion centred on the new ruling about supermarkets, where the majority of bags are used by consumers.

Like the smoking ban that was enforced in the UK in July 2007, society is having to adjust, apparently willingly, and going to the supermarket prepared with a variety of canvas bags or 'bags for life' is following the same pattern. This is highlighted by the fact that single use plastic bag sales have fallen by 86% (The Independent, 2018), therefore consumers are being conditioned to ensure they have reusable bags with them. Edwards and Meyhoff (2011) state that the key to reducing the environmental impact of whatever type of bag is used is to reuse it as many times as possible, and to find a beneficial use for the bag when no longer useable for shopping.

Whilst consumers were becoming conditioned to the fact that supermarkets charge for carrier bags, many did not realise that the implanted changes also included retail stores. As Boyce (2015) states, if a consumer enters a store without a carrier bag, a £29.99 item of clothing will now cost a less familiar £30.04 if they chose to have their item bagged. Research conducted in 2015 by information site money.co.uk, found that 36% of people said that they never took carrier bags with them when clothes shopping. Therefore, an encouraging 64% of shoppers use reusable bags for their fashion purchases. However, from initial findings, some respondents felt that the carrier bag is part of the purchase and a factor within the whole experience, especially at the higher end of the market.

The work of Prendergast et al., (2001) into consumer perception of shopping bags, was an exploratory study at the time due to there being no published studied regarding shopping bags. Nearly two decades later, research into shopping bags has been in relation to the issue of sustainability and the environmental impact, with research focussing on what fashion retailers are doing to cut down on packaging waste and pollution (Sutherland, 2018).

Plastic bags have become a prominent symbol of environmental degradation (Thean, 2018) and a reduction in the use of plastic carrier bags is arguably a strategic move environmentally. However, this exploratory research aims to explore the impact on retail practice and consumer behaviour, specifically the overall shopping experience, which is yet to be considered within the research community.

Retail Practice

By the very nature of the fashion market, it is subject to change. The highly competitive, volatile market place that is the UK fashion industry has undergone transformation in recent years, which has been the catalyst for new dynamic business practices; revised promotional tools; a consumer who is more knowledgeable than ever, with the underlying factor of the digital and technological revolution. Mintel (2018) states that the UK clothing market is going through a dramatic period of change and adopting sustainable retail practice is one of the main drivers of this change.

Prior to the 5p single carrier bag charge being enforced in 2015, arguably one of the more consumer-facing sustainable practices that some retailers had been adopting was promoting the use of ‘bags for life.’ The consistent message of ‘saving the environment’ has been the underlying proposition for this. However, as Yeow et al. (2013) observed, the uptake of bags for life still remained at low levels, with Hoskins (2008) reporting that every plastic carrier bag that has ever been produced is still on the planet, in landfill, hedgerows or floating in the sea. However, this was five years ago and the implementation of the charge, and the threat to wildlife that is now widely publicised, has encouraged a transition to not only new shopping habits, but also an increasingly deeper commitment to environmental and social concerns (Richards and Zen, 2016).

Sutherland (2018) observes that the ethical and sustainable practice surrounding packaging all started with plastic bags, but ‘fashion retailers have a part to play in this battle against plastic, particularly as the explosion in online orders means an increasing number of products are sent to customers wrapped in layers of plastic and paper.’ Mintel (2018) identifies that fashion consumers are shopping less frequently, and whilst at present the reasons why people have changed their habits are not known, online shopping data suggests that people are purchasing more frequently online than those that shop instore, thus reinforcing Sutherland’s observation.

Shopping bags as packaging

According to Kotler and Armstrong (2017), the term ‘shopping bag’ can be used interchangeably with the terms ‘packaging’ and ‘package,’ as the primary function of packaging is to contain and transport the product. Varley (2006) expands on this and alludes to the variety of functions that packaging performs, including protection of the product, aesthetic appeal to customers, a contributor to brand identity and a vehicle for promotional messages. All of which a shopping bag does.

Raheem et al., (2014) concur with Varley (2006), that packaging has become a sales promotional tool for organisations, and go on to further state that consumer buying behaviour can be stimulated by the packaging quality and becomes an ultimate selling proposition. For consumers immersing themselves into the physical shopping experience, watching the purchase being wrapped in branded packaging, including a carrier bag, is undeniably part of the opportunity to enrich and extend the experience. Arguably, this once seamless process is now interrupted by being asked if one would like to purchase a bag.

Branding

In an over saturated, homogenous market like the fashion industry, it is a key strategy for retailers to build a strong brand that resonates with consumers. The Business of Fashion (2017) acknowledges the need to build a brand that stands apart in a constantly changing landscape. According to de Chernatony et al. (2011), a brand is a cluster of functional and emotional values that enables organisations to make a promise about a unique and welcomed experience. Percy (2018) expands on this further and highlights that brands have specific meanings to consumers and these meanings derive, in part from experience.

Consumers want and expect a positive experience from the brands they chose to engage with and retail theatre has never been as important, in order to entice shoppers back into physical stores. It is noted that retail is not just about product anymore and a presence is needed; a sense of theatre (Drapers, 2011). Gill (2015) agrees that brand success can develop by exploring the possibility of creating immersive experiences, are therefore being embraced by retailers, to lure customers back into their stores, and as noted by Fashion United (2017), whether it is called social shopping, shopper entertainment or retail theatre, retailers are looking for more innovative ways to create an exciting instore experience.

Marketing communications

According to Keller (2010), marketing communications are the means by which firms attempt to inform, persuade, incite, and remind consumers about the brands they sell. With consumers purchasing less frequently (Mintel, 2018), it has never been as paramount that a fully integrated marketing campaign and strategy is devised by retailers to encourage consumers to spend with them. Percy (2018) suggests that packaging is a critical element in such strategies and campaigns, due to the powerful role packaging can play in building and reinforcing positive brand attitude and equity.

The branded carrier bag is one of the most cost effective advertising vehicles and is one of the only marketing elements that leaves the store. This prime example of outdoor advertising serves the function of a walking billboard and can be effective in reminding consumers of the brand, which is highlighted by Keller (2010) and Percy (2018). Silavoi and Speece (2007) consider this with regards to brand reflection and identify that the carrier bag serves the role of acting as a communication statement of where the consumer has chosen to shop from.

Consumers curate how they are perceived on a daily basis, and the branded carrier bag publically states the choice of branded purchase and directly communicates part of the consumer’s personality. Malik et al., (2013) acknowledge that people are so conscious about their position in society and they prefer to use branded products to show off their status symbol. The subliminal message of a carrier bag provides information of where peers are choosing to shop and can therefore be an influence on the decision to visit the store. ‘Herd mentality’ could be used to describe this effect, as human beings are instinctively influenced by their peers and often want to emulate their purchase decisions.

Differentiation in the fashion industry is key, so in a world where consumers are choosing to not purchase a branded carrier bag for either the cost or environmental reasons, it can be suggested that brand identity and visualisation is lost on the consumer leaving the shop. An array of canvas bags, bags for life and branded bags, where the branded contents do not necessarily match are frequently becoming the norm. In an already extremely volatile and competitive marketplace, the 'free advertising' provided by the carrier bag is something which can no longer be taken for granted by retailers, therefore other areas of the marketing communications mix need to recoup this potential deficient in influencing consumer behaviour on the high street.

Consumer behaviour

Consumer behavior is the study of the process involved when individuals or groups select, purchase, use or dispose of products, services, ideas or experiences to satisfy needs and desires (Solomon et al., 2016). In line with this, the driving force behind the decisions made by consumers is increasingly being influenced by their emotions rather than more practical reasons (Clarke et al., 2012).

Bray et al. (2011) states, with the ever-increasing pressure for the high street and consumers alike to take an ethical stance, this has ultimately become another consideration that is now influencing consumer conduct. Van der Wer et al., (2013) explore the concept of 'environmental self-identity,' defining it as the way you rate your behaviour from an environmental stance. Consumers whose actions are determined by this tend to purchase in a pro-environmental manner (Whitmarsh & O'Neill, 2010).

Consumers are influenced by their peers, and may purchase with the intention to 'impress.' This is a relevant strategy capitalised upon by brands (O'Cass and Frost, 2002). Furthermore, Swaim et al., (2014) explain that peer influence is also very important when emulating environmentally considerate behavior.

Consumer behaviour

Brakus et al. (2009) defines the individual encounter a consumer has with a brand as one driven by the sensation and feelings that are evoked by the interaction. For many, shopping is recreational, often referred to as 'retail therapy', a term loosely used by Kang and Johnson (2012) to define the activity of shopping with the aim to make a person feel better. This planned activity coincides with purchase intent, which consists of planned timing and circumstances by the consumer (Lu et al., 2014).

At many market levels, the activity of shopping can be perceived as a luxury, indulgent and an opportunity to spend hard earned money. The introduction of charging for carrier bags could be perceived as directly contradictory to such a positive past time, removing a previous included element of the experience. Hultén (2011) acknowledges that an element of brand experience is dependent on connection to one of the consumers five senses, including the appearance of the logo previously an integral part of the supplied carrier bag.

Consumer post purchase

Norman (2009) observes the point of unpacking and the 'first impression' as integral to the evaluation of the overall purchase, as consumers are prone to forgetting the events prior to that point. In support of this, Dazalola (2012) describes packaging as a crucial part of the 'post purchase' event, suggesting this is an emotionally critical point, prior to using the purchase for the first time.

The manner in which a store wraps a purchase also influences the consumer's intention to revisit and make further purchases. A recent study conducted by Dotcom Distribution (2016), identified that 61% of the surveyed people shopping in the luxury goods market, state that a repeat purchase was more likely if a brand had provided 'gift-like' packaging as part of the purchase. This is due to the VIP sensation such additional attention to detail creates.

The increasing importance of packaging on the post purchase event can be observed through the growing trend of 'unboxing' videos that are becoming a popular on social media. According

to Craig and Cunnigham (2017), this phenomenon first emerged in the early 2000s on websites such Unbox. it and unboxing.com. People are filmed unwrapping their purchase in a considered, careful manner, talking through details of how the purchase has been wrapped and the enjoyment gained from this activity demonstrating the importance of packaging in today's society.

Methodology

As previous research exploring the effect of the single use bag charge on retail practice and consumer behaviour does not exist, the research area aligns with an exploratory driven research focus. The purpose of which is to assess the phenomena in a new way, by discovering new insights and to pose questions (Robson and McCartan, 2015), in order to gain valuable insight into a topic of interest by asking open questions to gain a sense of what is happening. It is flexible and adaptable to change (Sanders et al., 2015), therefore making exploratory research ideal for an investigation into the retail and consumer impact of the single use carrier bag charge in the UK.

The research adopted a qualitative approach, as this type of research is undertaken when little or nothing is known about a phenomenon and when the researcher wants to uncover more about it, which is common practice when investigating individuals' experiences and views.

Two industry interviews were conducted to facilitate an understanding of the perceived effect on retail that the bag charge is having and to get a sense of the potential loss of brand identity on the high street. The semi-structured interview approach was adopted, as it provided a suitable fit with the approach adopted for this research and purposive sampling was elected, as the researchers purposefully chose respondents who are relevant to the project (Sarantakos, 2012).

A focus group was conducted with eight female respondents aged 29-38, all with careers in creative or retail industries. All participants had studied to at least degree level, and had an interest in shopping as an activity. One quarter of the group considered themselves 'environmentally conscious', and whilst although the remainder of the group did not feel they fully embodied this title, all stated they used or had actively used bags for life/canvas bags when purchasing.

Before conducting the face-to-face interviews and the focus group, the interview questions had to be formulated. Themes were selected from the literature review process, but as mentioned previously, there are gaps in the literature which the primary data collection served to fill. As Gill et al., (2008) propose, due to the flexibility aspect, unexpected and new data can arise, which was the case within this research, with key probes and cues in particular serving as effective tools in achieving this outcome.

The three most common forms of qualitative analysis, as highlighted by Robson and McCartan (2016) are grounded theory, quasi-statistical and thematic analysis. The latter was selected as it challenges subjects through interpretations and provides greater understanding of issues (Marks and Yardley, 2004; Namey et al., 2008).

Thematic analysis was originally introduced in the 1970's (Merton, 1975) for identifying and evaluating emerging patterns in qualitative data. Flexibility is the cornerstone of this approach (Braun and Clarke, 2013) with Taylor and Ussher (2001) stating that thematic analysis can be used across a wide range of theoretical contexts. Utilising this method provided great insight and aided the formulation of the research findings.

Findings and discussion

The industry respondents began by discussing their thoughts on the current UK fashion market, which was split between successes and struggles. Overridingly, it was noted that the pure play retailers are riding the wave of online success, whilst commenting on the struggles witnessed by other players, especially in the mid-market and department store arena. Talk of decline was firmly rooted in the high street with Respondent A commenting that,

> The overall store market is declining and we have seen that in the insight every year with the market data. Liquidations are announced frequently – it is really tough out there.' This sentiment was echoed by Respondent B who remarked that, 'you can see with liquidations being announced, it's tough, definitely tough out there. The market has totally changed over the last decade and we are in a whole other world of pain right now.

Competition and the pace of change have been unprecedented, with a continued polarisation of the market.

> It's very competitive at the moment, with two polarising sides to it – the very value driven and the very quality driven and I don't see that they cross over
>
> (Respondent A)

The current climate was described as favourable for the consumer, as retailers struggle to get their spend. Respondent B commented,

> From a marketing point of view, it is very challenging and I think we've gone through a revolution in terms of how we trade, as well as the digital/media revolution. As a customer, you've never actually had more choice as a customer. The UK is one of the best places to shop on the planet. We really have a decent high street, as well as access to the whole world.

Consumers shopping less frequently

It was a concern raised by many of the respondents that even if consumers are venturing into store, spending has decreased and they are not purchasing the same volumes as five years ago.

> We are seeing a drop in shoppers coming into store and those that do are spending less. People still haven't got the money to spend
>
> (Respondent B)

Respondent A slightly contradicted this reflection, but posed the same concerns regarding purchasing levels –

> When you do go on the high street, there are still lots of people there, but it's whether they are actually purchasing which is the question.

As previously mentioned, this observation has also been highlighted by Mintel (2018). Both respondents commented on the convenience and choice factor offered by online shopping that is drawing consumers away from the physical store.

It was reflected upon by both respondents that in light of current trading, bricks and mortar retailers are looking for ways to maintain and entice consumer interest, specifically away from pure play retailers.

> We have seen a lot of people who are having to heavily discount to try and get their customers away from online retailers
>
> (Respondent A)

The conversation then moved onto the vast challenges for the high street in terms of encouraging consumers back into store and to provide retail theatre and services, other than just clothing.

> We are exploring ways to give consumers added value that

> they physically cannot get online to make them return to the high street
>
> (Respondent B)

The consumer was discussed regarding the array of information outputs in the market; and that the consumer of today is well educated on fashion due to the wealth of information available literally at their fingertips.

> Due to the range of inputs you can get online now and in print, they've got this vast knowledge of information, so we're trying to really think about what can we give that's any different, so she knows so much already. She knows more than she's ever known. Our customers are as educated as we are, essentially.
>
> (Respondent A)

The constant feed of information available to consumers is making them ethically aware about how their fashion choices and consumption could be contributing to a much wider issue.

> There is somewhat of a division in our consumer base – those whom choose to shop in a more ethical manner and take advantage of initiatives we have regarding a more sustainable way of shopping, and those who just want the latest trends for less and do not necessarily consider the environment in their purchases.
>
> (Respondent A)

The implications of the single use carrier bag charge

With the discussion moving onto the issue of sustainable shopping and environmental practices, the respondents reflected upon the carrier bag charge. As mentioned previously, the 5p bag charge was implemented for companies with more than 250 workers nationwide. However, as reported by the BBC (2018) the fee will be doubled to 10p and could come into effect in January 2020. Interestingly, many high street retailers are already charging consumers this amount for a carrier bag. The monetary amounts from this revenue generator remains rather ambiguous surrounding fashion retailers, as there is currently only published supermarket data. However, the retailer the respondents represent still charge the fee of 5p.

> Due to the split in our consumer base, we did have some reservations regarding how our consumers would react to the charge. Most have accepted it and buy a bag if they have forgotten theirs, but mostly, they have their own bags to use
>
> (Respondent A)

Respondent B agreed with this comment and said that since the charge coming in, most consumers use their own bags. When asked if they felt this was for cost or environmental reasons, the respondents agreed that it was possibly down to the cost and that their consumer base are used to using canvas bags to carry their shopping.

As branded shopping bags are a highly visible means of marketing on the high street (Moore, 2012), both respondents raised their concerns that as fewer consumers are purchasing branded bags, the visual representation of the brand is not exiting the store.

> The carrier bag used to be taken for granted by both consumers and retailers alike. It was the norm to automatically put the product

> into a bag without having to ask the customer if they wanted to buy a bag. It has taken some getting used to.
>
> (Respondent B)

Respondent A agreed and stated,

> It is such a great loss of free advertising not having your carrier bag leave the store 100% of the time. I know myself from shopping that I do take note of what carrier bags fellow shoppers are holding. If I see many from one particular store, my interest peaks and make me wonder if there is a good sale going on or something.
>
> (Respondent A)

Both respondents concluded that the effect of more consumers using their own bags is being monitored, as a greater reliance on other marketing channels will be required in order to retain a branded presence on the high street.

None of the respondents within the focus group objected to the introduction of the 5p charge for the bag and as will be discussed, half of the group supported the idea that the charge should be increased.

Introduction of the bag charge

Focus group respondents understood the reasons behind the introduction of the bag charge from an environmental point of view. They remarked that the decision not to purchase a bag and use canvas or 'bags for life' options came due to a variety of reasons, with sustainability often influencing their actions in a very minimal manner. This disparity between being conscious of environmental issues, but not prioritising it in ones' behaviour is known as 'the Green Gap' (Nielsen, 2011). Respondent G continued this topic of conversation by explaining,

> I know the charge is there to encourage people to be more sustainable, which is great, but plastic bags have always been unpractical in my opinion anyway. I much prefer paper or canvas bags.' Respondent Z agreed, 'plastic bags are annoying once you get them home. At least you can put paper bags in the recycle bin. I don't understand why all shops don't use them.

This was an interesting point and the discussion of the difference between the quality of the brown paper bags used by the high street store Primark and those of brands such as Selfridges was highlighted. The group suggested this may be due to cost and market level and was a theme revisited later in the focus group. Respondent M added,

> The charge doesn't really bother me, but I don't know if it's effective as a deterrent.

This raised the debate of whether the charge should actually be increased to encourage people to reuse bags more. Respondent G continued with,

> The charge doesn't bother me, I think if it was raised then that would encourage even more people to bring their own. If you have to buy a bag you definitely try and fit more in them to reduce the number of bags you have to buy.

She explained this comment had little to do with the cost, but with the recurring theme of disliking 'owning' too many plastic bags. This opinion was the consensus of the focus group; there were no negative feelings towards being charged, but with being left with plastic bags that had little purpose afterwards. It is interesting to note, that when the purpose of 'bags for life' and the concept of reusing them was highlighted, the group still viewed these negatively saying they were normally 'forgotten' or 'ugly' and much more suited for grocery shopping rather than clothes shopping. Canvas bags, it was unanimously agreed, are a greater welcomed option.

Branding

Brands create and communicate their vision with the consumer (Moore, 2012), through an integrated marketing communications strategy, which the branded carrier bag is an integral part of. With this in mind, the respondents were asked to consider the impact of the disappearance of branded carrier bags from the high street.

> It has no impact on me what so ever, I'm never aware of them anyway. It's not the same as a branded piece of clothing is it?

Added respondent T. All the respondents concurred and respondent G continued:

> I don't think it's important, whether it's more practical is a bigger concern. The only time it matters is when I'm purchasing something from a 'posh' shop, something I've paid a lot for, then I want people to know where I've been shopping!

Such observations support the notion highlighted by Jobber (2016) that brand reflection is key and is the notion of how the consumer perceives themselves as a result of purchasing from that particular brand.

Appropriateness

During the focus group, it became increasingly apparent that appropriateness of what type of bag should be used was very dependent on purpose of the shopping occurrence. It was agreed that grocery and clothes shopping are very different and therefore, the customer has different expectations of a shopping experience.

> I expect to take bags to the supermarket but it's not always appropriate when purchasing an item of clothing.

noted respondent T, a comment agreed with by the majority. Respondent Z added,

> I am not concerned with what I put my food shopping in as long as it holds it, I just don't want to come home with a load of plastic bags, so that's when I try to remember my bags for life or canvas ones etc.

Respondent G made a comment which resonated with the group,

> When buying clothes or shoes, it feels wrong putting them in a bag for life.

The mundane activity of grocery shopping requires practicality from shopping bags, rather than acting as a statement of purchase which a branded carrier bag on the high street does. Respondent N supported this with identifying the previously endured unpractically of plastic carrier bags and the improved endurance canvas bags offer,

> I definitely prefer using my own bags to getting plastic supermarket bags etc. One for the plastic and plus, I hate having loads of horrible plastic bags everywhere. I've used canvas bags for supermarket shopping for ages, as split/heavy plastic bags on the bus/tube/ walking home is never nice.

Respondent M introduced another perspective on grocery carrier bags, highlighting the relevance on the brand of shop,

> I think it's a battle of the Jones' - in certain areas you see a lot of M&S, Booths, Waitrose bags. Bags for life can be a status item but as equally as can high end retail.

This comment introduced the theme of market level and the use of branded bags. The respondents in the focus group felt this was a crucial differentiation that affected their opinion on the bag used, moving on from the need for practicality into status and the subliminal message a branded carrier bag projected.

Status

The focus group was encouraged to think why the difference in the expectation of shopping at different market levels existed, and through this, the importance of packaging and bags was investigated further. Respondent T reflected,

> For me if I was buying clothing, shoes or something as a one-off purchase I feel like the bag is part of the purchase - mainly, something higher end possibly.

When a purchase is considered as a luxury rather than a necessity, then the status of the bag apparently rises. A necessity would be a utilitarian procurement, designed to satisfy a need (Wiedmann et al., (2009); in the context of this debate, food to satisfy hunger etc. Luxury, in contrast, is defined by Berry (1994) as 'objects of desire that provide pleasure.' Respondent G added,

> If I have saved to buy a 'treat' particularly from a high end branded shop I expect the packaging, it's not just about people seeing what you have bought but more about the experience for yourself, it's indulgent and that's how the purchase and how it is wrapped should feel.

Respondent N agreed,

> I love nice packaging and expect nice packaging in fancy shops, especially if I'm spending a bit of money on the item.

Such comments echo the importance of the correlation between purchase type, particularly market level and the expectation of how it will be packaged. The concept of branded packaging, including the bag being integral to the purchase came through as an increasingly strong theme. Respondent Z stated,

> Purchasing from stores who package their items in branded boxes, tissue makes it all feel like part of the purchase.

This was agreed by all respondents. Respondent M summarised,

> The notion of unwrapping an item you have bought whilst out shopping is part of the process; rather than your item just put the bag you've brought with you. So, for me it's definitely linked to the product being purchased.

From the focus group, it became very clear that sustainability was the least deciding factor behind choosing to use 'bags for life'. Although it was agreed that this was a welcome consideration on the high street, increased practicality and the aesthetics of options such as canvas bags played a much bigger part, as well as the dislike for having numerous carrier bags in the home. The willingness to use paper bags was clear, as these are already visible on the high street and often associated with high end purchasing.

The respondents made it very clear of the expectations they had regarding purchasing luxury, indulgent items and how they should be packaged. To coincide with the findings of Venter et al (2011), it was observed that branded bags and packaging become increasingly important in this scenario, as they are viewed as 'part of the purchase.' However, this is not a factor related to lower market purchases, where the branded message on the carrier bag is not of importance to the respondents.

Conclusion

Throughout this study, it has become increasingly apparent that existing research into this area is lacking, and the previous context has been focussed on the impact of branding and packaging regarding the purchasing of food produce. Although sustainability is becoming an increasing focus in the apparel retail environment, the implications of charging for a carrier bag have not all been successfully pre-empted.

Differentiation in the fashion industry is key, so in a world where consumers are choosing not to purchase a branded carrier bag for either cost or environmental reasons, it can be suggested that brand identity and visualisation is lost on the consumer leaving the shop. An array of canvas bags, bags for life and branded bags, where the branded contents do not necessarily match are frequently becoming the norm. In an already extremely volatile and competitive marketplace, the 'free advertising' provided by the carrier bag is something which can no longer be taken for granted by retailers, therefore other areas of the marketing communications mix need to recoup this potential deficient in influencing consumer behaviour on the high street.

Moving forward, research will be undertaken into why consumers see packaging as integral to purchase, and how high street stores will need to replicate the packing ritual experienced in luxury stores in order to maintain the interest of consumers in a physical store environment.

References

Business of Fashion (2017) Inside the Industry : How to Build a Brand in Fashion [Online] [Accessed 6th December 2018] https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/education/inside-the-industry-how-to-build-a-brand-in-fashion

Bray, J., Johns, N. & Kilburn, D. (2011) An exploratory study into the factors impeding ethical consumption, *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol.98(4), pp.597-6086

Boyce, L. (2015) Clothes shops will charge 5p for a carrier bag from Monday as high street stores, as well as supermarkets impose new rules [Online] [Accessed 5 December 2018] https://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-3243036/Thousands-corner-shops-charge-5p-carrier-bag-month-new-rules-apply-large-stores.html

BBC (2016) The 5p plastic bag charge: All you need to know [Online] [Accessed 2 August 2018] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-34346309

BBC (2018) Plastic bag fee 'to double to 10p' and include every shop [Online] [Accessed 28 December 2018) https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-46689684

Berry, C. J. (1994). *The idea of luxury: A conceptual and historical investigation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Clarke, D., Perry, P. & Denson, H., 2012, 'The sensory retail environment of small fashion boutiques', *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, Vol.16(4), pp.492–510

Craig, D., & Cunningham, S., (2017), 'Toy unboxing: living in a(n unregulated) material world,' *Media International Austrailia*, Vol. 163(1), pp.77-86

de Chernatony, L., McDonald, M. and Wallace, E. (2011) *Creating Powerful Brands*, 4th Ed. Elsevier

Dotcom Distribution (2016), Why packaging matters and how to make a difference, [Online] [Accessed 28 December 2018] https://medium.com/@contact_15268/why-packaging-matters-and-how-to-make-a-difference-8ae8207f0a25

Drapers (2011) Retail theatre [Online] [Accessed 6 December 2018] https://www.drapersonline.com/news/retail-theatre/5028908.article

Edwards, C., and Meyhoff Fry (2011) 'Life cycle assessment of supermarket carrier bags' *Environment Agency* [Online] [Accessed 5 December 2018] http://www.environmentagency.gov.uk

Fashion United (2017) Department stores embrace retail theatre to boost sales [Online] [Accessed 6 December 2018] https://fashionunited.uk/news/retail/department-stores-embrace-retail-theatre-to-boost-sales/2017122727402

Gill, K. (2015) Why retail theatre is the right fit for certain brands [Online] [Accessed 6 December 2018] https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/blog-why-retail-theatre-right-fit-certain-brands/%7Bsubjects%7D/article/1377511

Hoskins, R. (2008) *Ban the plastic bag : A Community Action Plan for A Carrier Bag Free World*, Alistair Sawday Publishing

Hultén, B., 2011, 'Sensory marketing: The multi -sensory brand-experience concept', *European Business Review*, Vol. 23(3), pp.256–273.

Ilich, K.L. & Hardey, M. (2018) 'It's all about the packaging': investigation of the motivations, intentions and marketing implications of sharing photographs of secondary packaging on Instagram,' *Information, Communication & Society*, DOI:10.1080/1369118X.2018.1478983

Jobber, D. & Ellis-Chadwick, F. (2016) *Principles and Practice of Marketing*, 8th Ed. McGraw Hill Education

Keller, K. (2010) Mastering the Marketing Communications Mix: Micro and Macro Perspectives on Integrated Marketing Communication Programs, *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol.17:7-8, pp. 819-847, DOI: 10.1362/026725701323366836

Kotler, P. & Armstrong, G. (2017) *Principles of Marketing*, Global Edition, Pearson

Lu, L., Chang, W. & Chang, H., 2014, 'Consumer attitudes toward blogger's sponsored recommendations and purchase intention: The effect of sponsorship type, product type, and brand awareness', *Computers in Human Behaviour*, Vol. 34, pp.258–266

Malik, M.E., Ghafoor, M.M., Iqbal, H.K., Ali, Q., Hunbal, H., Noman, M., and Ahmad, B. (2013) 'Impact of Brand Image and Advertisement on Consumer Buying Behaviour,' *World Applied Sciences Journal*, Vol. 1, pp.117-122

Marks, D. & Yardley, L. (2004) *'Research methods for clinical and health psychology.'* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications

Moore, G. (2012) *Fashion Promotion. Building a brand through marketing and communication.* ava publishing

Namey, E., Guest, G., Thairu, L. & Johnson, L. (2008) *Data reduction techniques for large qualitative data sets. In: Handbook for team-based qualitative research.* Altamira: Rowman

O'Cass, A., & Frost, H. (2002) 'Status brands: Examining the effects of non-product brand associations on status and conspicuous consumption,' *Journal of Product & Brand Management*

Pathak, A. (2014) 'The cognitive power of product packaging,' *Journal of Business and Management* Vol. 16, Issue 7. Ver. II PP 61-64 http://www.iosrjournals.org www.iosrjournals.org 61

Percy, L. *Strategic Integrated Marketing Communications*, 3rd Ed. Routledge

Richards, C. & Zen, I.S. (2016) 'From surface to deep corporate social responsibility : The Malaysian no plastic bags campaign as both social and organizational learning.' Journal of Global Responsibility, Vol. 7, Issue:2, pp.275-287 http://doi.org/10.1108/JGR-04-2016-0010

Robson, C. and McCartan, K. (2015) *Real World Research.* 4th ed., Wiley

Sarantakos, S. (2012) *Social Research.* 4th ed., New York : Palgrave Macmillan

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2015) *Research methods for business students.* 7th ed., GB: Pearson Education.

Silayoi, P. & Speece, M. (2004) 'Packaging and purchase decisions: an exploratory study on the impact of involvement level and time pressure,' *British Food Journal*, Vol. 106, pp. 607–628.

Solomon, M.R., Bamossy, G.J., Skegaard, A., and Hogg, M.L. (2016) *Consumer Behaviour : A European Perspective.* 6th ed., Pearson

Swaim, J., Maloni, M., Napshin, S., & Henley, A. (2014) 'Influences on student intention and behaviour toward environmental sustainability,' *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 7, pp. 230-249

Thean, T. (2018) Public Managers and Plastic Bags: Designing and Implementing Effective Policies to Reduce Plastic Bag Use, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, [Online] [Accessed 5 December 2018] https://lkyspp.nus.edu.sg/docs/default-source/case-studies/public-managers-and-plastic-bags-designing-and-implementing-effective-policies-to-reduce-plastic-bag-use.pdf?sfvrsn=482a6a0a_0

The Independent (2018) *Single-use plastic bag sales fall 86% since introduction of 5p charge* [Online] [Accessed 2 August 2018] https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/plastic-bag-charge-pay-single-use-environment-recycling-a8467061.html

Van der Wer , E., Steg, L., & Keizer, K. (2013) 'The value of environmental self-identity: The relationship between biospheric values, environmental self-identity and environmental preferences, intentions and behaviour.' *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 2, pp.185-206

Venter, K., Van der Merwe D., de Beer, H., Kempen, E. & Bosman, M. (2011) 'Consumers' perceptions of packaging: an exploratory investigation in Potchetstroom, South Africa. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, Vol.35, pp. 273–281.

Wiedmann, K.P., Hennings, N. and Siebels, A. (2009), 'Value-Based Segmentation of Luxury Consumption Behaviour,' *Psychology & Marketing*, Vol.26(7), pp.625-651

Yeow, P., Dean, A., and Tucker, D. (2013) 'Bags for Life : The Embedding of Ethical Consumerism,' *Journal of Business Ethics* [Online] [Accessed 5 December 2018] https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10551-013-1900-2

THE DESIGN PROCESS

Several authors focused on innovative and alternative ways of approaching and analysing the design process within fashion and clothing, ranging from the esoteric – a proposal for a design approach considering 'shadowear', and a paper examining the pursuit of nothingness; to designing protective clothing for the petrochemical industry, to the impact of digital and electronic technologies on fashion.

No 3 Kundlata Mishra, Ela Dedhia
A rising community of workers wearing protective clothing

No 15 Ou Na
Reflection on the identity of Chinese fashion designers and their stardom and vulnerability

No 35 Sayaka Kamakura
The pursuit of nothingness in Japanese aesthetics: application to fashion design

No 71 Abu Sadat Muhammad Sayem
Virtual fashion ID: A reality check

No 76 Caroline McMillan
The aesthetics of data for IoT wearables

No 78 Kenneth Wilkinson
Asian cultural appropriation: a search for evidence

No 119 Lily Lei Ye
Not just 'the look': identity, new materialism and affective clothing

No 163 Dinu Bodiciu
Shadowear: a new way of re-(a)dressing the body

No 168 Karen Cross
Comfort in clothing: fashion actors and victims

No 176 Amy Chen, Jeanne Tan, Xiaoming Tao, Philip Henry
Style before technology: rethinking the design process for E-textiles garments

3 A RISING COMMUNITY OF WORKERS WEARING PROTECTIVE CLOTHING

Authors
Kundlata Mishra
National Institute of Fashion Technology, India
Ela Dedhia
University of Mumbai, India

Corresponding author
kundlata.mishra@nift.ac.in

Keywords
protective clothing
safety
functional
perception
design
promotion

Abstract

When one meets a stranger, the identity analysis of the stranger commences. First by the visual appearance/communication through the clothes they wear, and subsequently by asking what do they do? Thus, making fashion and their work as major contributors towards perceiving their identities. Clothing is a mediator between the naked body and a self-symbol to the world.

If one meets a group of people, who have qualified for doing a particular job, wearing particular clothing that ensures their safety and tackles danger for the wearer, it creates a sense of belonging and identity. Thus defining them as a community - a group of people having these characteristics in common. The challenge that this identity brings can have a positive as well as a negative impact. The idealist will look at this identity as a boon, with a sense of pride to celebrate what they do and where they belong. It creates a sense of self-assurance towards safety. On the other hand, such identity creation could also lead to a sense of loss at the position in the work place.

The authors conducted an in-depth qualitative analysis of workers from the petrochemical industries (n=200) of Northern and Western India to understand their acceptance, behaviour and reaction to protective clothing (PC), using a questionnaire based on the Likert scale; and open-ended questions to understand their acceptance, behaviour and reaction to protective clothing (PC). They discuss how not just the wearer but also the audience perceives them in their workwear. The statistical findings from the study indicate that the workers were well aware of the importance of PC in petrochemical industries. It was observed that previously different tasks were assigned different uniforms, but at present irrespective of the hierarchy, each worker is wearing the same PC. The research shows how this creates a rising collective identity from an individual identity, founded on role-based identity.

Introduction

Clothing contributes to how people define and perceive themselves and is a necessary part of everyday life. Clothing promotes a feeling of wellbeing and has the potential for a multidisciplinary functional approach. To be acceptable and comfortable, products must look stylish and attractive and function reliably in relation to technical and aesthetic concerns of the wearer. Good aesthetic and technical design, driven by meaningful end-user research, can help exploit niche markets where form and function work in harmony in the research and development of comfortable and attractive products that can assist us in many aspects of our daily lives (McCann, 2005). When one sees a person wearing camouflage print uniform, a direct relation with armed forces is made. Similarly, seeing a person dressed in a white coat and carrying a stethoscope is a uniform universally accepted for doctors. These visual appearances based on uniforms create a sense of fashion semiotics and help build a community.

The origin of clothing started with the need for protection and modesty. The need for clothing to function for protection has given rise to the protective clothing segment. Protective clothing (PC) is part of Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), which is designed with the sole intention of protecting the wearer from injury or infection. PC includes all clothing and equipment worn over or in place of normal work clothing for the purpose of protecting the workers from harmful chemicals, heat exposure, toxic gases etc.

This paper looks at PC for petrochemical industries. A petroleum refinery's main job is to split crude oil into its many parts (or fractions), which are then reprocessed into useful products. The type, number, and size of process units required at a particular refinery depends on a variety of factors including the type of crude oil and the products required. The interconnected units making up a refinery are a maze of tanks, furnaces, distillation towers (fractionating columns), reactors, heat exchangers, pumps, pipes, fittings, and valves.

Products of crude oil refineries include fuels such as gasoline, diesel fuel, heating oil, kerosene, jet fuel, bunker fuel oil, and liquefied petroleum gas; petroleum solvents including benzene, toluene, xylene, hexane, and heptane, which are used in paint thinners, dry-cleaning solvents, degreasers, and pesticide solvents; lubricating oils produced for a variety of purposes, and insulating, hydraulic, and medicinal oils; petroleum wax; greases, which are primarily a mixture of various fillers; asphalt. These products can be hazardous not only in their final state but as they are being processed and refined.

Designing Protective Clothing

Protective clothing may not do much to reduce the harmful effect of chemicals but it does set up a barrier against chemicals thus enhancing the safety of the people working under hazardous conditions. When selecting or designing protective clothing many factors have been found to influence its effectiveness. Each potential hazard has different problem areas and requires specific solutions in the form of appropriate PC.

Protective clothing should be similar in design or style to the regularly worn work clothing. Thus problems associated with chemical penetration, garment comfort, aesthetic styling and sizing should be solved at this stage. The key requirements of design development for PC involve functionality and comfort. The study is based on interviewing workers in petrochemical based industries, and for PC to be acceptable it needs to have a multidisciplinary approach to strike a balance between providing safety and protection, functionality, human comfort and psychosocial aspect. Along with these factors PC should be economical so that small-scale and medium-scale industries can afford them.

The design concept for functional protective clothing, where the design criteria for functional protective clothing must be unequivocally specified, for example protection from chemicals, is achieved by blocking their penetration and permeation through the fabric of the clothing. This is an effective method for providing sufficient protection; however, total blockage of the penetration and permeation also affects the transport of any heat and moisture generated by the wearer of the protective clothing, and results in possible heat stress. It witnesses the complexity of designing protective clothing and asks for even higher requirements when designing this type of protective clothing, both from the point of view of protection and comfort, and from that of functionality. Thus, the current status of PC clearly shows a need for developing PC that is functional, comfortable and also has aesthetics. The same was reflected in the interviews with the workers, which will be discussed later in the paper.

Taking the cue from Lurie's 'The Language of Clothes', clothing is a part of communication, where clothing stands as a metaphor to disguise one's identity (Lurie, 1981). Blending the designing of PC with identity generation leads to a sense of team building with uniformity. Similar to Lurie, Rouse in 'Understanding Fashion', further adds communication as important function of clothing. This was based on Malinowsski's (a functionalist anthropologist) research stating that shelter and protection are part of cultural responses to basic physical needs (Rouse, 1989).

Based on the statistics gathered, it has been proven that the there is no guarantee that personal safety equipment would be able to prevent the accidents that would result in injuries from happening, but would be able reduce the possibilities for it to happen (R.Hrynyk, 2015). According to Rosli Ahmad, precise safety applications could help in lowering accidents at various petrochemical industries, and also to reduce production prices, grow productiveness and profitability, as well as, more importantly save people's lives.

According to PR Newswire (New York) January, 2014 the Protective Clothing Market is expected to grow at a CAGR of 6.0% over the next five years to reach $8 billion by 2018. Asia-Pacific, with its flourishing economy and rapidly expanding industrial sectors, is an emerging market and will experience the second-highest growth in demand during 2013 to 2018, after North America. This global market is analysed in terms of revenue ($million) application-wise, on the basis of fabric type, end-user industry-wise, and user type-wise for all major regions, namely, North America, Europe, Asia-Pacific, Middle East and Africa, and Latin America. Major countries in respective regions further break down the revenue figures. Aramid & blends, polyolefin & blends, polyamide polyethylene, cotton fibers, laminated polyesters, and others (various rubber types, leather) are the major materials used for the production

of protective clothing. The major users of this clothing are consumers for personal use, and industrial users in risky and hazardous working conditions.

There is a distinct lack of safety culture in various medium and small-scale industries in India, in spite of there being so many petrochemical and chemical industries the concept of protective clothing is still in its infancy. The solution to this problem lies in educating the workers about the safe handling of chemicals. In the majority of the units/industries workers are wearing work clothes, but they provide hardly any protection against harmful chemicals, and often the protective suit available is uncomfortable. Workers are provided with accessories such as goggles, gum boots, masks, helmets and gloves; but many workers do not use them because of the discomfort in wearing them in hot and humid climates (Suri, 2002).

Notion of building a global community

A Global Community means people of varied origins from national and international regions who together form a community within and outside of a designated physical space, while catering to diverse norms and values, which communicate their perspectives and visions about their beliefs and world. It is a notion of belongingness created by individuals and groups to integrate cultural norms and values that are acceptable into their everyday lives in meaningful ways. Implementation of the goal of building global communities within an identified context corporate organization, educational institution, as well as corporate and community services, for example, encourages a favorable partnership in which social responsibility and accountability for actions are situated within the framework of the broader participating community that engages in that intercultural communications in any way whatsoever. As mentioned by Patel, F. et al. in 'Intercultural Communication: building a global community', it is believed that building global communities is an attainable and honorable goal; one that requires a deep respect, love and compassion for humanity, commitment to social responsibility and upholding of social justice, and the belief that together it can overcome adversity. Individuals have different roles or have been assigned different tasks but they all have social responsibility roles. Their social responsibility roles create an imperative for them to make a concerted effort to contribute to global community building.

Uniforms, as the word suggests, are clothes that unify and are constructed to the same repetitive format. Most people have experience of school uniforms, others of specific working clothes such as surgeons who wear special gowns when in the operating theatre, nurses who attend to them, or guards' uniforms on public transport and in museums and art galleries. What one wears influences how fellow human beings see each other. People talk of 'dressing for the occasion' and work clothes often differ from those that one wears for relaxation (sometimes called 'home clothes') or other non-work occasions. Workwear is a visible part of the corporate image. Work uniforms that are presentable and appropriate are an essential factor with regards to occupational safety and comfort at work. There are different kinds of uniforms throughout the world that give people a distinctive ordered identity. Uniforms are generally functional but can also be aesthetically comfortable. These uniforms generate an idea as the wearers participate in specific activities, which help develop a sense of belonging, in turn generating an identity that is beyond the person. This belongingness can take over other pieces of a person's identity and create a larger brand image, hence creating a community of workers wearing PC.

Objectives of the Study

- To identify the petrochemical Industries in Northern and Western regions of India and understand acceptance, behavior and reaction to protective clothing.
- To explore experiences of the compliance of PC and its effects on building confidence in a worker, and whether they see themselves as part of a global movement
- To conduct a survey to analyse whether protective clothing brings a sense of belonging, and building a community that promotes wellbeing and safety in the industry.
- To signify that this rising community spreads positive notes of wellbeing to future generations, promoting personal safety practices at places of work.

Research and design methodology
Petrochemical Industries were identified through snowball sampling, personal contacts and the internet, firstly to understand the acceptance, behaviour and reaction to protective clothing as a uniform and it's scope of identity generation. Secondary data was collected from various libraries.

Sample selection
In order to gain an insight into the organisation and function of the petrochemical industry, people from different groups involved with protective clothing were selected by purposive sampling techniques. The total sample size comprised of 10 industries from Northern and Western India. A sample size of 200 respondents was interviewed based on convenient sampling method.

Tools and techniques of data collection
Interview Schedule designed for Workers (Appendix 1)
Observation - General status at the petrochemical industries, clothing needs.

Likert scale and open-ended questionnaires were used to gather information with respect to PC and the scope of identity generation. The following research questions were addressed in this study and evaluated using a 5 point Likert scale:

- How do employees perceive wearing Protective Clothing in petrochemical Industries?
- What are the main factors describing Protective Clothing or Personal Protective equipment?
- How can the workers be motivated to use Protective Clothing?
- What role do comfort and fashion play in the selection of Protective Clothing?
- How can we increase the acceptability of Protective clothing among the workers?
- Do the wearing and features of Protective wear influence overall job satisfaction?

The questionnaire is based on a Likert scale, and a few were open-ended questions. Likert scale questionnaires require each respondent to rate the statement on a 5-point scale. Scale 1 = strongly disagree, scale 2 = disagree, scale 3 = neutral, scale 4 = agree, and scale 5 = strongly agree.

The questionnaire developed was attempting to measure the demographics, protective clothing influences on performance, protective clothing as a uniform, organisational identification, other job related data, and job satisfaction as well as several uniform features (such as style, appropriateness, functionality, material, color, comfort, etc.). The overall approach towards compliance of PC was measured.

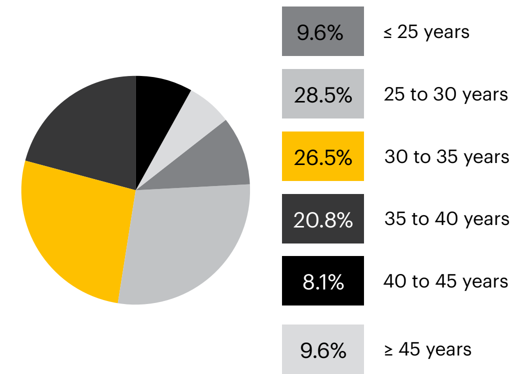
Results and findings
The data collected by interviewing the workers of petrochemical industries was analysed where the use of PC is compulsory. However in some places there is a problem of noncompliance, of not using PC even when a maintenance job is carried out at high temperatures, and involves handling chemicals. Many times the employees are not harmed by sheer luck. When asked about this, the usual answer is that PC is uncomfortable or boring. Hence these PC have to be improved by the use of modern fabrics that are comfortable. There is a need for comfort and fit that plays a part in durability, since garments that fit better wear better. The focus is on improving the look of PC to encourage the wearing compliance. To wear an industrial uniform workwear which is similar for workers and supervisors and other safety professionals, creates a sense of equality and identity. It was observed during the survey that this design of protective clothing worn is of level D according to OSHA guidelines, which is primarily a work uniform. The results, conclude for the objective - working towards a global movement. The clothing should always be ergonomically designed for fit. With safety, comfort and fit, plays an important role. The choice of materials, design parameters, fiber and fabric properties all play critical roles in the design of protective clothing.

The participants who are serving in these petrochemical industries for many years will have a certain level of professional knowledge, maturity and ability to provide data for this research which showed in the Figure 1. Analyses were performed using SPSS software for Windows (version 25, 2007, IBM Corporation, Armonk, New York, United State).

The minimum age of the workers in the study was 18 years and the maximum age of the workers

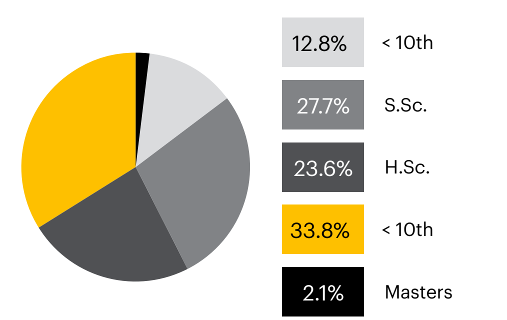
in the study was 59 years. The mean age of the workers in the study was 33.9±7.4 years. Figure 1 gives age distribution of workers in the study. As seen in Figure 1, maximum workers in the study were between the ages of 25 – 40 years.

Figure 1: Age distribution of workers in the study (Data presented as percentage)



Educational qualification of the workers
Figure 2 gives the educational qualification of workers in the study. As seen in Figure 2, 12.8% workers had completed <10th class of education, 27.7% had completed S.Sc., 23.6% had completed H.Sc., 33.8% were either graduates or had completed diploma whereas 2.1% had completed Masters level study (Figure 2). Thus, the maximum workers in the study had completed less than H.Sc. level of education.

Figure 2: Educational qualification of the workers (Data presented as percentage)



Years of experience
The minimum work experience of the workers in the study was 1 month, i.e. they had newly joined the company whereas the maximum work experience of the workers in the study was 35 years. On an average, works had an experience of 10.1±7.4 years. Figure 3 gives the distribution of years of experience of the workers in the study. As seen in figure 3, 61% of the workers had less than 10 years of work experience whereas 38.8% workers had more than 10 years of experience.

Figure 3: Number of years of experience of workers (Data presented as percentage)

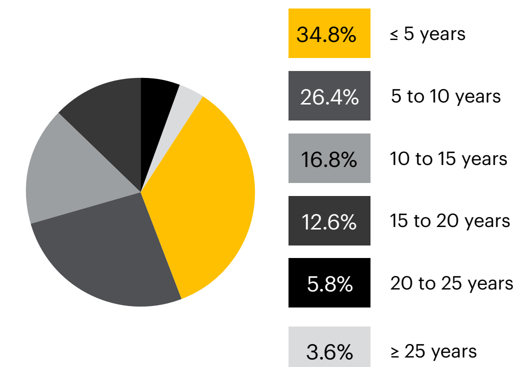


Table 1 shows the level of awareness of the participants of using the Protective Clothing (PC). Based on the table, most of them were aware that PC is very important in the petrochemical industries. All the respondents were aware regarding the hazards that are present in the industries is as important as the usage of the protective clothing (Muhaimin, 2014). Supervisors are encouraged to wear protective clothing, moreover it is followed up by the safety officer conducting the training of Personal Protective Clothing (PPC) for the workers. Based on the results, the industry safety departments had understand and supported that training had been regarded as one of the compulsory measures or requirements that the construction companies would have to provide for the workers, as well to ensure that the workers are well-equipped with the knowledge to carry out the work at the construction site with minimal safety hazards (Smith, 2014). Videos on various Indian safety standards were shown to the participants to create awareness. Hence all these attempts achieve the objective of promoting personal safety practices at work places.

Table 1: Workers & safety professionals, engineers' response to PC

Workers & Safety Professionals, Engineers	Mean score	Rank	Elements
Response To Pc Compliance of PC by participant at petrochemical industries	4.89	1	Agree
Importance of PC	4.8	2	Agree
Training conducted	4.3	3	Agree
Design components suffice your requirements	3.78	4	Agree
Role of fashion in PC	3.5	5	Agree

(open ended questionnaire)What changes would you like to see in the PC with these characteristics?

Table 2: Reason for non compliance of PC

Reason for non compliance of PC	Mean score	Rank	Elements
Restriction of movement	4.5	1	Agree
Uncomfortable	4.5	2	Agree
Not given instruction	4.3	4	Agree
Creates disparity	4.5	3	Agree
Unattractive	4.3	5	Agree

The Group Identification Scale by Doosje et al. (1995) was used. This measure consists of three items (e.g. 'PC is our Uniform', 'PC gives us a unique identity', 'PC is comfortable'). Participants were asked to rate each item on a scale from 1 (totally disagree), to 10 (totally agree). The whole scale had a reliability of 0.71.

There is a necessity of workwear for workers in the petrochemical industries. Such workwear is a visible part of the corporate image, creating a role-based identity.

Figure 4: Workers in the petrochemical industry sporting uniform as part of protective clothing, front view

Smart appropriate work uniforms are an essential factor from the perspective of occupational safety, and feeling comfortable at work. Success of a design is measured by the level of acceptance from the workers who use the clothing on a daily basis without supervision, or complaints about poor garment comfort, fit and style.

While conducting research with the participants from the petrochemical industries, and evaluating their identities, each one had a task assigned and had a different workwear, which created disparity

Figure 5: Workers in the petrochemical industry sporting uniform as part of protective clothing, back view

in spite of similar educational qualification. Today, within some industries, irrespective of the hierarchy, all workers wear PC with uniformity. From an individual identity, to the role based identity, and, today a rising collective identity, a community is giving service to the world and has been shielded in the most fashionable attire.

Fashion has played a smart role in giving a boost to all employees in the industries visited, by providing a sense of belongingness irrespective of the hierarchy: one fashion identity for a group of people wearing PC with characteristics of comfort, functionality and safety with style. This is visible in figures 4 and 5, where one can observe that the uniforms have created a group identity for the wearers, based on identity through their work practices and clothing. For some this change is accepted; for others it is hard to accept as the demarcation of the different roles – the officer, or the frontline worker - is concealed by the smart uniform.

The study explored the attribution of uniform that can shape and distribute power to different groups of social actors on a basis of cultural representation as a symbol in industry. It covered the consequences of wearing protective workwear, and how identity perception is shaped by the workwear. It was also observed that wearing PC as part of a daily uniform created a sense of well-being and safety amongst the workers. Knowing that the uniform has the potential to protect them from various accidental hazards was assuring. These sensibilities are not restricted to a nation but have become part of a global phenomenon. Workers across all nations, who continue to wear protective clothing as part of a uniform for their safety, celebrate the same beliefs, values and commitment towards work. This creates a global belongingness as proposed in objective 3.

Conclusion

Based on the results and data analysis, it can be concluded that the awareness and the effectiveness among the participants in the industry may not be high, but based on the ratings of the first and second objectives (tables 1 and 2) show that it is growing. It demonstrates that workers are aware of using personal protective equipment (PPE) and know the importance of PPE to reduce the scope of accidents and hazards. However it was observed that donning this protective clothing as part of their uniform in the industry, the workers sensed an enhanced feeling of safety and confidence. They could connect with the rest of the workers as promoters of safe industrial working practices. They could relate with their counterparts across the globe in similar industries as practitioners of right and appropriate working practices, aiming at preventing accidents in the industry.

Fashion has played its role, serving the industry by giving a design solution, which gives all employees an identity, irrespective of the role or task assigned, hence creating a community which stands out from groups of people outside the industry. The findings revealed that experienced workers, as well as less experienced workers have a great commitment towards compliance of PC while in the field, as mentioned by Mr Rathore (Head of Safety Department, Hindustan Zinc, Rajasthan, India).

> 'Fashion provides one of the most ready means through which individuals can make expressive visual statements about their identities'.
>
> (Bennett, 2005)

References

Aiery, D. (1990), Protective Clothing: A Manufacturer's Viewpoint. *Journal of Occupational Accidents*, 11, 269-275.

Bennett, A. (2005), *Culture and Everyday Life.* London: Sage.

Chira, S. C. (2016), Globalisation of fashion, social patterns and loss of personal identity. *Textile Science and Economy*, 85-92.

Gerask, J. Marcic, M. (2013), *The complex design concept for functional protective clothing.* Tekstil.

Holliday, A. (2011), *Intercultural Communication & Ideology.* Los Angeles: Sage.

Lovasic, S. (2011), *Chemical Protective Clothing, Chemical Engineering.* 118, 3; BI/INFORM Complete p. 51.

Lurie, A. (2000), *The language of clothes.* New York: Henry Holt.

McCann, J. (2005), *End-user based design of innovative smart clothing.* Wales: University of Wales Newport.

Meadmore, D., Symes, C. (1997), Keeping up appearances: Uniform policy for school diversity? *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 45(2), 174-186.

Muhaimin,A. (2014), *OSHA takes the initiative on hazard communication: Anti Corrosion methods and materials.* Vol 53.

Patel F., et.al. (2011), *Intercultural Communication: Building a global community.* Los Angeles: Sage.

Raby, R. (2005), Polite, well-dressed and on time: Secondary school conduct codes and the production of docile citizens. *The Canadian Review of Sociology*, 42(1), 71-91.

Rouse, E. (1989), *Understanding Fashion.* London: Grafton Books.

Sabine, S. (2010), *Functional Aesthetics – Visions in Fashionable Technology.* New York: Springer Wein.

Smith, P. (1979), *Making your clothes fit.* New York: Dolphin Books.

Smith, T., DeJoy, D. (2014), Safety climate, safety behaviors and line-of-duty injuries in the fire service. *International Journal of Emergency Services*, 3(1), 49- 64.

Suri, M., et al. (2002), Development of Protective Clothing in Pesticide Industry: Part I – Assessment of various finishes. *Indian Journal of Fibre & Textile Research*, 27.

U.S. Department of Labor – Occupational, Safety and Health Administration. (2004), *Personal Protective Equipment.* https://www.osha.gov/Publications/osha3151.pdf

Appendix 1

Questionnaire (for the workers)

My name is Kundlata Mishra and I am conducting this interview as a part of my research on finding out about the compliance of Protective Clothing (PC) by users in the petrochemical Industries. The study focuses on understanding the acceptance, behaviour and reaction to Protective Clothing by the Workers. Also to analyse if PC brings a sense of belonging, and building a community that promotes well being and safety wear in industries. There is a need to create awareness of the need for protective clothing and to instill motivation for the proper use and maintenance of that protective Clothing. The protective clothing should be similar to the uniforms worn by the workers to ensure greater acceptability by them. Hence there is a need to do an assessment of the requirements of the protective clothing with reference to the functional utility and comfort and design. I would like to ask you some questions about your background, your education, some experiences you have had in the petrochemical industries. The interview should take about 10 minutes. Are you available to respond to some questions in this time?

1. Name:

2. Age:

3. Name of the Industry:

4. Type of Industry/Profile of the Industry:

5. Job Specified:

   i. Welding
   ii. Petrochemical Industry
   iii. Lathe Machine
   iv. Spray Painting
   v. Any other

6. Nature of Hazard:

   i. Flame/Fire
   ii. Oil and Grease
   iii. Paint(stain)
   iv. Electricity
   v. Any Other (Please specify)

7. Years of Experience in the Industry

   i) < 5 years
   ii) 5 – 10 years
   iii) > 10 years

8. Educational Qualification:

   i) < 10th
   ii) Diploma
   iii) Technical Graduate/ Engineer
   iv) Other Graduate
   v) Any Other, Please Specify

9. Is the Protective Clothing acceptable to you / your unit? Yes/No

10. Do wearing and features of Protective Clothing influence overall job satisfaction?

11. How will you rate the aesthetic appeal of the garments?

Looks of the Protective clothing- Does it gives a feeling of uniqueness and equality	1	2	3	4	5

12. Do you find the design features correct for functional utility?

Design features in Protective Clothing	1	2	3	4	5

13. How do you find fitting of the garments with respect to ease of movement while working?

Fit of Protective Clothing	1	2	3	4	5

14. Rate the Protective Clothing in terms of comfort while Working:

Comfort of Protective Clothing	1	2	3	4	5

15. How do you perceive wearing Protective clothing in petrochemical industries?

Protective Clothing gives an identity	1	2	3	4	5

RATING SCALE :scale 1 = Highly Dissatisfactory, scale 2 = Dissatisfactory, scale 3 = Satisfactory, scale 4 = Moderately satisfactory, and scale 5 = Highly satisfactory

16. What are the main factors describing Protective Clothing or Personal Protective equipment?

17. How can the workers be motivated to use Protective Clothing?

18. How can we increase the acceptability of Protective clothing among the workers?

19. Is the Protective Clothing designed cost effective? Yes/No

20. Any Suggestions towards the compliance of PC and for its improvement?

15 REFLECTION ON THE IDENTITY OF CHINESE FASHION DESIGNERS AND THEIR STARDOM AND VULNERABILITY

Author
Ou Na
Paris Diderot University, France

oubanana@gmail.com

Keywords
Chinese fashion designer
reform and open policy
Chinese market economy and fashion design
professional identity

Abstract

Going through these splendid 40 years of economic growth and social development in mainland China since the 'Reform and Open Policy,' which its Central Government has uncompromisingly adopted since 1978, this paper presents the gradual recognition of the Chinese fashion designer as a creatively demanding job and highly reputed profession, the establishment of the professional community, glittering awards, shining stardom, sky-high salary and vulnerability in the market, and last but not least, the development of appropriate relationships with the media, associations, enterprises, etc. which has assisted our fashion designers to figure out their professional identity. This is a vivid miniature of how this big country has tried its utmost to transform its early status as the world factory to a place of creativity.

The paper relies on the theories, methodologies and field works from a range of Chinese, French and English sources. It is also based on 80 semi-structured field-work interviews with fashion professionals working for the Chinese National Fashion Association and well-known Chinese fashion brands.

Introduction

Since the 'Reform and Open Policy' was uncompromisingly adopted by the Chinese Central Government in 1978, China has gradually stepped onto a positive stage of economic growth and social development, thus demanding many new professions such as 'fashion designer' in the Chinese and international fashion and textile industry and market. However, turning manufacturing other countries' designs merely as a world factory or a subcontractor, into designing original products as a global center of creativity for both Chinese and international markets, has obviously meant tremendous challenges for this country. In fact, it took us almost 40 years to truly recognise fashion design as a highly demanding and creativity-oriented profession, simultaneously with our gradual national transition from the former 'Planned Economy', into the latter 'Market Economy.'

Fortunately, our Chinese fashion designers have now established their community, which has included professional associations, vocational guilds, and so on. This provides them with the latest information on colour trends, patterns and styles, practical training, commercial regulations, international standards, and interpersonal connections. This has increased their understanding of the vast differences between the products of internationally famous brands, and other products. This has led to participation on international runways, and sporadically opening shops in metropolitan cities, in the hope of joining the international community of fashion designers.

This paper will illustrate the ever-changing context, and the various resources of the Chinese fashion designer. Firstly as an officially recognised profession, and secondly as a better informed community with a clear understanding of who they are and what they are during the past 40 years of economic transition and social growth of the whole country. This is shown through the pioneering efforts of three generations of designers, each of which used the spirit of the time as their resource, possessing the individual-based, profession-oriented and community-promoted identities.

Methodology

The methodology and fieldwork has been informed by French, English and Chinese texts, including the French books la *Sociologie des profession* and *Nouvelle théorie sociologique des professions* by M. Florent Champy, and *Esthetiques du Quoditien en Chine*, edited and co-written by Danielle Elisseeff. English books on Chinese fashion history and designers such as *Changing Clothes in China* by Antonia Finane and *China Fashion, the Conversations with Designers* by Christine Tsui, were also invaluable, as well as Chinese books, including the *20th Anniversary Memorial Book of China Fashion Association.* It was mainly the two French books on the sociology of the profession that provided the most helpful tools when writing this paper, and of course, the never-ending field work of more than 80 half-structured and hard-earned interviews, firstly with the Chinese fashion designers in Paris, Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Nanjing, Fuzhou, Xiamen etc. and secondly with those fashion professionals working for the Chinese National Fashion Association and the well-known Chinese fashion brands. All this has eventually equipped me with lots of statistics, arguments, concepts, inspirations, and last but not least, improved my self-confidence.

I. Rise of 'Fashion Designer' as a profession again relies on the official recognition and revitalization of the Chinese clothing industry

In the first decade (1978-1988) when China began to adopt the 'Reform and Open Policy,' both governmental departments and industrial organizations on different levels played crucial roles in the development of the Chinese clothing industry by making new policies and regulations, and giving permissions that have eventually paved the way for the official recognition of 'fashion designer' as an independent profession.

Nevertheless, during most of this decade, the Chinese clothing industry was not yet listed in the National Planning, which meant that no one could get a piece of fabric, or a single cent of Chinese Yuan from the government in that particular period of time when China had just begun to step into its 'Market Economy.' In other words, it would sound ridiculous if those tiny odds and ends of sewing or insignificant daily dressing should be listed in the grand national budget. Therefore, by the end of 1986, the Chinese clothing industry was administrated by the Ministry of Light Industry merely in name, and had to depend upon its original handcraft tradition, thus surviving in a very difficult situation, owing to the lack of any financial support of the government, to say nothing of official recognition of fashion designer as an independent profession.

Luckily, China National Garment Research and Design Center came into being in 1982, with Mr. Tan An as its deputy director, who repeatedly made reports to his superior administrative authority, especially the State Planning Commission, by saying that textile and clothing industry could build up a better image for China on the international stage and therefore must be listed in the National Planning as soon as possible. (Tan, 2008)

In 1984, when the 'Market Economy' stepped onto its right track, the Chinese government began to cancel the entire amount of over sixty coupons for all the daily necessities such as clothing, food, meat, bean-curd, oil, soap, coal, etc. that had lasted for 32 years, since 1952, for the purpose of providing the world's biggest population with equal rights to live. In this way, the choices ordinary Chinese people made for their daily clothing started to undergo profound changes and gradually replaced the stereotyped uniforms of 'blue, black and grey' colors in that ten years. What is more, even the Chinese state leaders had an insight to follow the international trend and began to pay attention to changing common people's clothing into a new look. For example, Chairman Hu Yaobang of the Central Committee of Communist Party of China at that time, not only said at a meeting that 'it is necessary to pay attention to the clothing of Chinese people and get them dressed up neatly, cleanly and beautifully' (Beijing Times, 2009), but also took the lead in wearing better looking suits that finally led to the 'National Suits Craze' in 1984.

In 1985, the Proposal of the Central Committee of Communist Party of China on Formulating 'the Seventh Five-Year Plan' for the National Economy and Social Development very clearly stipulated that 'The food industry, the clothing industry, and the durable consumer goods industry are the leading industries and therefore should drive the development of the entire Chinese social consumer goods industry.'

II. A Historical Glance at Chinese Fashion Designer

Nevertheless, the independent position of fashion designer had existed in China long before 1978, and as far as we know, Zhao Chunlan, the 'Father of Chinese fashion,' had already mastered the western cutting skills and cultivated several generations of Chinese tailors by the end of the 19th century. Among them, two brothers Jin Hong-Xiang and Jin Yi-Xiang co-founded the first Chinese fashion company in Shanghai at the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, it was the first Chinese clothing company that literally used the term Fashion in its trade name as – Hong Xiang Fashion Company (鸿翔时装公司, Hong Xiang Shizhuang Gongsi) (Xu, 2010), which 'was also the first' in Chinese clothing industry 'to create the positions for a designer, a fitting model and a window dresser' (Tsui, 2010), although, according to Jin Tai-Jun, heir to Hong Xiang Fashion Company, all this three positions were once filled by the Jewish refugees in Shanghai. However, he became the first Chinese fashion designer when he had learned professional tailoring techniques from his father and other senior tailors, and his fashion drawing and design principles from the Jewish designers (Tsui, 2010).

As a result of the 'Planned Economy' before 1978, ordinary Chinese people had no choice in purchasing their daily necessities that were produced in large quantities according to the National Planning, and the Chinese fashion companies with private ownership like Hong Xiang were either nationalised or bankrupted. Consequently, most Chinese fashion designers lost their professional design role, except for a few lucky ones who found jobs as designers for theatrical costumes.

Happily, long before the clothing industry was officially listed in the National Planning in 1986, when the careers of Chinese fashion designers finally returned to their historical position, the Shanghai Handicraft Industry Authority had officially appointed Jim Tai-Jun as a fashion designer in 1979. This was only a year after the 'Reform and Open Policy' was adopted in this country, which was a reminder not only of the financial prosperity and cultural variety of that metropolitan city, matched only by Paris and Berlin in 1920-30s, but also indicated that the government had finally begun to realise that it was high time to restore the profession of fashion designer in China.

Based on the theory of identity-making, I've realised that the step by step career development of the Chinese fashion designer could well be analysed into three levels: the designer as an individual, as a profession and as a community, which have been respectively shaped along an individual trajectory first, and then within the context and the resources of this profession and community (Paugam, 2018). In other words, it is the individual creativity, professional context and community resources that have combined in a joint effort to push forward the development of the identity-making of the fashion designer in China.

III. Support from Chinese official policies since 1979

As the Chinese government realised the importance of the recognition and restoration of fashion design as a profession, well-known foreign designers such as Pierre Cardin and Yves Saint Laurent got official permission to present their fashion exhibitions and shows in China. At the same time vocational fashion schools and academies, associations and guilds received official permission to be set up, and all these advances helped the establishment of fashion design as an independent profession.

For instance, Ms. Wu Wenying, Minister of the Ministry of Textile Industry of China in 1980s, once stressed the importance of design and branding in the development of the Chinese clothing industry, and accentuated that it was necessary to cultivate fashion designers in order to develop the Chinese fashion industry (Yuan, 2009). As a result, the first fashion design program was founded within the Beijing-based Central Academy of Arts and Crafts in 1980; the first institute was created with the term 'Fashion' in its name – Beijing Institute of Fashion Technology in 1987, from which I graduated in 2009; and the first professional association – China National Garment Association (CNGA) was set up in 1991, which held the first and history-making professional exhibition in this country – China International Clothes and Accessory Fair (CHIC) in May of 1993.

IV. Professional Training and Undergraduate Fashion Design Programs in China

In addition to the two full-time undergraduate fashion design programs in Beijing-located academies mentioned above, five others were established in the late 1980s one after another: Suzhou Silk Engineering College, Zhejiang Silk

Engineering College, Zhejiang Academy of Fine Arts, China Textile University and Northwest Textile Engineering College. In general, thes newly established fashion design programs have been placed under the textile techniques and art departments, and greatly affected the Chinese fashion designers of first generation since 1949.

In general, most of their graduates joined the Chinese clothing industry after their graduation in the mid and late 1980s, and became a force at the core of the first generation of Chinese fashion designers since 1978. However, it should be noted that Chinese educators launched their fashion design programs before the Chinese clothing industry really understood what designers were for and what jobs they could do (Tsui, 2015). As a result, some graduates of this first generation became the first group of professors at different educational institutions, setting up fashion design training programs in this pioneering period. Other graduates were dispatched to clothing factories, their jobs were not creative, but consisted primarily of copying foreign designs. Some of them accumulated funds to build up their own studios, looking to foreign fashion designers as their dream model. However, they failed to have an independent position as qualified designers for years, either in the factories, or in their own studios while the 'Planned Market' still lingered.

In fact, this 'Job Dispatching System' as the rule of the 'Planned Market' had continued to exist until the mid-1990s. At the same time, the fashion industry and its production system were completely dominated by state-owned enterprises, and very few private enterprises existed. It was not until the mid-to-late 1980s that some joint ventures emerged in China, which brought some advanced technologies and the experience of overseas and foreign fashion brands and enterprises into Mainland China, such as the Hong Kong-based 'Jinlilai'. At the same time, the PMACT enterprises (i.e. processing with supplied materials, manufacturing with supplied drawings and samples, assembling with supplied parts and compensation trade) flourished in southern China on account of the shortage of funding and technical processes. In fact it was these enterprises that transformed China into a world factory, and increased its exports without any original samples or creativity. One of the reasons for this lamentable situation is that the designer had no position in this particular trade. As a result, the work of the graduates from these 'fashion design programs' working in the factories or processing enterprises had nothing to do with design at all, instead, all they could do was copy foreign clothes samples.

Fortunately, things changed when the Chinese clothing industry started to transform its concept and production to brand-value orientation, with the realisation that that they were in need of a group of fashion designers to create famous brands in the late 1990s.

V. Associations and the community provide Chinese fashion designers with awards, stardom and sky-high salary, and reflection on their vulnerability in the market

The China Fashion Association (CFA) was incubated from a working meal of three pioneering fashion educators and one other professional: they decided to set up a national association for fashion designers in China, considering the fast emerging Chinese fashion designers and the well-organized experiences of Western Fashion Designers (Li, 2013), that led to the establishment of CFA in 1993, with the support by the leaders of CNGA. However, its original Chinese name 'Association of Fashion Designers' was more accurate for the purpose of enhancing the reputation of designers in the huge context of the textile and fashion industry, according to Zhang Qinghui, the Vice Chairman of CFA (Tsui, 2016). Nevertheless, CFA has attracted a large number of fashion designers and other professionals in the field as individual members, and many group members including fashion brands, fashion media, model agencies, etc. and has become a flagship within the Chinese clothing industry.

In principle, a professional organisation should be the sign of existence of any profession, which promotes the profession to the public and organises activities for professionals working in the same field. And this is exactly the case for the Chinese fashion industry at the beginning of the 1990s, when we finally got to know the position of 'fashion designer' and its importance through the awards and activities arranged by CFA, either from television or from newspapers at that time. And the winners of these fashion awards proved to be the most effective way to get designers well known to both professionals and the public.

In 1993, the 'First Brother Cup International Fashion Designers Competition' was held in Beijing (Later on called the 'Hanbo Award'), and the winner was Ms. Wu Haiyan, a representative designer of the first generation and a veteran professor at the China National Academy of Fine Arts for many years.

Since 1995, the CFA has started to select 'Top Ten Fashion Designer Awards' and a 'Golden Fashion Designer Award,' the very first awards in this field in China in order to enhance the visibility of fashion designers, which have played an extremely important role in developing the Chinese fashion industry in the following 20 years. As a result, the reputation of Chinese designers was rapidly built up and quite easily identified by the general public.

In April 1996, Mr. Du Yuzhou, Vice President of the China National Textile and Apparel Council delivered an important speech which insisted on implementation of 'Famous Brand Strategy' to accelerate two transformations for industrial upgrading – from processing type production to brand benefit type; from decentralized to social intensive manufacture.

In October of 1996, the Shanshan Group was the first clothing enterprise to give a response to this 'Famous Brand Strategy' with total understanding of the decisive role of a really creative fashion designer. So it made a bold offer of an astonishing amount of 1,000,000 Yuan as annual salary for a chief designer in a number of media. To our great surprise, by the end of that year, it hired both Wang Xinyuan and Zhang Zhaoda, two chief designers at the same time, who, historically speaking, didn't fall short of the expectations of everyone by creating a high-end women's wear brand 'LAFANCY' (Yuan, 2009), and holding two touring shows in China. According to the media, the news was like a great wave surging over the peaceful sea of the Chinese fashion industry as a whole and such promotion has undoubtedly made the public aware of the sky-high value of 'fashion designer' as a glittering profession and driven countless young people to select this profession as their first choice to study at schools and academies.

Ever since then, companies like Shanshan have certainly made up their mind to build up more famous Chinese brands with whatever expenses they could afford, and eliminating any cheap products. Right after that big event, CFA brought up the 'Famous Designer Project' in April 1997, accompanied with the 'Famous Brand Strategy,' which has opened the series of co-operations among individual designers and different brands within the big enterprises, and obviously upgraded the salary level and public recognition of fashion designers, and the fashion industry as a whole. Besides, other companies like the Youngor Group and Sanli Group also gave a positive response to this 'Famous Designer Project' and 'Famous Brand Strategy' at the same period. All in all, the entire fashion designer community has found the right position and shining identification in the industry which in turn has helped clothing companies build up more 'famous' brands. At the same time, CFA has set up certain strategies and regulations for protecting, cultivating and promoting the community of fashion designers by combining their skills, artistry and business for the purpose of creating more fashion commodity with both artistic and creative values and meeting the business and market needs.

Organised by CFA in 1997, China Fashion Week, an event totally engaged in promoting Chinese designers and brands, came to be born and Chinese fashion designers were presented as a well-organised community for the first time. Meanwhile, all kinds of phenomenal activities led to sky-high salary hiring, and became a craze, and the star-making movement for the fashion designer was also buzzing.

However, most of these co-operations between designers and enterprises came into failure in 1998, thus quickly turning this fiery enthusiasm into cold water which led to some reflection. On the one hand, enterprises realised that they needed a group of mature designers who could feed the market needs. On the other hand, Zhang Zhaoda, hired by Shanshan, as one of the star designers at that time, published an article in December 1998, admitting the vulnerability of Chinese designers when facing the market challenge, and calling the community of fashion designers to figure out the right relationships among designers and the media, associations, enterprises and merchants (Li, 2013).

In general, most of these Chinese fashion designers at that time were art school based, and had graduated from fashion design programs which paid much attention to their artistic elaboration without product awareness, and in this way, they had been identified as artist-oriented designers before 1998. It would have been an asset to be artistic and creative while possessing a sense of commodity. Nevertheless, most of the Chinese academic environment over-emphasised the artistic values and conceptual ideas, but ignored the commodity attributes which were extremely significant when the clothes were merchandised in this country. In many cases, they gradually changed their attitude after working for clothing companies. After producing designs with little consideration of the market value for quite some time, they began to pay attention to market value, and finally re-identified themselves as product-oriented fashion designers, which they had not learned from the fashion design programs at the Chinese art academies in the earlier period.

Conclusion

The paper was written from a top-down perspective, reflecting that collectivism was supreme above individualism at the time - the efforts of individual and the enterprise, meaning the fashion designers and clothing companies were a drop in the bucket compared to national policies and economic systems. But the author, as a 'made-in-China' researcher, has always paid much attention to the individuals because it is obvious that many Chinese individuals have grown up in the years of the 'Planned Economy' and thus got used to the inertia of 'Collectivism Supremacy' which has existed not only in the state policies and company regulations, but also in the designers' personal choices and their professional careers. Therefore, during the ten years from 1988 to 1998, it was the decision of government and collective that determined the development of individual designers to a large extent. And their cognition of 'fashion designer' as a profession – their self-identification has gradually become clear and definite which should include pursuit for their artistic creativity, reaction to the clothing market and the responsibility for their clothing companies. In fact, all the designers, no matter how famous, or from which eras or countries they might be, would have to face this kind of contradiction between the sense of beauty and the necessity of practicability and try their utmost to find a balance between their creativity and the market. Especially in China during this particular period of time when the 'Market Economy' just came into being, its fashion industry just got started and all the links in its commercial chain did not function well. In this way, for the purpose of survival, the first generation of Chinese fashion designers must be equipped with responsiveness and a quick sense of judgment, plus extensive work experience in their former clothing factories, and only a few lucky talents could overcome their vulnerability and excel as star designers at all-China fashion design competitions in the years to come.

References

Abbott, A. (1988), *The System of Professions*, Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.

Beijing Times (Jinghua Shibao) (2009), July 17, 2009.

Boumaroun. L. (2018), Costume Designer/Everything: Hybridised Identities in Animation Production, Detroit: *Framework 59*, No.1, 7-31.

Champy, F. (2009), La *sociologie des professions*, Paris: Quadrige/Presses universitaires de France.

Champy, F. (2011), *Nouvelle theorie sociologique des professions*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Finane, A. (2008), *Changing Clothes in China and China Fashion*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Hotho, S. (2008), Professional identity – product of structure, product of choice: Linking changing professional identity and changing professions, Bingley: *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, Vol.22, Issue 6, 721-742.

Li, D. (2013), *The 20th Aniversary of China Fashion Association*, Beijing: China Textile and Apparel Press.

Ou, N.(2018), Chinese Fashion: What to Do to Win the Right to Speak? – Starting with the Art Exhibition of 'Four Pioneers in the Chinese Fashion Industry, i.e. Zhang in the South, Wang in the North, Wu in the East and Liang in the West.' Beijing: *Arts Criticism*, December issue, 88-94.

Ou, N.(2016), Entre occident et orient : la nouvelle culture de la mode en Chine, *Esthétiques du quotidien en Chine*, Paris : IFM/Regard, 111-125.

Paugam, S. (2018), Les 100 mots de la sociologie, Paris: Puf.

Tan, A.(2008), *The Booming 30 years of China Fashion*, [online] website of Chinese brand. Available at : http://union.china.com.cn/gaige/txt/2008-04/02/content_2153339.htm [Accessed 22 Dec. 2018].

Tsui, C. (2015), *Chinese fashion education: teaching designers in the People's Republic of China*, Hong Kong: thesis of University of Hong Kong.

Tsui, C. (2010), *China Fashion – Conversations with Designers*, Oxford, New York: Berg.

Tsui, C. (2016), *Past and Present of China Fashion Weeks*, [online]Business of Fashion. Available at : https://cn.businessoffashion.com/2016/04/chinas-fashion-week-cn-2.html [Accessed 10 Dec. 2018]

Xu H.(2010), *Cultural History of Clothing in Shanghai*, Shanghai: Orient Press Center.

P5w.net (2009), *Expert talks about the development of Fashion Industry since 30 years of reform and open-up of China*, [online] Dazhou Municipal People's Government. Available at: http://www.p5w.net/zt/dissertation/finance/200909/t2556756.htm [Accessed 19 Dec. 2018].

Zhao, Z. (1986), *the Seventh Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development* (Guanyu Diqige Wunian Jihua de Baogao), Beijing: Bulletin of People's Congress.

35 THE PURSUIT OF NOTHINGNESS IN JAPANESE AESTHETICS: APPLICATION TO FASHION DESIGN

Author
Sayaka Kamakura
Bunka Gakuen University, Tokyo

kamakura@bunka.ac.jp

Keywords
nothingness
emptiness
nothingness and creativity
aesthetics of nothingness
Japanese fashion design

Abstract

This study considers the concept of nothingness in light of the theories of philosophers Daisetsu (D.T.) Suzuki and Kitaro Nishida, and compares them in terms of relationships with Japanese art and design. It also aims to clarify the nature of creativity inspired by nothingness, and to verify whether it can be a source of new possibilities in fashion design.

Nothingness is often defined as 'the opposite of something' (Hiromatsu, 1998: 1559), but is it really so simple? Speaking of the emptied no-mind, Susuki said: 'Emptiness... liable to be mistaken for sheer nothingness is in fact the reservoir of infinite possibilities' (Suzuki, 1997: 86). Nishida described the perception of absolute nothingness as 'seeing the form of the formless and hearing the sound of the soundless' (Nishida, 1987: 77).

In works of Japanese art such as Tohaku Hasegawa's folding screen *Pine Trees*, nothingness is not merely represented as a space or blank, but is employed as a means of conveying crucial but invisible things by depicting the surrounding scenery. This rendering of the seen and the unseen taps into a limitless well of emotion.

In Japanese product designs such as Mujirushi Ryōhin (hereinafter called 'Muji'), nothingness brings adaptability that is recognised as adding value to the products. Their simplicity and blankness imparts not only the beauty of functionality, but also the ultimate in adaptability, so they can be accepted by any user.

In its 2011 autumn/winter collection, the Japanese fashion brand Matohu expressed the beauty of plainness in delicate colours and infinite gradations. In their 2015 spring/summer collection, a spirit of utilising the material's innate properties conveyed simplicity and purity. The infinite creative potential of nothingness promises to foster the development of new possibilities in fashion design.

Introduction

In recent years, getting rid of things has attracted a great deal of interest, as well as minimalist style and decluttering. What will there be if you get rid of things? There will be nothing there, but will there really be nothing? Nothingness could be just nothing, but might not be just nothing. Because nothingness is nothingness, it could contain every possibility. In other words, the concept of nothingness can be said to have the power to create something. The purpose of this research is to examine the concept of nothingness from the theory of Daisetsu (D.T.) Suzuki and Kitaro Nishida, to clarify how the creation of nothingness is born through art and design, and to verify through the creation of works whether it is possible to develop the creativity that nothingness brings to fashion design.

The research method is summarised in the following four sections. Section 1 explains the notion of nothingness: understanding the concept of nothingness that Daisetsu Suzuki and Kitaro Nishida preached, and specifically considering the subject based on materials such as Suzuki (1997), *New edition oriental views*, Suzuki (1950), *No-mind*, and Nishida (1987), *Places · I and you: Six other stories.* Section 2 explains nothingness and art, and examines the relationship between art and nothingness based on concrete examples such as Japanese paintings: works such as Tohaku Hasegawa's folding screen *Pine Trees* and the text Chikaato (1998), *Reconsideration of Japanese beauty: Art and image between.* Section 3 explains nothingness and design. Japanese designs use elements of nothingness that are employed not only as functional beauty, but as more than that. The adaptability that nothingness brings is recognised as part of the added value of the product. This section examines the relationship between nothingness and design based on examples such as Muji Japanese design products, and specifically materials such as Hara (2008), White, and Nikkei Design (2015), *Muji's design.* Section 4 explains nothingness and fashion design, and analyses the relationship between nothingness and fashion design though past collections of works by the Japanese fashion brand Matohu: the 2011 autumn/winter collection *Plain Beauty* and the 2015 spring/summer collection *Primary (White).* After the analysis, the development in fashion design will be verified through the creation of the author's own work.

The notion of nothingness

There are various concepts of nothingness such as zero, emptiness, and absolute nothingness. In Western philosophy, Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) and others perceived nothingness as 'the essence of nihilism. A place without being exists as a place to form the truth of existence, and existence itself appears in the way that it is rather absence or nothingness' (Hiromatsu, 1998: 1560). On the other hand, in Indian philosophy, nothingness is regarded as

> an identical concept of absence and negation, and nothingness was regarded as a kind of existence which became a target of perception as a specific event limited in place and time. For example, 'there is no bottle on the ground' is interpreted as 'there is nothingness of bottle on the ground,' and the perceptions see 'nothingness of bottle' in front.

(Hiromatsu, 1998: 1561)

Furthermore, in China, the concept of nothingness developed together in philosophy and the world of Buddhism. 'Nothingness as a Chinese concept originally seemed to be an unclear ambiguous state and the concept was dilute. Nothingness had once been kept away from the meaning of Buddhism's emptiness, but it was pushed back to the front of Buddhism again by Zen. Now this nothingness is a Chinese-style practical expression of emptiness and Buddhism' (Hiromatsu, 1998: 1561). With Daisetsu Suzuki and Kitaro Nishida, their notions of nothingness are also extensions of this.

Daisetsu Suzuki (1870–1966) was a Buddhist scholar, born in Kanazawa, Ishikawa Prefecture, Japan. He wrote many books about Zen in English, and spread Japanese Zen culture abroad. Suzuki described Oriental philosophy as follows: 'The Oriental people were conscious of improving the spiritual direction of their lives, not physical improvement. Beauty lacking spiritual beauty is just that, and it has nothing more than that any more. In philosophy as well, in the Orient, emphasis was placed on thought in the spiritual aspect directed inward' (Suzuki, 1997:29). Suzuki also mentioned no-mind as follows:

> In Buddhism, no-mind often occurs. It is against the u-shin. U-shin is the mind with something behind it. It hides the planning that it has intention, a purpose. On the contrary, no-mind is the case of acting reflectively and unconsciously in earnest. […] Even if so, no-mind does not necessarily mean that it is like wood or rock. Rather there is infinite work inside; it is empty like the zero.

(Suzuki, 1997: 85-86)

Suzuki also mentions the difference between nothingness and nihilism: 'It is not just nothingness for mere existence. Since it is nothingness that transcends existence and nothingness, this should not be referred to as negative nihilism. It is the ultimate positiveness with absolute aggressiveness' (Suzuki, 1997: 116). Suzuki also describes the difference between philosophy and religion with regard to the experience of nothingness: 'There is existence on one side, nothing on the other side. And there is also something in a place away from that existence and nothingness. Though ideally it may be so, those who see it from the experience of religion do not say that. I would rather say existence is nothingness, nothingness is existence' (Suzuki, 1950: 31-32).

Kitaro Nishida (1870–1945) was a philosopher born in Kahoku City, Ishikawa Prefecture, Japan. He was also the founder of the Kyoto School, which was a Japanese philosophical movement centered on Kyoto University. Nishida described the relationship between nothingness and existence as follows: 'True nothingness must include elements such as nothingness and existence; it must be a place where nothingness and existence are both established' (Nishida, 1987: 77). Moreover, nothingness is not just a blank, but can create something, so Nishida stated: 'In knowledge it is thought that it reflects existence by nothingness, but in intention nothingness produces existence.

What is behind the intention is creative nothingness. Nothingness that can create must be deeper nothingness than a reflective one' (Nishida, 1987: 98). That is, to make existence from nothingness is to 'reflect even mirrors to reflect. The material *(hyle)* itself could be also an aspect *(eidos)*. The mirrors themselves reflect what is behind the actions, so that latencies become reality and the materials work as well. It is to make material from nothingness' (Nishida, 1987: 108).

Suzuki's idea of nothingness is closer to Buddhist Zen-like nothingness. It is nothingness which has caught emptiness together and developed from there, and there are many assertions of aggressiveness and affirmation in nothingness. Rather than a philosophical consideration, Suzuki emphasises consideration from religious experience. On the other hand, Nishida insists on philosophical nothingness as consciousness. Emphasis is placed on the relationship between nothingness and existence, and a strong claim is made for nothingness's place from examples of reflections. Nothingness is not a blank that reflects existence, but it creates existence. Here his idea of nothingness departs from the Buddhist viewpoint of emptiness equating to nothingness. Nothingness has been mentioned in several philosophical fields, but it remains in reference to the fact that there is nothingness and only its existence is proven, but it is not considered that there is to be something born from there. However, both Suzuki and Nishida recognise existence as nothingness, and even found possession originating from there. In other words, they also define the role of nothingness, and note that it is a rather aggressively creative one.

Nothingness and art

Spaces and blanks are used for composition and balance in artworks, and especially in paintings. However, from the viewpoint of nothingness mentioned above, these are not merely just spaces and blanks. Tohaku Hasegawa (1539–1610) was a painter born in Nanao, on the Noto Peninsula in Ishikawa Prefecture, Japan. In his early days he named himself Nobuharu Hasegawa; he worked as a Buddhist painter and he himself was also a Buddhist. He became a proper painter in Kyoto in his thirties. Hasegawa was influenced by ink paintings by Xia Gui and Muqi Fachang from China as well as Sesshū Tōyō. It is said that the reason why Hasegawa became interested in *Kannon*, *Monkeys*, *Crane* by Muqi Fachang (Figure 1) is probably in the existence of its dense atmosphere and pale light which envelops the monkeys and crane. Moreover, although they are not actually drawn, by expressing bamboo groves, dead trees or the margin area using the shading of black ink and with the strength of the brush, it creates an impression as if the atmosphere and light actually exist. Hasegawa was attracted to this magic-like technique of 'drawing without painting, in other words, the infinite possibilities of ink' (Tokyo National Museum et al., 2010: 40). These ink painting techniques that were brought from China were widely and deeply researched by Japanese painters such as Hasegawa. As a result, Japanese painters established the world of Japanese ink painting expression incorporating descriptions by chance, such as unique blurring and bleeding.

Figure 1: *Kannon*, *Monkeys*, *Cranes* by Muqi Fachang

Another thing that attracted Hasegawa and that he made as his ideal was soundless paintings. 'Soundless paintings and noisy paintings should be carefully examined. Hasegawa's idea of a noisy painting is something that is sunny and depicts the activities of people. On the other hand, a soundless painting is something with snow, night, rain, moon, smoke and fog' (Kuroda, 2010: 37). After learning from Muqi Fachang and various studies, Hasegawa completed his own soundless painting *Pine Trees* (Figure 2) in 1593–95. What was drawn there was the expression of a black and white world of pine trees, or rather, a world of nothingness. 'It is clear that there is a dense fog enveloping the pine forest. However, the fog itself is not actually drawn. Expressing the front

Figure 2: Pine Trees by Tohaku Hasegawa

pine trees with rough darker ink and background ones with soft lighter ink, it is as if the mist embraces the illusion that the fog actually exists there' (Tokyo National Museum et al., 2010: 237). Here, nothingness has been drawn to represent important invisible motifs through descriptions of adjacent scenes, not just spaces or blanks. The depiction of this drawn part and the part not drawn brings infinite emotion. In Japanese art, not only in paintings, but also in Noh and poetry, there is something invisible, and we have found value as infinite possibilities.

> It is a feature of Japanese beauty and art that the blank, motionless, voiceless, soundless space is the main part, not the part of the branches drawn. It can be said that the space is imaginary. The imaginary is nothingness, and the imaginary and the real are related to nothingness and existence. There is a philosophy of beauty of Japan in this invisible part, that is, where nothingness speaks.
>
> (Chikaato, 1997: 8)

Nothingness in Japanese art can be said to be one of the most important and special expressions to evoke infinite emotions. In addition, gradation, blurring and bleeding of ink have a crucial role of creating a creativity of nothingness by being at the boundary between nothingness and the world of existence. With delicate expression, that is, not just a completely blank whiteness, the creativity and emotion evoked by nothingness can preserve a creative consciousness.

Nothingness and design

This section examines the relationship between nothingness and design based on the example of Muji Japanese product design. Muji started as a private brand of Seiyu Co., Ltd. in 1980. At that time in Japan, when capital logic had precedence and sellable manufacturing was prioritised, Muji became its antithesis. Japanese graphic designer Ikko Tanaka (1930–2002) was one of the inventors of Muji and worked there as an art director. The thought that Tanaka wrote for Muji is as follows: 'There should be a world in which simplicity does not hold back to luxury, but rather the intelligence and sensitivity that are hidden in simplicity are sources of pride. If we can expand such a value system, we can enrich our lives with fewer resources' (Kunitomo, 2009: 147). This thought became the Muji brand concept, and since its creation it has always been maintained by an organisation called an advisory board consisting of external designers. As of September 2018, the advisory board was composed of four people: creative director Kazuko Koike, graphic designer Kenya Hara, product designer Naoto Fukasawa, and textile designer Reiko Sudo.

Muji started from the no-brand concept. The basis of product development is to make what is necessary, which is the basis of life, in a form that is necessary, rather than to expand their own brand name value. In order to create Muji's necessary products they decided upon three principles: 'selection of material, inspection of process, and simplification of packaging' (Fukasawa, 2011: 59). However, this kind of elimination does not mean they are doing less, but rather what Muji is doing is actually more, to achieve more. 'Muji's aim is not to create products with strong taste such as 'This is good' and 'This must be it,' but to have a reasonable level of satisfaction as 'This is OK.' This 'This is OK' does not include giving up or minor dissatisfaction: it is a clear and self-confident 'This is OK'' (Nikkei Design, 2015: 54). This is a concept similar to Suzuki's denial of negativity in nothingness as mentioned above. It is an idea of positive subtraction of desire, decoration and strong taste. Hara describes the characteristics of Muji's products as follows: 'A product made from a very reasonable production process is very simple, but this is not minimalism as a style. It is like an empty vessel. In other words, because it is simple and empty, there is the ultimate adaptability to accept the thoughts of all people' (Nikkei Design, 2015: 54). In addition, Hara elaborates on the difference between the characteristics of this emptiness and simplicity in detail as follows:

> Empty and simple are different. About 300 years earlier than Western countries reached simplicity, Japan had already reached some sort of simplicity. [...] Through cultural developments such as Shoin-zukuri architecture, the Japanese tea ceremony, Ikebana, gardens and Noh that matured in the Higashiyama culture era, Japanese people had already noticed that subtracted things have the ability to attract human images.
>
> (Nikkei Design, 2015: 67)

In other words, it is a simplicity that produces imagination rather than simplicity that produces functionality. In Muji, we see an ancient Japanese spirituality which suppresses desire and individuality, subtracts from decoration and luxury, and also respects the process of lacking. Where there is nothing, it is not poverty but spiritual creativity, and it is a way of enriching people's daily lives.

Nothingness and fashion design

Next, the relationship between nothingness and fashion design will be analysed based on the example of Japanese fashion design brand Matohu's past collections. Matohu was launched in 2005 by Hiroyuki Horihata and Makiko Sekiguchi, and it incorporates Japanese traditional cultural aesthetics into fashion design. They presented the *Japanese Eyes* series in 2010–2018, which consisted of 16 themes based on abstract words symbolising Japanese traditional culture. From this *Japanese Eyes* series, this section will especially focus on and investigate the 2011 autumn/winter collection *Plain Beauty* (Figure 3) and the 2015 spring/summer collection *Primary (White)* (Figure 4) in relation to the concept of nothingness.

Matohu explained *Plain* as follows: '*Plain* here is not '*Plain*' which has erased everything, but it includes all diversity. *Plain*, but there is something that cannot be put into words. There is plainness in the sense of infinity' (Matohu 2011AW Collection Invitation, 2011). Matohu also mentioned that this *Plain* could be discovered from everyday life: 'When we review everything in our daily life again, the world is quite rich. *Plain* is never subdued. On the contrary, it shows a delicate colour and infinite change, and starts to shine quietly beside us' (Matohu 2011AW Collection Invitation, 2011). Furthermore, Horihata has described the world that *Plain* produces as follows: 'There is a sense of *Plain* in Japanese aesthetics that has passed down through history. Japanese people love such a rich world that is beautiful with *Plain* expressions. What they have in common is patterns that cannot make intentionally by humans. The naturally made pattern and the signature that was born with time will make something a one-and-only existence' (Horihata, 2016). That is, Matohu's *Plain* is about a pattern with delicate colour and infinite change cut from nature and daily landscapes.

Figure 3: Matohu 2011 a/w collection *Plain Beauty*

Matohu explained *Primary* as follows: 'It is the source colour without colour. It contains everything. The colour of the material as it is, without addition or bleaching or anything else. It always polishes cleanly and it will soon be damaged in time if it is not rebuilt. That was the most precious and sacred *Primary* colour for the Japanese' (Horihata, 2016). Matohu had observed Ise Shrine's regular removal, which is a ceremony to rebuild ornaments and plain wood trees once every 20 years. The former shrine, 20 years old, was a heroic figure. From this experience Horihata mentioned: 'The Hinoki cypress which has been stripped of bark is a bare material, so the change is also intense. Consider *Primary* itself under the aspect of finite time. Continue to repeatedly make things anew, to embrace changing time permanently. These two things will make the Japanese *Primary* more *Primary*' (Matohu 2015SS Collection Invitation, 2015).

That is the power that *Primary* has. Of course there is a value that human beings can never produce in the purity of *Primary*, but this purity will actually further increase its radiance as it changes over time. The intensity of change represents the purity even more. Matohu's suggestion of nothingness presumes that the philosophical motives born from abstract words are supported from the perspective of Japanese traditional culture and crafts. Matohu visualised this as a collection by linking creativity that human beings cannot produce such as nature and time with the creativity of nothingness.

Figure 4: Matohu 2015 s/s collection *Primary (White)*

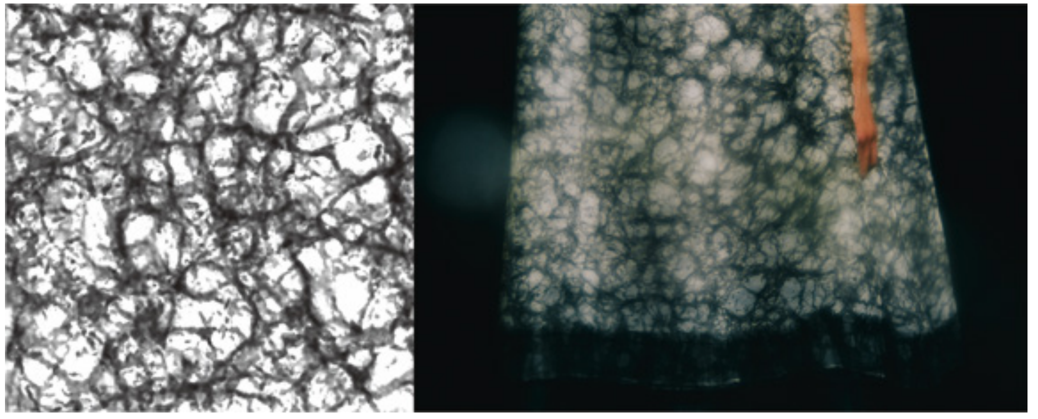
Next, these considerations will be used to examine whether creativity inspired by nothingness can be developed for fashion design. Four key conceptual categories can be extracted that symbolise the creativity of nothingness. First, the existence of nothingness, nothingness and emptiness, infinite nothingness, nothingness and existence, nothingness that can create, and aggressive and positive nothingness. Second, draw by not drawing, nothingness that can speak, space, nothingness as a space of imagination, aftertaste, and suggestiveness. Third, undecorated, empty vessel, ultimate adaptability, and the ability to attract human images. Fourth, plainness that includes all diversity, infinite change, and purity in finite time.

The creativity of nothingness can be perceived from various viewpoints, and specifically the following points mentioned in Section 2: nothingness has been drawn to represent important invisible motifs through descriptions of adjacent scenes, not just spaces or blanks; and the depiction of this drawn part and the part not drawn brings infinite emotion. From here, attention shifts to the 'boundary' of nothingness and existence. Nothingness cannot be a permanent nothingness. The creativity of nothingness is born through a depiction that leads from something-is-there to nothing-is-there. In other words, the boundary, or certainty, which separated nothingness and existence, can be reborn into the creativity of nothingness by description of the fluctuation and the blurring of the adjacent scene.

In the process of the author's fashion design, these considerations are reflected in the following points. Firstly, it is a total of eight looks of design, but all the silhouettes are aligned, while changing the material and length, and graphically expressing the boundary in each design. Secondly, overlaying the fabrics and colours, the elements of the design were made ambiguous. Doing so creates an expression like the boundary between object and object, with the design and the design boundary disappearing like the blurring technique (Figure 5). Thirdly, the print pattern was inspired by Hasegawa's brush expression. Close observation of *Pine Trees* reveals that the beautiful gradations and elegance perceived from a distance were actually drawn with rough stroke expressions. Although expressing a depiction that leads to something in nothingness, rather it expressed complicated inks that divide the boundary. Based on this experience, the author produced a print pattern including the effects of gradation and contrast at the same time, and printed it on fabric by inkjet printing (Figure 6).

Figure 5: Completed designs

Figure 6: Inkjet print pattern



Conclusion

Section 1, on the notion of nothingness, noted examples of various notions of nothingness. There is nothingness in the meaning of negation in the sense that there is nothing, that nothingness exists as the form of absence and negation, and that nothingness is emptiness that is a higher presence that should be an aim to be reached. Among these ideas, Suzuki especially described nothingness as aggressiveness and affirmation of existence, within which is infinite work, and Nishida described nothingness as not just a blank, but with the potential to create existence from itself.

Section 2, on nothingness and art, reviewed examples of expression in which the main character motif is drawn by not drawing. It emerged that the part not drawn creates a lyrical creativity of nothingness such as imaginary space, lingering and emotion. There is a beauty of philosophy in Japanese art where this part of invisible nothingness speaks.

Section 3, on nothingness and design, presented examples in which there is no decoration, no waste, and no preference, and in which the adaptability that no one chooses to use is an advantage, and is a feature of the design. These actions are not minimalism as a style, but also consider the concept of subtraction whereby further creativity is expanded.

Section 4, on nothingness and fashion design, observed various phenomena born from nothingness such as nature as an infinite plainness and nothingness as a pure state where nothing is added, while simultaneously there is limitedness and so on. These abstract and philosophical motives have proven to lead to expression of fashion design supported by the perspective of Japanese traditional culture and crafts. In developing this into fashion design, the creativity of nothingness can be verified by expressing features such as making ambiguous the boundary between nothingness and existence.

This research enables the discovery of creativity and expressions conceived from the one abstract word 'nothingness' through various phenomena. However, regarding nothingness, it can be very difficult to think theoretically by putting it into a methodology like this. It emerges that nothingness has infinite creativity, and it is complex and intertwined with other phenomena such as emptiness and simplicity. Most importantly, nothingness itself must be disliked to be elaborated in such a unitary methodology. Such chaotic charm and unlimited possibilities of nothingness will not only lead to philosophy, but also to motivation for creative activities such as art and design, and this suggests further possibilities for research. In addition, there are many cases in Japan that represent unseen imaginary spiritual phenomena like nothingness such as 'space,' 'evanescence,' and 'subtlety and profundity,' which are also promising phenomena for future research. At the same time, it will be beneficial to expand the field of research to the nothingness phenomenon outside Japan, and to discover new creativity of nothingness.

References

Chikaato, T. (1998), *Reconsideration of Japanese beauty: Art and image between.* Niigata, Japan: Bulletin of the Niigata Prefectural Museum of Modern Art.

Fukasawa, M. (2011), *Mujirushi Ryōhin as thought: Era and consumption and Japan.* Tokyo, Japan: Chikura Publishing Co., Ltd.

Hara, K. (2008), *White.* Tokyo, Japan: Chuokoron-Shinsha, Inc.

Hiromatsu, W. (1998), *Iwanami dictionary of philosophy thought.* Tokyo, Japan: Iwanami Shoten Publishers.

Kunitomo, R. (2009), *One idea that Muji cherishes importantly.* Tokyo, Japan: Pal Publications, Inc.

Kuroda, T. (2010), *Want to know more about Hasegawa Tohaku: Life and works.* Tokyo, Japan: Tokyo Bijutsu Co., Ltd.

Niigata, N. (1998), *Comparative thought of nothingness: From Novalis,* Hegel, Heidegger to Nishida. Kyoto, Japan: Minerva Shobo Co., Ltd.

Nikkei Design (2015), *Muji's design.* Tokyo, Japan: Nikkei Business Publications, Inc.

Nishida, K. (1987), *Places · I and you: Six other stories.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten Publishers.

Suzuki, D. (1997), *New edition oriental views.* Tokyo, Japan: Iwanami Bunko.

Suzuki, D. (1950), *No-mind.* Tokyo, Japan: Daito Publishing Co., Inc.

Tokyo National Museum et al., (2010), *Hasegawa Tohaku: 400th memorial retrospective.* Tokyo, Japan: The Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd, NHK Promotions Inc.

Figures

Figure 1 Toda, T. (1973), The ink painting taikei, volume 3: Muqi Fachang and Yujian. Tokyo, Japan: Kodansha Ltd., pp. 13-15.
Figure 2 Tokyo National Museum: The TNM Collection [2018-12-15] https://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_collection/index.php?controller=other&colid=A10471&t=
Figure 3 Fashion Press [2018-12-15] https://www.fashion-press.net/collections/395
Figure 4 Fashion Press [2018-12-15] https://www.fashion-press.net/collections/3557
Figure 5 Author's own work
Figure 6 Author's own work

Acknowledgments

This research has been conducted with the support of Bunka Gakuen University. The author wishes to thank President Katsuhiro Hamada and Professor Sachiko Kagawa for their help and efforts in completing this research.

71 VIRTUAL FASHION ID: A REALITY CHECK

Author
Abu Sadat Muhammad Sayem
Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

asm.sayem@mmu.ac.uk

Keywords
digital fashion
virtual avatar
fit simulation
material parameters
body scanning

Abstract

Virtual fashion consists of three things: virtual avatar, digital apparel design and material simulation. A virtual avatar serves as the platform upon which virtual clothing can be developed. It is very important to morph the avatars in their correct anthropometry first before initiating any virtual fashion simulation process to ensure the right appearance and drape of any virtual prototype simulated on to them. It is also a precondition for assessing the fit of virtual clothing and making decisions on the accuracy of digital pattern pieces used in simulation. Commercial fashion CAD (computer-aided design) systems come with a library of parametric mannequins and provide tools and facilities for adjusting their sizes and shapes before using them for virtual clothing simulation. This paper deals with the features and techniques of avatar morphing in available 3D systems to evaluate how realistically they can generate a virtual fashion identity (ID). A comparative study on the existing 3D (three-dimensional) CAD systems, and a case study including two in-depth interviews with industrial users of such systems were conducted. Findings show that the avatar technology has not developed evenly across all available systems and none of the systems is free from limitations. It is revealed from the case study that technophobia, high upfront cost and the need for training are the main barriers for implementing this technology. There are also certain areas for improvements within the existing systems.

Introduction

To generate a virtual fashion identity (ID), the first thing you will need from the technical point of view is an appropriate three dimensional (3D) computer-aided design (CAD) system capable of producing a virtual prototype. Based on the underlying working procedure of creating 3D designs, commercially available CAD systems for virtual garment visualisation and virtual try-on can be categorised into two broad groups (Sayem et al. 2010). One group allows designers to create garment outlines and styles on 3D platform according to their preference, such as the software TPC Parametric Pattern Generator (TPC, HK). The other group of 3D systems wrap digital two-dimensional (2D) pattern pieces from the appropriate 2D CAD software onto virtual human models in order to visualise the virtual clothing coupled with drape and fit simulation. This group includes Vstitcher from Browzwear (Israel), Accumark 3D from Gerber (USA), Modaris 3D from Lectra (France), TUKA3D from Tukatech (USA), 3D Runway from OptiTex (Israel) and Vidya from Assyst (Germany). These virtual prototyping solutions usually come with a 2D module to process 2D pattern pieces, a drape simulation engine, a set of 3D virtual avatars and a material library. Usually the integrated virtual avatars can be customised by manipulating a range of parameters including age and gender, body measurements and posture, skin tone and hairstyle, and even the stages of pregnancy. Using a physically-based simulation engine, 2D pattern pieces can be realistically wrapped on these virtual avatars to develop virtual prototypes, which represent the realistic fabric drape according to the physical and mechanical characteristics of fabric. A built-in library of fabrics and other related materials together with their mechanical characteristics is available within these systems. With accurately sized avatars and realistic fabric drape, the systems allow the evaluation of the fit of simulated garments in virtual environments; and allow the virtual designs to be communicated with any remote partner via the Internet platform. This may reduce the dependency on physical prototyping and shorten the product-development lead-time and the associated costs, as claimed by the software suppliers (Ernst 2009; Sayem et al. 2010).

Commercial fashion design and development (FDD), which involves interplay between fashion designers and manufacturers, requires a process of iterative garment prototyping that increases the resources and time taken to develop and refine garments. Operating in a truly global context, contemporary fashion supply chains involve complex offshore sourcing strategies that result in the separation of design and manufacturing operations. A disconnect between design and manufacturing results in: i) communication challenges and errors between the designer and manufacturer, and ii) iterative production and transportation of physical prototypes between manufacturers and designers. While this process is ultimately effective, it is not efficient. 3D virtual garment simulation and visualisation technologies have the potential to increase the accuracy of the communication of design data, enhance designers' creativity, and reduce the need for production of multiple garment prototypes, yet their adoption in the fashion industry is limited. No academic literature reports the reasons behind the slow and sluggish adoption of virtual simulation technology within the fashion industry (Poterfield and Lamar, 2017). This paper aims to conduct a reality check on the technical capability of the available technology to generate virtual fashion ID.

Methodology

For the fulfilment of the aim of this research, two research techniques have been implemented. One is a comparative study of the available 3D CAD systems, and the other a case study with the industrial users of such systems. The comparative study was done to identify the capabilities and weaknesses of the avatar technology within prevailing software systems. The purpose of the case study was to get an idea about the stakeholder perception and needs of this technology. Further details of the comparative study and the case study are presented in the following two sub-sections.

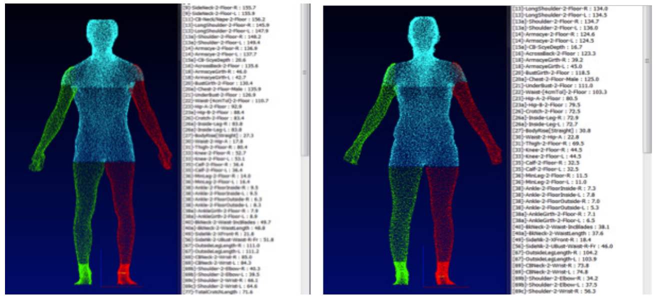
Comparative study of 3D systems

Four commercially available CAD systems, hereafter mentioned as CAD system A, B, C & D, were selected to investigate into their tools and features of avatar morphing and fit analysis. Their compatibility with the standard body measurement tables (see Table 1) from academic textbooks (Aldrich, 2012, 2015) and the body measurements extracted from two sample body scans (one male and one female), as can be seen in Figure 1, in KX-16 bodyscanning system (TC2, USA) according to the SizeUK measurement extraction protocol (MEP) were tested. One male and one female avatar representing the anthropometry of a young man and woman were selected from the mannequin library of each CAD system to review each of them individually, and to compare with each other.

Table 1: Standard body measurements of young man and woman

Measurements of young man (Aldrich, 2012)		Measurements of young woman (Aldrich, 2015)	
Parameters	*(cm)*	*Parameters*	*(cm)*
Height	173	Height	160
Chest	96	Bust	88
Seat	98	Waist	72
Waist	82	Low waist (5cm below natural waist)	82
Trouser waist (4-6cm below waist)	86	Hips	96
Half back	19.5	Back width	34.4
Back neck to waist	43.8	Chest	32.4
Scye depth	23.6	Shoulder	12.25
Neck size	39	Neck size	37
Sleeve length one piece sleeve	64.2	Top arm	28.4
Sleeve length two piece sleeve	81	Wrist	16
Inside leg	79	Ankle	24
Body rise	27.8	High ankle	21
Close wrist measurement	17.4	Nape to waist	41
		Front shoulder to waist	41
		Armscye depth	21
		Waist to knee	58.5
		Waist to hip	20.6
		Waist to floor	104
		Body rise	28

Figure 1: Male and female bodyscans and part of extracted measurements



Fit analysis tools within the CAD systems were tested using the pre-drafted pattern pieces. Tension mapping tools available in the systems were also evaluated.

Case study with a fashion company

As mentioned earlier, a case study was conducted on the technical design team of a UK-based multinational fashion retailer having more than 2,000 stores across the UK and sourcing clothing items from more than 10 countries in the world. Purposive sampling technique was followed to identify the fashion company, which is using both 2D and 3D clothing CAD systems in their product development process. As a part of this case study, two semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with two technical designers of this chosen company to collect data as a part of this case study. Both participants are frequent users of 2D/3D CAD systems but they represent two different generations. One is at the early stage of their career with less than three years of professional experience, while the other is at mid-level position of the hierarchy having more than twenty years of professional experience. Both closed and open-ended questions were asked to understand their perception of virtual fashion technology and their needs from the technology. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed anonymously following the research ethics policy of our university. A thematic analysis (Morris, 2015; King and Horrocks, 2019) of the interview data was done for synthesising the findings. It is noted that one case study including two interviews is not deemed sufficient for reaching any firm conclusions. Therefore, the research is being continued. However, this is being presented here as an initial finding from an on-going research.

Results & discussion

Findings from the comparative study

i) Avatar Morphing

The CAD systems analysed in this research differ significantly from each other in numbers of anthropometric parameters they use for avatar morphing. As can be seen in Table 2 and Figure 2, systems A and B use more than sixty parameters for adjusting the size and shape of a male avatar, while C and D use thirty or less. Similarly in case of the female avatar, systems A and B use more than a hundred parameters, whereas C and D use forty or less (see Table 3 and Figure 3). In most cases, systems A, B and C allow direct input of numerical measurements as well as sliding-bar option. However, system D allows only sliding-bar option to adjust measurement, but no direct input.

In general, direct measurement input was experienced as more accurate for avatar morphing. However, it has been experienced that none of the systems provided absolute freedom to adjust all avatar-morphing criteria to reproduce the target anthropometry completely. Tables 4 highlights the interconnected measurements, which are influenced by the change of others. This is a big challenge in accurate avatar morphing.

Figure 2: Morphing categories and anthropometric parameters of male avatars

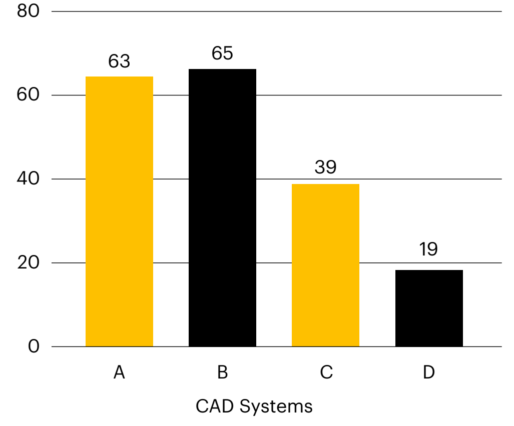


Table 2: Morphing categories and anthropometric parameters of male avatars

Morphing Category/ Segment	Number of Parameters for Male Avatar			
	A	**B**	**C**	**D**
Height	2	2	1	1
Body silhouette & shape	15	15	6	8
Torso length	9	2	4	3
Torso width	3	1	2	0
Torso circumference	7	5	5	4
Arms (lengths & circumference)	5	6	4	1
Legs (lengths & circumference)	9	8	7	2
Pose	13	24	9	0
Face	0	2	0	0
Total	**63**	**65**	**39**	**19**
i) How many accept direct measurement input?	*33*	*39*	*2*	*0*
ii) How many need sliding-bar adjustment only?	*30*	*16*	*30*	*19*
ii) How many offer both i & ii options	*33*	*39*	*30*	*0*

Figure 3: Anthropometric parameters used by different CAD systems for morphing a female avatar

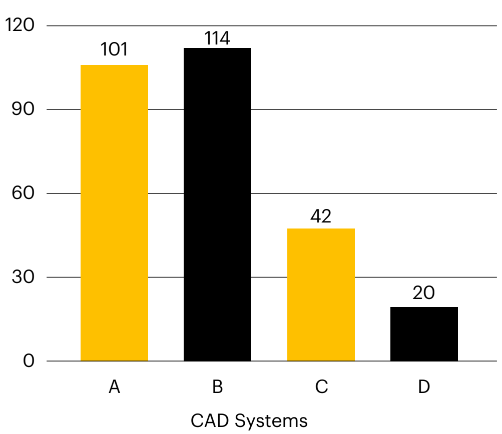


Table 3: Morphing categories and anthropometric parameters of female avatar

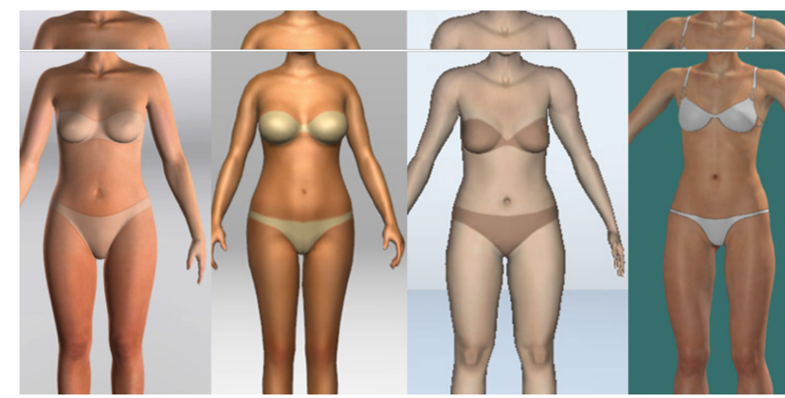
Morphing Category/ Segment	Number of Parameters for Female Avatar			
	A	**B**	**C**	**D**
Height	2	2	1	1
Body silhouette	19	29	6	7
Torso length	11	2	5	5
Torso width	3	1	2	0
Bust	13	1	2	2
Torso circumference	8	6	6	4
Arms	6	7	4	1
Legs	13	9	7	1
Pose	12	27	9	0
Face	14	30	1	0
Total	**101**	**114**	**42**	**20**
i) How many accept measurement input?	*47*	*68*	*32*	*0*
ii) How many need sliding-bar adjustment?	*54*	*46*	*34*	*20*
iii) How many offer both i & ii options	*47*	*68*	*32*	*0*

Table 4: Interconnected measurement parameters of male and female avatars

CAD Stms.	Interconnected Parameters in Male Avatars	Interconnected Parameters in Female Avatars
A	- Chest and under-chest - Outseam, hip height, high-hip height and waist to hip (in case of mannual imput) - Biceps and upper biceps are interconnected	- Body depth, inseam, hip height, high hip height and low thigh height - Bust, over bust, under bust - Knee and calf - Bicep and upper bicep
B	- Shoulder and chest - Waist, high waist, hips and rise, - Thigh and knee - Outside leg, rise and inseam measurements	- Bust, cup and under-bust - Hip, belly and high hip - Outside leg and inseam - Thigh, knee, calf and ankle - Armhole, biceps, arm, wrist. - Wrist, over arm measurement
C	- Height influences across back, across front, shoulder length & slope, back height, bust, waist, mid hip and pelvis. - No other parametesr are interconnected.	- Bust, underbust, neck to bust apex - Waist-floor side length, bust apex, inseam and body rise
D	- None	- None

Figure 4: Male avatars morphed using the measurements from table 1

Figure 5: Female avatars morphed using the measurements from table 1



The standard body measurements used for pattern cutting include only 14 and 21 size parameters for man and woman respectively (see Table 1), which are far less from the number of anthropometric parameters used by most of the CAD systems for avatar morphing. While systems A, B and C can utilise most of the measurements from Table 1 for male and female avatar morphing, system D uses only very few. When size and shape were modified using the measurements from Table 1, significant differences in appearance and shape could be noticed (see figures 4 and 5).

Following the SizeUK measurement definitions, as high as 144 measurements could be extracted from both the male and female scans. These measurements include individual measurements for both left and right limbs and parts of the body. However, as clothing is usually made symetrical, averages of the left and right limbs/ parts in relevant cases, for example biceps, thigh girth etc., are enough for avatar morphing. Systems A, B and C utilise the majority of the torso measurements from bodyscans for morphing both male and female avatar morphing. However, visible differences in the appearance and shape can be noticed among the morphed avatars (see Figures 6 & 7) as the CAD systems include some morphing criteria that do not accept any numerical measurement inputs.

Figure 6: Male avatars morphed using extracted measurements from bodyscan

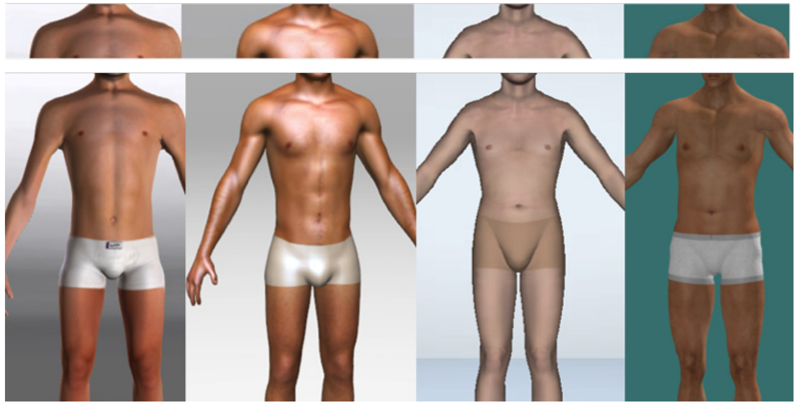
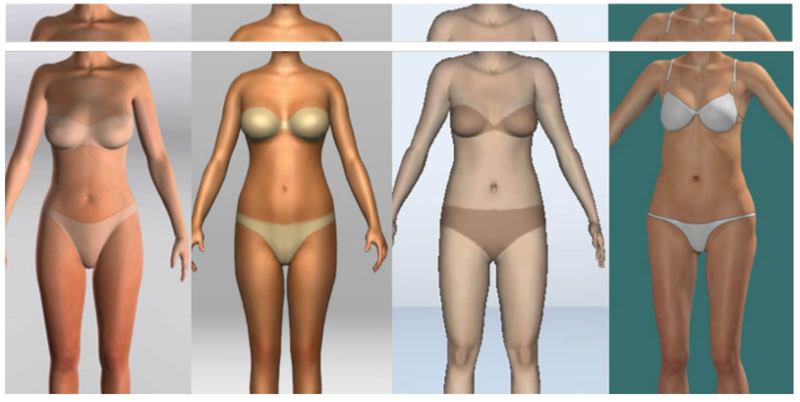
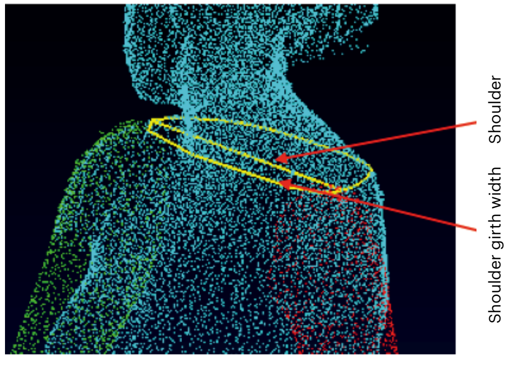


Figure 7: Female avatars morphed using extracted measurements from bodyscan



Moreover, the bodyscanning system offers opportunities of extracting many critical measurements from the body that can be used for effective avatar morphing. For example, additional measurements can be extracted from the shoulder area of bodyscans (see Figure 8) for better reproduction of shape on the virtual avatar. Currently none of the CAD systems makes use of them.

Figure 8: Shoulder girth and width measurements from bodyscan



ii) Fit analysis

All four of the systems included in this study offer 360-degree rotation of virtual prototypes to facilitate visual analysis of fit. In addition, there also several technical fit assessment tools, such as tension, pressure, stretch and ease mapping tools, available within the systems. These tools offer both subjective and objective analysis of fit in combination with the visual check of the simulated fit on the computer screen (Sayem et al. 2010, Lim and Istook, 2011). This provides an opportunity to review and forecast the clothing fit at the pre-manufacture stage and to take decisions on the correctness of drafted pattern pieces. According to the suppliers, there are several benefits of using these 3D systems, such as better communication of design throughout the supply chain, and reduction of product development lead-time and costs.

Figure 9: Examples of tension mapping in two CAD systems

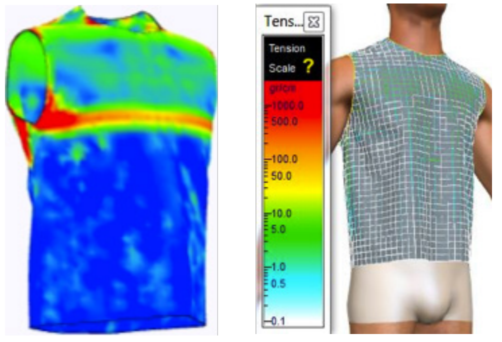
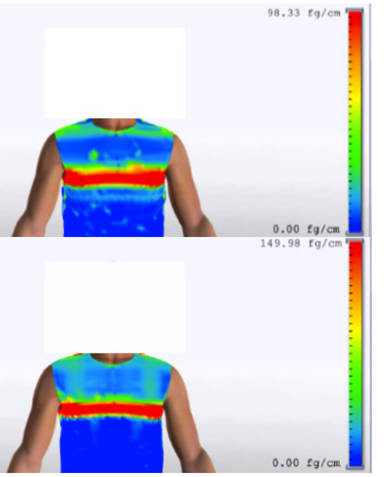


Figure 9 presents two examples of tension maps on virtual prototypes in two different systems covered in this research. These tension maps provide an idea about the tightness and closeness of virtual garments on virtual bodies. However, taking decisions based on visual colour codes or colour bands of tension, pressure and stretch maps is in some way a subjective approach, which can be quite misleading sometimes. As it can be seen in Figure 10, the colour bands of the tension maps from two different fabrics look similar, but maximum tension values are very different from each other. Therefore, a true objective approach would be to consider the numerical values of fabric tension, stretch and the collision pressure of the virtual drape of a simulated of garment to evaluate virtual fit and thus make a decision on the accuracy of pattern pieces (Sayem, 2017a, b) .

Figure 10: Tension maps produced on virtual prototype with the same design but different fabrics



This is supported by the works of Kim (2009) and Kim and LaBat (2013), that only a visual check of the virtual sample does not provide any conclusive clues for decision making on the state of virtual fit. Lim (2009) compared virtual simulations of womenswear produced in two different systems utilising identical material properties, and found that visual appearances of simulated garments differed in two systems. Power et al. (2011) also highlighted the limitation of visual assessment of virtual fit. They found that fabrics with vastly different properties appeared to have a very similar appearance in virtual simulations, which is also the case identified in this work (see Figure 10). This demands the use of an objective approach to meaningful evaluation of fit of virtual clothing. Lim and Istook (2011) and Sabina et al. (2014, 2015) took stretch and tension maps on virtual simulation of garments into account in addition to drape image to evaluate fit. Power (2013) indicated that virtual simulations with insignificant visual difference could show significant differences in a pressure map.

Findings from the case study

Findings from the case study covering two interviews are discussed under the following three themes – 'advantage of virtual prototyping', 'barriers in implementation', and 'needs for further improvement'. It has become apparent from the study that the 3D system is mainly being used by the technical design but not by the creative design team. It is already mentioned in the methodology section that only one case study is not considered to be enough to validate the findings of this research. At the time of the preparation of this paper, it was not possible to include any more cases as no responses from the target companies had been received. However, the case covered in this work is a big fashion company, which has been using 2D CAD systems for a long time, and adopted 3D CAD system in recent years. Therefore, the findings from this case study will also provide an insight into the stakeholder perception and needs of virtual fashion technology.

i) Advantages of virtual prototyping
Both participants stated that the use of virtual prototyping technology helps reduce product development lead-time and the number of physical prototypes. Their buying team can review the virtual designs and prototypes and can recommend changes before an attempt is made to create a physical prototype.

This results in better communication of design and reduces the chances of any error in the product development phase as visual evidence can overcome any language barrier in both verbal and written form. This delivers a positive impact on their work process and they can engage better with designers, buyers, merchandisers and prototype makers; although the technology is not primarily being used by the creative designers.

ii) Barriers in implementation
It is revealed from the case study that technophobia, high upfront cost and need for training are the main barriers for implementing this technology. However, the young designers who are trained with 3D digital tools during their academic study do not find it difficult to use this technology. Another barrier to the implementation of this technology is the difficulty of sharing virtual prototypes with vendors. Different clothing manufacturers use different CAD systems, so the participants found it difficult to share the 3D design with their clothing vendors who do not have the same system. Both participants reported that the high upfront cost is one of the major barriers in acquiring such technology.

iii) Needs for further improvement
The participants of the interviews also highlighted some limitations and areas of improvement in the existing CAD systems based on their professional experience. They do not think the look of the mannequins that come with 3D Systems are fashionable enough. This is an area that needs to be improved. This is also supported by the findings of the comparative study presented in the previous section. Pixelation of the 3D view of virtual prototyping is another area of improvement. The participants also feel that the system should facilitate the importation of 3D prototypes from other systems similar to the options of digital 2D pattern pieces.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to check how smart the available 3D virtual prototyping systems are in reality. A comparative study of different CAD systems and a case study on industrial users were conducted. The findings from the comparative study show none of the 3D systems are free from limitations when it comes to avatar morphing. This is also reiterated in the findings from the case study. Although the virtual technology can reduce the product development lead-time and the need for physical prototypes, the technology is not used by the creative designers at present. It is also found that technophobia among professionals, the high upfront cost of the systems, and the need for training are the main barriers for implementing this technology. The limitation of this research is the limited number of case studies. It was found to be very difficult to convince fashion companies to take part in this study. However, the work is in progress and the number of case studies will be increased to consolidate the findings of the study.

References

Aldrich, W. (2012), *Metric pattern cutting for menswear.* 5th edition, Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publications.

Aldrich, W. (2015), *Metric pattern cutting for womenswear.* 6th edition, Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publications.

Ernst, M. (2009), CAD/CAM *Powerful. Textile Network*, 4, 20-21.

King, N. and Horrocks, C. (2019), *Interviews in qualitative research*, Sage publications, London.

Kim, D. (2009), *Apparel Fit Based on Viewing of 3D Virtual Models and Live Models* (Unpublished doctoral Thesis). The University of Minnesota.

Kim and LaBat (2013), An exploratory study of users' evaluations of the accuracy and fidelity of a three-dimensional garment simulation, *Textile Research Journal*, 83 (2), 171-184.

Lim, H.S. (2009), *Three Dimensional Virtual Try-on Technologies in the Achievement and Testing of Fit for Mass Customization* (Unpublished doctoral Thesis). North Carolina State University.

Lim, H. and Istook, C.L. (2011), Drape simulation of three-dimensional virtual garment enabling fabric properties. *Fibers and Polymers,* 12 (8), 1077-1082.

Morris, A. (2015), *A practical introduction to in-depth interviewing*, Sage publications, London.

Poterfield, A. and Lamar, A.M.T. (2017), Examining the effectiveness of virtual fitting with 3D garment simulation, *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, 10 (3), 320-330.

Power, J. (2013), Fabric objective measurements for commercial 3D virtual garment simulation. *International Journal of Clothing Science and Technology.* 25(6), 423-439.

Power, J,; Apeagyei, P.R. and Jefferson, A.M. (2011), *Integrating 3D Scanning Data & Textile Parameters into Virtual Clothing.* Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on 3D Body Scanning Technologies. Hometrica Consulting, Lugano, Switzerland, 213-224.

Sabina, O.; Elena, S.; Emilia, F. and Adrina S. (2014), Virtual Fitting – innovative technology for customize clothing design, *Procedia Engineering.* 69, 55-564.

Sabina, O.; Emilia, F.; Manuela, A.; Alexandra, M.; Georgeta, P. and Adrian, S. (2015), Applied 3D virual try-on for bodies with atypical characteristics, *Procedia Engineering.* 100, 672-681.

Sayem, A S M; Kennon, R. and Clarke, N. (2010), 3D CAD systems for the clothing industry. *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, 3 (2), 45–53, URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17543261003689888

Sayem, ASM (2017a) Objective analysis of the drape behaviour of virtual shirt, part 1: avatar morphing and virtual stitching. *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, 1-12, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17543266.2016.1223810

Sayem, ASM (2017b) Objective Analysis of the Drape Behaviour of Virtual Shirt, Part 2: Technical Parameters and Findings. *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education.* 10(2), 180-189.

76 THE AESTHETICS OF DATA FOR IOT WEARABLES

Author
Caroline McMillan
Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Australia

cazmcmillan@hotmail.com

Keywords
Internet of Things
fashion wearables
data
performativity
haute couture

Abstract

The Internet of Things (IoT) ecosystem proposes a seamless connection of the digital-physical, increasing the scope of networked entities that produce and exchange data. An emerging landscape of contemporary networked fashion urges us to consider what it means for clothes to be interconnected with other entities, in an enmeshed ecology, in contrast to just being worn. Design approaches to wearable technology (wearables) span a broad spectrum. However, the impact, evolution and direction of IoT interconnected wearables has not received enough attention. Functional and imaginative applications for fashion and textiles have begun to explore the connective potential of dynamic interfaces for IoT compliant systems. Collectively, these works indicate a need to understand how computational material contributes to aesthetic expression and plays a critical role in articulating empowered data transactions from a fashion perspective.

This paper describes an IoT connected dress, used to broaden the design inquiry of big data information visualisation for wearables, according to aesthetic criteria of haute couture. Electronics and cloud computing wirelessly transform time series data into visual and kinetic expression on the garment. Textile behavioural characteristics are foregrounded to design a specific aesthetic interaction with remotely sourced, quantified weather phenomena. The author examines material cultures that blend digital technologies with the creation of highly refined artefacts, such as new materialism. In the context of dynamic performativity, materials and time series data engage temporal movement and state-change structures. Moreover, the performativity inherent in this framework can be useful to support an analysis of rich making and socio-cultural display practices derived from fashion couture for wearables design.

Introduction

> No objects, spaces, or bodies are sacred in themselves; any component can be interfaced with any other if the proper standard, the proper code, can be constructed for processing signals in a common language
>
> (Haraway, 1985; 173-204)

The Internet of Things (Ashton, 2009) is a physical-digital networked ecology based on notions of computational ubiquity (Weiser, 1991), technologies invisibly intertwine with everyday things and space. The result of not one, but several compliant technologies and capabilities within a paradigm of communicative 'pervasive presence' (Atzori et al., 2010). However, research in (Koreshoff et al., 2013; Sterling, 2014), focus on technology deployment has overlooked human perspectives, particularly embodied entanglements. The interconnected bodily experience of worn things needs investigation, in order to fully understand its dynamic topologies, beyond technical and functional considerations. An increasing number of entities and environments are equipped to collect, aggregate and transfer data within complex networks. Though researchers have addressed the design potential of IoT interconnected artefacts (cf. Jung et al., 2008; Wakkary et al., 2018), the lived social body at the core of *dynamic worn things*, is an increasing issue that has been overlooked. As our garments become platforms that enable staggering networked data transactions, the IoT illustrates a current zeitgeist to analyse issues surrounding worn engagement with technologies for wearables design. Prevailing IoT frameworks and debates around the material turn (Robles & Wiberg, 2010) confront a fashion-led wearables practice with unfamiliar challenges and opportunities. How can we explore these issues more deeply, specifically the material and expressive aesthetic potential of data in a fashion wearables practice in the IoT? In what ways do we want to initiate, engage and employ significant sources of data?

This paper begins with an assumption of wearable technologies as fashion. Based on this assumption, the paper aims to explore appropriate methods to investigate compelling computational material-immaterial alliances. As wireless computing technologies, sensors and software are increasingly installed into worn artefacts; it is also vital to consider functional aspects of emerging technologies, such as data collection and aggregation, in order to access how they are materially embedded. In what follows, aesthetic inquiry and material investigations through exploratory work, the construction of an IoT connected dress, are conceived around the refined embellishment practices of haute-couture. Crafting this adornment style to employ computational material, such as data, works to collapse disciplinary and physical-digital boundaries.

Data practices in IoT

Data privacy vulnerability is a growing concern for IoT device usage. Human concerns about the impact on social things loom, as internet-enabled object security is susceptible to tampering. Establishing trust and safety amidst posed privacy harms is a key issue. A growing number of works investigate the scope of IoT intimate objects, *Morse Things* (Wakkary et al., 2018; Worthy et al., 2016), *Cayla the Doll* (Thomas, 2017), and smart vibrators (Wynn et al., 2017). In an increasingly datafied, socio-technical landscape, it is crucial to assess the pervasive communicative ability of wearables outfitted for remote communications. *Hug Shirt* and *Twitter Dress* (Cute Circuit, 2002; 2012), or accessories that amass personal health or location data as a commodity to third parties (Rössler, 2015) explore these conditions. The functional capacity for information disclosure via the skin and clothes is refashioned in quantified self-tracking practices (Kelly, 2007; Swan, 2013; Gilmore, 2016), location sharing practices (Valentino-DeVries et al., 2018) and surveillance and security (Wynn et al., 2017). Baker's argument is useful because it points out these big data transactions of knowability serve 'frightening invisible data exploitation' (2017: 179) led by political motivations of institutions and individuals. The quantified self movement defines data tracking points, situated in a 'monitored and surveilled approach to the body' (Atkinson, 2017: 152). Historically, the practice of garment patternmaking has quantified body data, zoning the body to create data sets for flat pattern construction, standardising sizing methods and body ideals. The shift, Gilmore reads, is toward a 'body more institutionally and individually known' (2015: 2527).

There are many considerations in the life-cycle of an IoT *worn thing*. In the thing-centred investigation of Wakkary et al. (2017), networked artefacts perform emergent, autonomous actions that interrupt our intimate lives. Similarly, Kranz et al.'s (2010) artefacts communicate status, including details of what one has recently listened or spoken. The social capacity these 'things' exhibit, arouses human attachment, in stark contrast to previous understandings of passive, non-networked objects. Locating unknown and dynamic topologies of *worn things* within an IoT infrastructure is another challenging feature. Delicato et al. (2013) point to sophisticated mechanisms that support dynamic location systems needed to track or trace objects. Also, a system architecture that addresses the complexity of use, namely interaction between objects and heterogeneous parts (Atzori et al., 2010; Hachem et al., 2011; Koreshoff et al., 2013). Collectively, these studies present a timely assessment to approach an *Internet of Worn Things*, to consider existent boundaries of the body, empowered articulations of aesthetic expression and meaningful information flow.

New materialism

> The cyborg world might be about lived social and bodily realities in which people are not afraid of their joint kinship with animals and machines, not afraid of permanently partial identities and contradictory standpoints
>
> (Haraway, 1985: 163)

Haraway's insights marked a challenge to preconceived notions of binary dichotomies such as human-non-human, or physical-digital. The concepts of *disassembly* and *reassembly* are applied to boundaries and structured relations. Additionally, Haraway's (Ibid.) coded realities, and interconnected networks prepare an orientation for the body and materials, giving rise to fashion wearables making, wearing practices and performative behaviours. For example, wireless data connection in IoT fashion wearables (McMillan, 2018), or changeable patterns and surface structures, that programmable smart fabrics afford (Orth, 2007; Worbin, 2010). Barad's notion of 'intra-action' (2007), a theoretical departure to address material forces. Where relationships are formed and mutually influenced within their meeting, in 'becoming'. This insight contributes to dynamic aesthetic and material conditions. New materialism (Barrett & Bolt, 2013; Bennett, 2009; Coole & Frost, 2010; Dolphijn & Van Der Tuin, 2012) represents a strategy for the union of human and non-human entities. Collectively, these researchers articulate material tensions, compositions and alignments of effect and agency in dynamic becoming. Contributing vocabulary such as 'thing-power' (Bennett, 2009), or 'agentic capacities' (Coole, 2013), they theoretically respond to issues of saturation of our intimate and physical lives by digital, wireless, and virtual technologies. Boundless assemblages and disintegrations are possible when patterns of data, textiles, wireless technologies, lived bodies and fashion production systems interweave. Coole and Frost observe formations and pattern creation in the process of assembling and disintegrating, in 'choreographies of becoming' (2010: 10).

Researchers increasingly recast fashion through a new materialist lens (Bruggeman, 2017; Smelik, 2018), since it acknowledges the potent influence of technologies within a fashion practice. On the one hand, new materialism represents a communal reaching towards an ontology that negotiates shifting material boundaries and relations. Both Smelik (2018) and Bruggeman (2017) point to visible forms that emerge and unexpectedly reform when unique material properties intra-act with the body. Formations of bodies, space, material and technology propose new affiliations and dimensions. Non-human forces, the animate and inanimate, mingle with the dynamic agency of making and wearing wearables. Smelik (2018) further hints at an uncanny agency; a theory introduced by Mori (1970) to characterise the affective, behavioural expression autonomous technologies engender, to otherwise inanimate garments. Pinpointing performativity of matter in new materialism frames temporal immaterial subtlety for data visualisation, usage and meaningful interactions in interconnected worn things. Fashion designers such as Van Herpen (2018) employ technologies to capture immaterial forms, sculpting fashion garments with coded natural phenomena. Designer Iris Van Herpen speculates on future fashion materiality, describing 'ways to dress in substances that are not touchable or stable, but move and change with the wearer's moods and expressions' (Van Herpen cited in Quinn, 2012: 50). Issey Miyake's pleated garments (c.f. Penn 1988) foreground the moving body. Miyake acknowledges the body's active form that continuously re-formed, creating pleated structures that respond to a process of changing and becoming.

The material turn in HCI

In the field of Human-Computer Interaction (HCI), several researchers focus on reconciling the physical-digital (Robles & Wiberg, 2010; Vallgårda & Redström, 2007). Robles & Wiberg, 2010 question the strategy of ubiquitous computing, a human-centred, future of embedded technologies, where the 'computational aligns with material and social practices' (Ibid. 2010). From Robles and Wiberg's perspective, this hints at an 'aesthetics of disappearance' (Ibid. 2010), challenging the visibility of computational forms. For example in smart textile research where computation disappears into the very fibres or lies concealed in accessories (Kao et al. 2017). As research builds on IoT paradigms of ubiquity in fashion wearables design, more embodied perspectives that examine relations between worn things, their aesthetic practices as fashion and their context of interconnectedness are needed. Several studies do not directly mention the terms of networked ecologies (Brueckner & Friere, 2018; Gao, 2017; Kan et al. 2015, Lamontagne, 2005; Mann, 2004), although their critical approach to wireless technologies, surveillance, the quantified self, quantified natural phenomena, provides insights for the personal, physical and intimate interconnectedness of *worn things*, to this paper.

Distinguishing computational ubiquity, Vallgarda & Redstrom give voice to 'computational composites' (2007) where the computational is read as material, and immaterial properties take visible form alloyed with physical materials. Similarly, Dourish & Mazmanian's metaphoric articulations of material properties; 'fragility, visibility, density, heft' (2011), imbue felt, sociocultural associations beyond tangible experience. Together, these views pinpoint a paradigm shift to collapse physical-digital ontological distinctions. Robles & Wiberg (2010) and Wiberg et al. use the material and social composition of textures to metaphorically focus on aesthetic alliances or similarities in physical-digital material features as opposed to 'disruptions' (2013). This gesture departs from a dominant perspective of digital-physical as distinct entities, toward a perception of people, computational and non-computational materials as inseparable. From this vantage, commonalities, particularities, surfaces, and flows between computational material parts become evident through intra-action, in alliance or assemblage. Wiberg et al. (2013) read this as a shifting of the user interface into the material realm, the digital out into the physical. Markers or symptoms of autonomous computation are described in the New Aesthetic (Bridle, 2013) as glitches. The New Aesthetic calls attention to patterning hidden in the computational; wireless artefacts; encoding errors; data-sets; installations using sensors; physical movement and gestures; haptic forces with notable digital forms. Sterling assigns the mediated, temporal, grainy expressions to 'corruption artefacts', or 'failures of machine processing' (2012). In effect, the luminous forms afforded by organic light-emitting diode (OLED) screen-based devices are a computational, medial affordance. However, the New Aesthetic supports sculptural and tangible physical manifestations of immaterial digital forms, as opposed to the screen-based output of new media disciplines. In the context of material turn, Berry & Dieter reconsider the role of the practitioner to 'curate, interpret and transcribe' (2015) pattern recognition techniques of the new aesthetic, to reveal engagements as artefacts for reflection.

The dressed body

Drawing from Entwistle's *dressed body* (2015), Atkinson elaborates adorned, modified, disguised or exposed bodies as a 'complex interplay of trends, inescapable socio-cultural influences and personal expression which all contribute to the way we clothe and manipulate or adapt our bodies.' (2017: 147). Entwistle points out that nudity is seldom tolerated, bodies that meet within social contexts 'are likely to be adorned, if only by jewellery, or indeed, even perfume' (2017: 31). Historically, researchers have faced challenges regarding the exclusion of fashion from institutional aesthetic realms, primarily due to its bodily tactile matters, practical function of protection, or ephemeral transformations. Negrin (2012) points to Kant's notions of distanced, reflective objectivity toward an object, where aesthetic judgement transpires through sight and hearing. An intentional transcendence of the flesh, this view attributed a disembodied understanding of aesthetics.

Fashion as an expressive medium lay rooted in its visual appeal, in its fluid imagery and abstracted templates of desirable bodies, as opposed to honest representation. Entwhistle views 'fashion is an aesthetic practice even if that aesthetic is less about lofty ideals of beauty'(2015: 129-148) than driven by idiosyncrasies of forever unfolding clothing style. Shifting away from strategies of iconographic fashion that neglects the lived body, Hanson (1990) describes an inseparable corporeal awareness, pointing out 'when cloth, metal and stones are used in clothing, their aesthetic characteristics are at least partly a matter of their relation to the body'. Rocamora (2015) views fashion as a conspicuous realm, where the practice of dressing negotiates material-social objects and conditions. Entwhistle broadens contemporary fashion industry cultural, economic, political and technological conditions with an account of 'aesthetic economy', with a distinctly 'fashionable aesthetic' (2009). A system where designers and fashion buyers exploit embodied, tacit aesthetic knowledge of style for economic advantage. Practising aesthetic mechanisms and calculations, fashion designers curate and commercialise materials, silhouettes, and style fluidity for a market product. The aesthetic economy, however, pays attention to tactile aesthetics and body awareness. Within the industry, the sampling process (prototyping) involves a series of rigorous embodied interactions, garment testing adheres to trend specific qualities - looking, handling, examining, trying on, fitting, shape, sizing. These assessments are consequential to market-driven price point parameters, for example, the association between haute couture and quality. Fashion design practice involves the heterogeneous assemblage of materially networked elements to find coded meanings; different kinds of objects, processes, understandings, assumptions and knowledge (Entwistle 2009: 107-128).

Garments contribute ease or restriction of movement to aesthetic considerations. In Negrin's (2012) view, a broader conception of aesthetics would include the dynamic body and felt experience. Performative technologies, clothing can support, influence and determine movement and gestures. Edelkoort describes garments as a tactile form with inescapable social cues that impress upon 'the way we walk, stand and flirt' (2017). Moreover, Miller gives voice to the value of fashion as empathetic experience, an embodied material practice 'luxuriating in the detail: the sensuality of touch, colour and flow. A study of fashion cannot be *cold*; it has to invoke the tactile, emotional, intimate world of feelings (2010: 41). Miller elaborates: 'what it feels like to wear a sari, where it presses on the body, and where you sweat. How you flirt and how to keep modest' (2010: 41). This observation invokes a textural richness of wearing that is highly characteristic of dress. Atkinson posits fashioned, dressed bodies 'conform and perform to socially defined standards' as 'performative agents in the act of making' (2017: 158).

Therefore, understanding fashion as a situated practice of the lived body highlights a significant shift. Read by Thornquist as 'wear (object) at the boundary between self and other to fashion as the practice of wearing (activity) connecting body and the other through interacting' (2018: 291). Similarly, in Craik's view 'clothes are activated by the wearing of them just as bodies are actualised by the clothes they wear. ... Through clothes we wear our bodies and fabricate ourselves'. (2003: 16). The embodied practice of everyday dress is so closely entwined with the moving, materially present body, and coupled with the cultural interpretation of body (Entwistle, 2017).

Computational dress

Broadhurst (2017) draws our attention to unknown boundaries of bodily interaction with computers. Seymour (2010) defines functional aesthetics for wearables, as fashionable aesthetic garments augmented with technological functionality. Embedded technologies in the surface of the garment render wearables a 'dynamic interface', denoted by a changeable display, actuated by programmable data output, engaging many bodily senses. Dynamic display calls for wearer control and data exposure confirmation, a point worth emphasising considering the issues surrounding big data transactions. Gemperle et al. (1998) read dynamic wearability specifically for wearables development, examining active, diverse, changeable body states, from a physiological and biomechanical perspective. Further, Gilmore responds literally to metaphoric notions of 'a world in which the body has been decisively reimagined as a site of networked computation' (2016: 2525) by probing worn 'routines and social aesthetics'. Everyday routines and habits are quantified, traced by wireless devices and felt; with anxiety, weight, lightness, irritation or comfort. Moreover, digital layers extract and transmit information about wearer data status increasing garment capacity as an information medium.

Ebb (Devendorf et al., 2015) is guided by textile material properties and fabric construction methods to construct an alternative display concept. Textile processes of weaving and printed thermochromic inks explore the nuances of personal style. *Ebb* lies in aesthetic contrast to screen-based devices such as smartphones and provides a fascinating insight into mediative qualities of technologies that respond to the feel of textiles for personal data display. Layered meanings become encoded within landscapes of personal style. Although remarkable, referring to garments as a canvas for computational display reinforces a familiarity with the screen. Edelkoort hints at aesthetics of disappearance, arguing 'the more screens we have, the more our figures are afraid we are going to disappear' (2012), stirring a yearning to engage the tactile senses. Petrecca (2017) acknowledges the demise of tactility in digital interactions through distanced engagement. Asserting movement and gesture in the creative fashion design process is compelling. Growing interest in embodied material ideation (Höök, 2018; Wilde et al., 2017) highlights the critical importance of bodily-sense practices in the conceptualisation of wearables. Joseph et al. (2017) couple a similar approach with new materialist ontologies to probe digital materialities for soft wearables in *Darling*. Multiple streams of research develop around the potential for weaving physical and digital material relations for novel, tactile computation; textures (Robles & Wiberg, 2010), *soft mechanics* (Cohelo & Maes, 2009; Cohelo & Zielgelbaum, 2011), *soft wearables* (Tomico & Wilde, 2016) *etextiles* (Buechley et al., 2008, Kobakant, 2019; Baker, 2017; Post et al., 2000; Posch, 2018), *an internet of soft things* (Kettley et al., 2019). Collectively, this landscape is fundamentally tactile. Dress is reliant on the bodily senses as an expressive meaning system that 'has to feel right' (Miller, 2010).

Methodology

Drawing upon Frayling's Research through Design approach (1993) Live:scape BLOOM, an IoT connected dress, challenges disciplinary architectures of practice. In this antidisciplinary (Ito 2014), and prototyping (Sanders & Stappers, 2014) investigation, wireless technologies are customised for wearables design practice to examine and communicate data as computational material, in composite (Vallgårda & Redström 2007) with other physical materials such as textile. The author discusses some central peculiarities of data material artistic expressions, as they relate to IoT connected *worn things*. What is it like to *wear* the wind? The author hypothesised that a high-tech approach to wearables design would benefit from high-level construction, fabrication methods and materials than from low-tech methods.

Embellishment is a potent and visual way of working with garment decoration. In Live:scape BLOOM (McMillan, 2018), the practices of haute couture afforded an aesthetic and construction criterion from a fashion perspective, that differs from LEDs, lasers, or screens. Embellishment typically purposes light, colour, volume and tactility with a sense of improvisation and experimentation. Novel materials renew practice by introducing material components 'not necessarily predestined for it' (Kamitsis 2000). Artisan skilled knowledge shaped physical material properties to reimagine computational forms sensitive to the nuances of textile.

Figure 1: Video still of Live:scape BLOOM.

However, traditional notions of haute couture embellishment are challenged through computational material, making, installation, performance. Strategies used for *Live:scape BLOOM* articulated a break away from conventional working methods of fashion aesthetic economies, perpetuated by industry. Although a fashion perspective evoked original methods; material investigation, sketching, mood boards, toiling, and fittings; the approach within the practice shifted and expanded to accommodate 'antidisciplinary' (Ito, 2014) practice. With no previous experience working within the fields of robotics, electrical and software engineering, many unfamiliar materials, software and hardware were applied, forging a radical basis for experimentation. Data aesthetics were considered with equal importance as the aesthetic qualities of the physical materials. For example, traditional materials such as silk, feathers and polyester were positioned alongside wireless technologies, quantified weather phenomena and cloud computing to expand material selection for fashion wearables design. Atkinson (2017) argues this regrounds 'physical and material awareness', while Petreca reads such improvisation as 'part of a designer's know-how' (2017). Motivated by 'material explorations rather than functional objectives' (Jung & Stolterman, 2011), favoured material selections are woven together. Unique materials and patterns find expression through refined haute couture embellishment techniques. Employing computational material disrupts these practices in the context of fashion. Coding, electronics, and hardware for kinetic, robotic mechanisms were crucial to observe data materially. A parameter of quantified weather phenomena, coded to avoid discernible autonomous movement, set the patterns and values for the machine to recognise.

Waldemeyer reflects on engineering Hussein Chalayan's robotic garments by 'keeping the integrated technology lightweight yet strong enough to maneuver different fabrics and materials' (2007). Hard-soft connections were constantly negotiated for desired aesthetic expression in *Live:scape BLOOM*. A number of hard-soft material improvisations were involved; 1) silk organza was favoured both for its elegant, lightweight yet architectural appearance and an association with refined, luxury garments; 2) feathers for their silky fur exaggerated the traces of movement through space and the mechanical glitch; 3) jewellery wires replaced mechanical joints for delicate metal, beaded structure appearance; 4) foam paper structures for machine sewable structures; laser-cut polyester prevented fraying, increased volume and provided three-dimensional support; 5) laser-cut leather as a robust fabric base of quality and long-term use; 6) rotational servo motors for slight mechanical simplicity and minimal electronics; 7) laser cut acrylic with transparency and shine, as custom appliqué pendants to sustain the robotic structure; 8) a mechanical glitch to amplify the digital patterns created. On the other hand, a number of trials were rejected; 1) 3D printed plastic for its clunky weight, size and involved mechanical structure; 2) actuators and components that required bulky and heavy hardware; 3) complex electronic circuits requiring significant battery power; 4) debugging software for an aesthetic of seamless technological functionality.

Figure 2: a-c Techniques of refinement in the prototyping process.

Textile fabric, mixed media embellishment trims and data were mediated through servo motors, blurring material boundaries. Although the overall soft, temporal, kinetic surface echoes the reference origin of haute couture embellished flowers, computational material forces are distinct. Photographic and video-prompted edits of the making process were used as a performative analysis tactic that directly countered technological functionality. Posing the question: If the wicked expressions that manifest in technological mediation, notable glitches, were built earlier in the wearables design development, how might this impact material and aesthetic expressions of data? Staying with the undesirable outcomes has produced a space for aesthetic counter-manifestation, to critique, question and explore in future work. In turn, it unearths valuable insights for empathetic responses to wearables that probe desired interaction, social communication or artefact validation.

Discussion: the potential of performative analysis

Several exhibitions, catwalk, and wearer-led investigation of *Live:scape BLOOM* sought to leverage the rich socio-cultural performative practices of fashion. The author focused on presentation modes to observe latent attitudes toward IoT wearables. Exhibiting garments with refined presentation aesthetics and fashion adornment style afforded focus on material properties and skilful technique. However, *Craik* (2003) rightly questions the context and presentation of clothes on display, bereft of the experiential bodily matters that co-occur with worn things. *Craik* points to Symons: 'A dress that's been on display for too long is different to a dress that's been too much worn. Somehow a dress is "fed" the warmth of the body of the person who's been wearing it. ... worn clothes had an "energy".' (Symons, 1987, cited in *Craik*, 2003: 15).

The special kinetic effect of *Live:scape BLOOM* evoked curiosity. Many visitors liked to see if their movements triggered response, which to make functional would require embedding an additional layer of sensors. It was mentioned that the dress was flirting, revealing that people care about social presentation, projecting individual perceptions and desires. This preliminary study made clear that people quickly discern what is acceptable in displays of fashion. *Craik* attributes 'particular codes of behaviour and rules of ceremony and place. It denotes conventions of conduct that contribute to the etiquette and manners of social encounters' (Ibid. 2003).

Exhibiting *Live:scape BLOOM* only took the investigation so far and constrained feedback on potential bodily matters of IoT wearables. Consequently, the opportunity to investigate acts of wearing was useful to observe material appropriateness for the dressed body's dynamic topologies. Also, to grasp the potential of live data and haute couture amalgams, informing future design processes of an IoT connected garment. Encounters with participants through wearer-led investigations of *Live:scape BLOOM* were held during Berlin Fashion Week, and the National Gallery of Victoria Friday Nights party series, Melbourne. Initial results made visible what had been invisible, how it feels to wear an IoT connected dress. What one participant complained about (electronics placement inside the front neckline because it felt really hot), another described as pleasant (because it was a reminder of the mechanisms that were working away inside, like they were harbouring an exciting secret). Participants were asked to compare and contrast physical-digital material and aesthetic qualities of wearing data. They mentioned the subtle presence of the technology, without visible screens or wires or lights it felt more 'human' or 'natural' than previously encountered. It was described as a special experience (to wear the wind in a remote location), and satisfying to see the reactions of people (because of their fascination when they learned about how data was interacting with it). Some talked about how refreshing it was (because they could engage with others beyond 'that's nice, where did you get it?' and embark on a discussion surrounding data collection and use).

Responses prompted speculation about future wearables design beyond the electronics-garment tailoring processes, sensory data output possibilities, and the pertinence of IoT wearables in the aesthetic economy of fashion. While *Live:scape BLOOM* was feasibly worn for short periods, what was also noticeable in this study were technical issues that would require development in software, power supply, hardware robustness and textile tailoring to tolerate prolonged, everyday wear. Future work would benefit from longer periods of habitual wearing in everyday contexts, extended to a larger participant group for varied accounts of tactile, networked, dynamic fashion wearables. This contribution values the body techniques that fashion articulates for design insights, desired interactions and etiquette of IoT wearables.

Conclusion

Fashion wearables that emerge from paradigms of ubiquitous computing incompletely investigate boundaries and relations with other things and bodily matters within an *Internet of worn Things* ecosystem. Through the material turn, IoT technologies such as data alter the conditions, mechanisms, and production of fashion IoT wearables, but not its performative character. Moreover, computational materials of an IoT ecosystem do not account for the social practice of fashion. From these findings, haute couture displays with temporal dimensionalities opened up the performative testing space of wearable data beyond the limits of the gallery and catwalk.

Figure 3: a-c Wearer-led investigation of *Live:scape BLOOM.*

Live:scape BLOOM customises IoT technologies for an alternative to model to quantified data practices. It presents an opportunity for designer-researchers to better understand the use of data as raw material for aesthetic expression. While employing a sensor layer to extract connected and quantified environmental or personal physiological data may be desirable, one's experience of surveilled exploited personal data may be less desirable. Thus, a connection to outsourced weather phenomena for aesthetic expression within an enmeshed, networked data environment was proposed. The focus of *Live:scape BLOOM* was to connect couture embellishment to quantified weather phenomena, to allow *wearing* the wind. To wear live, open source wind data offers a design alternative that facilitates ways to imagine IoT *worn things* for empowered personal use, rather than an extractive model that stores and exploits personal data in the cloud. It confronts issues of data ownership, amidst concerns of tracking and monitoring for the benefit of third-party efficiency and profits. Furthermore, participants in this study commented that IoT connected clothing could have intuitively human experiential qualities, interact with remote environments, or engage discussion surrounding current data issues.

Experimentation with computational material for IoT embellishment is a laboured process, as is the refined handwork in haute couture textile design. Mastering material potential is a critical step to become skilled in cross-disciplinary techniques. For example, soldering delicate and fragile components, tweaking code, or hand-stitching beads, feathers and silk. Identifying the particularities of working with emerging IoT technologies, such as data, supports a deeper understanding of the design potential of haute couture adornment styles. If practitioners can look back through cross-disciplinary design choices and process of an IoT connected garment, they can critically respond in future work and participate in a design dialogue.

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank my supervisors Danielle Wilde and Lijing Wang for their ongoing encouragement and support. Funding from the Australian Research Training Program Scholarship is gratefully acknowledged. I would also like to thank the reviewers for their helpful comments. The *Live:scape BLOOM* project was developed during the Deutsche Telekom Fashion Fusion Lab Residency, Berlin Germany 2016.

References

Ashton, K. (2009), That 'internet of things' thing. RFID journal, 22(7), 97-114.

Atkinson, D. (2017), Post-industrial Fashion and the Digital Body. *In Digital Bodies* (147-160). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Atzori, L. et al. (2010), The internet of things: A survey. Computer networks, 54(15), 2787-2805.

Baker, C. (2017), Critical Interventions in Wearable Tech, Smart Fashion and Textiles in Art and Performance. *In Digital Bodies.* Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Barad, K. (2007), *Meeting the universe halfway: Quantum physics and the entanglement of matter and meaning.* Duke University Press.

Barrett, E. & Bolt, B. (Eds.). (2013), *Carnal knowledge: towards a 'new materialism'* through the arts. Ib tauris.

Bennett, J. (2009), *Vibrant matter: A political ecology of things.* Duke University Press.

Berry, D. M. & Dieter, M. (2015), Thinking postdigital aesthetics: Art, computation and design. *In Postdigital Aesthetics: Art, Computation and Design* (pp. 1-11). Palgrave Macmillan.

Bridle, J. (2013), The new aesthetic and its politics. booktwo. org June, 12.

Broadhurst, S. & Price, S. (2017), *Digital bodies: creativity and technology in the arts and humanities*, London: Pal-grave Macmillan.

Brueckner, S. & Freire, R. (2018), Embodisuit: a wearable platform for embodied knowledge. *In Proceedings of the 2018 ACM International Symposium on Wearable Computers*, 242-247. ACM.

Bruggemann, D. (2017), Fashion as a New Materialist Aesthetics. In Delft Blue to Denim Blue: *Contemporary Dutch Fashion.* London: I.B. Tauris

Buechley, L. et al. (2008), The LilyPad Arduino: using computational textiles to investigate engagement, aesthetics, and diversity in computer science education. *In Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on Human factors in computing systems*, 423-432, ACM.

Coelho, M. & Zigelbaum, J. (2011), Shape-changing interfaces. *Personal and Ubiquitous Computing*, 15(2), 161-173.

Coelho, M. & Maes, P. (2009), Shutters: a permeable surface for environmental control and communication. *In Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Tangible and Embedded Interaction.* 13-18, ACM.

Coole, D. & Frost, S. (2010), Introducing the new materialisms. *New materialisms: Ontology, agency, and politics*, 1-43.

Coole, D. (2013), Agentic capacities and capacious historical materialism: Thinking with new materialisms in the political sciences. *Millennium*, 41(3), 451-469

Craik, J. (2003), *The face of fashion: Cultural studies in fashion.* Routledge.

Cute Circuit. Retrieved January 6, 2018 from http://cutecircuit.com/

Delicato, F. C. et al. (2013), Towards an IoT ecosystem. *In Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Software Engineering for Systems-of-Systems.* 25-28, ACM.

Devendorf, L. et al. (2016), I don't Want to Wear a Screen: Probing Perceptions of and Possibilities for Dynamic Displays on Clothing. In Proceedings of the 2016 *CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems.* 6028-6039, ACM.

Dolphijn, R. and Tuin, I.V.D. (2012), *New materialism: Interviews & cartographies.* Open Humanities Press.

Dourish, P., & Mazmanian, M. (2011), Media as material: Information representations as material foundations for organizational practice. In *Third international symposium on process organization studies*, 92.

The Business of Fashion. Anti-Fashion: A Manifesto for the Next Decade | Li Edelkoort (2017) YouTube video, viewed 6 August 2018 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LV3djdXfimI>

Li Edelkoort. Super technology is going to ask for super tactility (2012) video, viewed 28 February 2019 <https://www.dezeen.com/2012/12/28/super-technology-is-going-to-ask-for-super-tactility-li-edelkoort-at-dezeen-live/>

Entwistle, J. (2009), *The aesthetic economy of fashion: Markets and value in clothing and modelling.* Berg.

Entwistle, J. (2015), *The fashioned body: Fashion, dress and social theory.* John Wiley & Sons.

Entwistle, J. (2017), Addressing the body. *In Fashion Theory.* Routledge.

Frayling, C. (1993), Research in art and design.

Gemperle, F. et al. (1998), Design for wearability. In *Wearable Computers, 1998. Digest of Papers.* Second International Symposium on wearable computers (cat. No. 98EX215). IEEE.

Gilmore, J. N. (2016), Everywear: The quantified self and wearable fitness technologies. *New Media & Society*, 18(11), 2524-2539.

Gao, Y. (2019), Retrieved January 6, 2018 from http://yinggao.ca/possible-tomorrows/

Hachem, S. et al. (2011), Ontologies for the internet of things. In *Proceedings of the 8th Middleware Doctoral Symposium.* ACM.

Hanson, K. (1990), Dressing down dressing up—the philosophic fear of fashion. *Hypatia*, 5(2), 107-121.

Haraway, D. J. (1985), *A manifesto for cyborgs: Science, technology, and socialist feminism in the 1980s*, (173-204), San Francisco, CA: Center for Social Research and Education.

Höök, K. (2018), *Designing with the Body: Somaesthetic Interaction Design.* Design Thinking, Design Theory.
Ito, J. (2014), Antidisciplinary, MIT Media Lab Blog October, 2, 2014.

Joseph, F. et al. (2017), Digital materiality, embodied practices and fashionable interactions in the design of soft wearable technologies. *International Journal of Design*, 11(3), 7-15.

Jung, H. et al. (2008), Toward a framework for ecologies of artifacts: how are digital artifacts interconnected within a personal life?. In *Proceedings of the 5th Nordic conference on Human-computer interaction: building bridges.* 201-210, ACM.

Kamitsis, Lydia (2000) Lesage. Paris: Editions Assouline; New York: Universe/Vendome,
Kao, H. L. C. et al. (2017), Exploring Interactions and Perceptions of Kinetic Wearables. In *Proceedings of the 2017 Conference on Designing Interactive Systems*, 391-396, ACM.

Kelly, K. (2007). What is the quantified self. *The Quantified Self*, 5, 2007.

An Internet of Soft Things, Kettley et al. (2019), Retrieved January 6, 2018 from https://aninternetofsoftthings.com/

Kranz, M. et al. (2010), Things that twitter: social networks and the internet of things. In *What can the Internet of Things do for the Citizen (CIoT) Workshop at The Eighth International Conference on Pervasive Computing* (Pervasive 2010), 1-10.

KOBAKANT, How To Get What You Want, retrieved January 6, 2018 https://www.kobakant.at/DIY/

Koreshoff, T. L. et al. (2013), Approaching a human-centred internet of things. In *Proceedings of the 25th Australian Computer-Human Interaction Conference: Augmentation, Application, Innovation, Collaboration*, 363-366, ACM.

Lamontagne, V. (2005), Peau d'Âne.

Mann, S. (2004), Sousveillance: inverse surveillance in multimedia imaging. In *Proceedings of the 12th annual ACM international conference on Multimedia*, 620-627, ACM,

McCarthy, J., & Wright, P. (2004). Technology as experience. *interactions*, 11(5), 42-43.

McMillan, C. (2018), Live:scape BLOOM: Connecting Smart Fashion to the IoT Ecology. In *International Conference on Artificial Intelligence on Textile and Apparel*, 221-227. Springer, Cham.

McMillan, C. Live:scape BLOOM, 2018, November. Retrieved January 6, 2018 from https://vimeo.com/299296620

Miller, D. (2010), Stuff. Polity.
Mori, M. (1970), The uncanny valley. Energy, 7(4), 33-35.

Miller, D. (2010), *Stuff*. Polity.

Mori, M. (1970), The uncanny valley. Energy, 7(4), 33-35.

Negrin, L. (2012), Aesthetics: Fashion and Aesthetics - a fraught relationship.

Orth, M.(2007), retrieved January 6, 2018 from http://www.maggieorth.com/art_RunningPlaid.html

Penn, I. (1988), *Issey Miyake: Photographs by Irving Penn.* Boston: New York Graphic Society. (Calloway, N., ed.).

Petreca, B. (2017), Giving Body to Digital Fashion Tools. In *Digital Bodies*, 191-204, Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Posch, I. (2017) The Embroidered Computer, retrieved January 6, 2018 fromhttp://www.ireneposch.net/the-embroidered-computer/

Post, E. R., et al. (2000). E-broidery: Design and fabrication of textile-based computing, *IBM Systems journal*, 39(3.4), 840-860.

Quinn, B. (2012) *Fashion futures*, London: Merrell, 50.

Robles, E., & Wiberg, M. (2010), Texturing the material turn in interaction design. In *Proceedings of the fourth international conference on Tangible, embedded, and embodied interaction.* 137-144, ACM.

Rocamora, A. (2015), *Thinking through fashion: A guide to key theorists.* IB Tauris.

Rössler, B. (2015), Should personal data be a tradable good? On the moral limits of markets in privacy. *Social dimensions of privacy: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, 141-161.

Sanders, E. B. N. & Stappers, P. J. (2014), Probes, toolkits and prototypes: three approaches to making in codesigning. *CoDesign*, 10(1), 5-14.

Seymour, S. (2010), *Functional aesthetics: Visions in fashionable technology* (20). Vienna: Springer.

Smelik, A. (2018), New materialism: A theoretical framework for fashion in the age of technological innovation. *International Journal of Fashion Studies*, 5(1), 33-54.

Sterling, B. (2014), *The epic struggle of the Internet of Things.* Moscow: Strelka Press.

Sterling, B., 2012, An Essay on the New Aesthetic. Group, 1, 1-4.

Swan, M. (2013), The quantified self: Fundamental disruption in big data science and biological discovery. *Big data*, 1(2), 85-99.

Thomas, A. (2017) ' Germany Issues Kill Order for a Domestic Spy—Cayla the Toy Doll', The Wall Street Journal, New York, 13 April, retrieved February 28 from : https://www.wsj.com/articles/germany-issues-kill-order-for-a-domestic-spycayla-the-toy-doll-1492098755

Thornquist, C. (2018), The Fashion Condition: Rethinking Fashion from Its Everyday Practices. *Fashion Practice*, 10(3), 289-310.

Tomico, O., & Wilde, D. (2016), Soft, embodied, situated and connected: Enriching interactions with soft wearables. *The Journal of Mobile User Experience*, 5 (3). https://doi.org/10.1186/s13678-016-0006-z

Valentino-deVries, J. et al. (2018) Your Apps Know Where You Were Last Night, and They're Not Keeping It Secret', The New York Times, New York, retrieved January 6, 2018 from https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/12/10/business/location-data-privacy-apps.html

Vallgårda, A., & Redström, J. (2007), Computational composites. In Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on *Human factors in computing systems*, 513-522, ACM.

Van Herpen, I. (2019), retrieved January 6, 2018 https://www.irisvanherpen.com/

Wakkary, R. et al. (2017), Morse Things: A Design Inquiry into the Gap Between Things and Us. In *Conference on Designing Interactive Systems*, 503-514.

Waldemeyer, M. (2007), retrieved January 6, 2018 http://www.waldemeyer.com/hussein-chalayan-111-robotic-dresses

Wiberg, M. et al. (2013), Materiality matters---experience materials. *interactions*, 20(2), 54-57.

Weiser, M. (1991), The Computer for the 21 st Century. *Scientific american*, 265(3), 94-105.

Wilde, D. et al. (2017), Embodied design ideation methods: *analysing the Power of estrangement. In Proceedings of the 2017 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, 5158-5170, ACM.

Worbin, L. (2010), *Designing dynamic textile patterns.* University of Borås.

Worthy, P. et al. (2016), Trust me: doubts and concerns living with the Internet of Things. In *Proceedings of the 2016 ACM Conference on Designing Interactive Systems*, 427-434, ACM.

Wynn, M. et al. (2017), Sexual Intimacy in the Age of Smart Devices: Are We Practicing Safe IoT?. In *Proceedings of the 2017 Workshop on Internet of Things Security and Privacy.* 25-30, ACM.

78 ASIAN CULTURAL APPROPRIATION: A SEARCH FOR EVIDENCE

Author
Kenneth Wilkinson
Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

kenneth.Wilkinson@mmu.ac.uk

Keywords
appropriation
fashion
orientalism
social media
identity

Abstract
Through analysis of over 47,200 images, this study endeavoured to obtain evidence of Asian cultural appropriation by Western fashion brands and media organisations. Findings indicated strongly that very few images can be reliably interpreted as Asian culture-appropriating. Indeed, the number of images containing any Asian elements or models was extremely small relative to the total number of images issued by the organisations whose output was investigated. Despite the increasing importance of Asian markets in the strategies of fashion brands, Asian style elements, motifs, and models remain only modestly represented, and the polysemy and interpretative possibility within the images examined by this research was such that most can be read as either culturally appropriating or appreciating.

Research Objectives
RO1. To ascertain to what degree cultural appropriation is evident in images produced or published by Western fashion brands and media organisations.

RO2. To reveal the nature of Asian cultural appropriation in images by Western fashion brands and media organisations.

Introduction: cultural appropriation – an evolving phenomenon?
The fashion industry has long courted cultural controversy: the issue of ethnic diversity among fashion models is longstanding and retail label gaffs (such as H&M's 'coolest monkey' 2018) occur infrequently but are impactful. Regarding cultural appropriation specifically, recent examples include Gucci's 'Sikh' turbans on white female models (2018), Victoria's Secret's Native American headdress on a white lingerie model (2017), Chanel's Aboriginal boomerang (2017), Vogue's Karlie Kloss 'geisha' – ironically in a 'diversity' special edition (2017), and Marc Jacobs' dreadlocks on white models (2016).

According to Sherwood (2017), in fashion, a 'free culture' persists. Designers routinely plunder indiscriminately for ideas, typically without encountering copyright penalties. With regard to ethnicity, a dichotomy characterises the plunderer and the plundered: Sherwood claims that most designers are of European heritage, so represent Western hegemony (a fashion industry enactment of Gramscian concepts perhaps), whereas the sources of their other-culture inspiration are non-European. Sherwood also claims that the usage of culturally significant apparel (such as Native American headdresses) reinforces notions of 'other' and separation.

Literature review
This research proceeds on the assumption that cultural products such as fashion designs and images hold meanings that are signified by their elements (hence the semiological analysis). According to Barker (2004: 45) the issue of representation occupies much of cultural theorists' attention. In media research, the social construction of perception and representation are focal concerns (Stokes, 2018). Cultural representations are conveyed through materiality: representations are powerfully expressed in language, objects, and – importantly for this research – images. Barker argues that cultural research is today indivisible from the investigation of signification and media. The methodology of this research is justified by similar assumptions (see methodology section).

Also according to Barker (2004), cultural production and consumption no longer occur within national boundaries. In the present, culture is fluid, lacks delimitation, and reflects globalizing human interaction.

Williams (1983: 90) offers three definitions of 'culture':

1. A general process of intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic development
2. A particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or group; and
3. The works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity.

All three are useful to this study: the first because aesthetics are elemental to images, fashion, and representation; the second because orientalism/ cultural appropriation involves differentiated groups (appropriators and appropriated) and time periods (several theorists believe historical *orientalism* shapes non-Asians' perceptions of Asians today); the third because fashion design and image production are artistic activities that are reaching larger audiences than ever due to social media, e-retail, and other forms of globalising technology.

'Appropriation'

For Young (2010: 5), 'cultural appropriation' is challenging to define because it takes various forms. Conveniently, Young offers a general definition: 'use of something developed in one cultural context by someone who belongs to another culture.' Young (2010: 6-9) then provides the following definitions for the forms of cultural appropriation that he identifies.

1. *Content appropriation* occurs when an artist uses ideas originally shown in work from other cultures.
2. *Style appropriation* describes the use of style features that are usual in the work of other cultures.
3. *Motif appropriation* occurs when an artist is influenced by the art of another culture, but does not work in the style of that culture.
4. *Object appropriation* occurs when an object from one culture is simply transferred to another.
5. *Subject appropriation* is the representation of a culture that is not the artist's.

Because a preliminary examination of fashion images revealed elements that complied with one or more of the foregoing definitions, Young's five became the basis of the Relevance Criteria used in the image selection protocol. The following definitions translated less directly into this research, but are here included for the ethical dimension that they introduce to the discussion:

6. *Debasing appropriation:* 'cultural appropriation [that] adopts elements of one cultural group, its ideas, images and styles of cultures, which debases the original significance.' (Sherwood, 2015)
7. *Uncredited inspiration:* 'inspiration without actually taking the time to invest in the cultural, political, and historical connotations of those they are inspired by.' (Hairston, 2017)

In these definitions, *debasing* and *uncredited* invoke Young's contention (2010) that appropriation is morally dubious, especially when it involves parties with unequal power.

Structuralism, and semiotics

Saussure, Barthes, and Foucault, among others, provided social researchers with an analytical apparatus and conceptual framework called structuralism. Saussure (1916) and Barthes (1967) shared interest in signs and their meanings. Applying this, the analytical methodology used in this research incorporates connotation and denotation, signs and signifiers, etc.

Structuralists claim that languages and signs structure reality and meaning. Analyses of texts can expose the mechanisms that lead consumers/ audiences to making sense of and deriving meaning from cultural material. According to structuralists, perceivers conceptualise their world through the languages they speak (Storey, 2012). Concepts of culture (own and others') are modulated and conditioned: the material produced and circulated about a culture influences how that culture is perceived and represented.

Although language and linguistics dominate in the semiotic theories and models developed by Saussure and Barthes, there is an uncontroversial tradition of applying the principles of sign/ signifier/signified and denoted/connoted to images, e.g. Barthes' deconstruction of the tricolour-saluting black soldier (1977).

Contextualising and critiquing cultural appropriation

During 2015 New York Fashion Week, London-based KTZ exhibited beaded dresses that incorporated traditional Crow Indian designs that bore strong similarity to the Apsaalooke Nights dress by the Native American designer Bethany Yellowtail. Yellowtail stated she was 'gutted' by the close copying of her work, and also by KTZ's use of her tribe's designs (Indian Country Today, 2015). Several days later on the Milan catwalk, the Canadian label Dsquared2 exhibited designs that featured strong elements of Native American style in its Fall/Winter 2015 collection (Sikarskie, 2018). Included in their designs were beadwork, feathers, and tribal motifs. The use of #dsquaw to publicise the show was another faux pas – Native Americans consider 'squaw' a derogatory term.

According to Kaiser (2012), visual culture, which includes fashion, is especially susceptible to appropriation, particularly as the global economy opens markets, increases audiences, shrinks distances, and enables easy image acquisition and manipulation via the Internet. Indeed, variety is intrinsic to the global capitalist success formula (Harvey, 1990).

'Fashion' as appropriator

To many theorists, today's fashion is postmodern, in that it refers to nothing but itself, which helps explain its repeating of retro, ethnic, and subcultural currents. In Baudrillard's view, postmodern fashion is a parade of vulgar, vapid signs, a collision of diffuse elements plundered indiscriminately from various sources in a futile effort to acquire authenticity for that which has long since lost meaning (Tseëlon, 1995). Postmodern fashion appropriates (without licence) from any sources, mashing its findings into 'ephemera of floating signifiers that are nothing but self-referential' (Falk, 1995: 103).

Contemporary fashion can be likened to a normless cauldron of stylistic and discursive heterogeneity (Wilson, 1990). Contemporary fashion is characterised by 'a blurring between mainstream countercultural fashions: all fashion has become "stagey", self-conscious about its own status as discourse' (Wilson, 1990: 222, 223). If fashion today is divested of meaning, if there are no dominant dress codes or hegemonic standards, then discussion of subcultural or countercultural styles becomes redundant (Gottschalk, 1993; Polhemus, 1994). Hebdige's concept of bricolage (1979) could be considered a desperate attempt to elevate style appropriation to the status of subculture symbol – by appending meaning to increasingly hollow signifiers (Sweetman, 1999). This research concerns identification and analysis of particular signifiers in fashion images, signifiers that could indicate cultural appropriation or orientalism by the image creators.

Methodology

Schreier (2013) reported that humanities and social sciences heavily endorse qualitative content analysis. Although QCA is recommended variously (e.g. Stokes, 2018), direction on the specifics of data collection and method of analysis is elusive. The protocols of collection and analysis performed in this research are transparent, algorithmic, and therefore replicable. They apply methodologies similar to that of systematic literature review (cf. Denyer and Tranfield, 2009). The protocols are credible because, like systematic literature review, the data they produce is derived from structured, theoretically informed processes, making the resultant analysis robust.

The three protocols that comprise the methodology of this research are source selection, image selection, and image analysis.

Source selection

Since fashion is a highly visual medium (Swanson and Everett, 2008), image-prioritising, image-friendly social media sites were the natural platform for this research. According to Statista.com (2018), the world's most popular image-oriented social media sites are Instagram (one billion registered users), Tumblr (426 million) and Pinterest (175 million). Due to its having the greatest popularity, Instagram was chosen as the portal through which the images issued by fashion brands and media organisations were obtained.

In this research, 'fashion brands' refers to companies whose primary commercial activity is the design, retail, or manufacture of branded clothing and/ or apparel. Throughout this research, I use the term 'media organisations' to describe companies such as Vogue, whose traditional medium is the photographically rich printed magazine. Such companies these days describe themselves as

Table 1: The five most popular Western fashion brands by Instagram following

Fashion Brand	Country of Origin	Market/Product *MM=mass market* *FF=fast fashion*	Instagram Followers (20 August 2018)	Instagram Posts (20 August 2018)
Chanel	France	Luxury	29.2 m	1234
Zara	Spain	Mid-range/MM	27.1 m	1982
Gucci	Italy	Luxury	26.7 m	4887
H&M	Sweden	Mid-range/MM	26.3 m	4004
Louis Vuitton	France	Luxury	26.1 m	2829

Table 2: The five most popular Western fashion media organisations by Instagram following

Fashion Media Organisation	Country of Origin	Instagram Followers (20 August 2018)	Instagram Posts (20 August 2018)
Vogue	USA	19.4 m	5027
Elle	France	3.4 m	7392
Harper's Bazaar	USA	3.4 m	6468
W	USA	3 m	6003
Teen Vogue	USA	2.31 m	7281

'fashion media organisations'. 'Western' refers to the cultural hemisphere from which the brands and media organisations hail, i.e. Western European or North American countries.

In total, 10 sources provided the data for this research. The five fashion brands and media organisations were chosen because they are – by follower count – the most popular and, by implication, the most influential.

If a brand or media organisation is fully regionalised in its Instagram presence (i.e. has no parent account representing the headquarters in country of origin), the account belonging to the Western country with the largest follower count was selected for analysis (in all cases, this was the USA).

Image selection

By convention, research questions determine selection (Rose, 2016; Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001). This study however needs to both identify and then analyse. Moreover, the sources represent an ever-expanding repository of images, necessitating filtration. For this reason, every image issued by all 10 sources was subject to articulated inclusion criteria. Within the inclusion criteria were relevance criteria, formulated to ensure that images were selected or rejected according to theoretically derived conditions.

Table 3: Theoretical derivation of relevance criteria

Relevance Criteria	Form of Appropriation: Content	Style	Motif	Object	Subject	Debasing	Uncredited
RC1 Images [produced by Western fashion brands and media organisations] that feature ethnically *Asian* or *non-Asian* models with *Asian* costume, apparel, or other visual elements – imitative or authentic – but in *non-Asian* settings.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
RC2 Images [produced by Western fashion brands and media organisations] that feature ethnically *non-Asian* models with *Asian* costume, apparel or other visual elements – imitative or authentic – but in *Asian* settings.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
RC3 Images [produced by Western fashion brands and media organisations] whose *mise-en-scène* features Asian settings, behaviours, costume, or apparel – imitative or authentic – when such inclusions are *neither denoted nor connoted* by the image's focus.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
RC4 Images [produced by Western fashion brands and media organisations] that include Asian design motifs or typographic elements – imitative or authentic – anywhere, including in products shown.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
RC5 Images [produced by Western fashion brands and media organisations] that include Asian settings, costume, apparel, design motifs, or typographic elements, including in products shown, but whose meaning or contribution to the image is ambiguous.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 4: Inclusion and relevance criteria

	Inclusion criteria	Rationale
Statutory	Images [produced by Western fashion brands and media organisations] that meet at least one of the Relevance Criteria and were released between January 1st 2013 and September 1st 2018 through Instagram.	To achieve relevance to the present; to show what fashion brands are doing today, rather than have done in the past. To simplify the harvesting of images by selecting a single, common online image-sharing platform that is used with roughly even intensity by fashion brands and media organisations. Instagram is also the world's most popular image-sharing social networking site.
RC1	Images [produced by Western fashion brands and media organisations] that feature ethnically *Asian* or *non-Asian* models with Asian costume, apparel, or other visual elements – imitative or authentic – but in *non-Asian* settings.	This study is seeking evidence of cultural appropriation so must identify instances of the use of cultural items, cues, motifs, or other signifiers *outside their original cultural context.* Because any Asian-imitative element is arguably intrinsically appropriating, any image containing an *Asian-imitative element was included for analysis.*
RC2	Images [produced by Western fashion brands and media organisations] that feature ethnically *non-Asian* models with Asian costume, apparel or other visual elements – imitative or authentic – but in *Asian* settings.	If non-Asian models are posed in designs featuring Asian motifs or settings, the possibility of appropriation by ethnicity exists.
RC3	Images [produced by Western fashion brands and media organisations] whose *mise-en-scène* features Asian settings, behaviours, costume, or apparel – imitative or authentic – when such inclusions are neither *denoted nor connoted* by the image's focus.	This study is seeking evidence of cultural appropriation so must identify instances of the use of cultural items, cues, motifs, or other signifiers *outside their original cultural context.*
RC4	Images [produced by Western fashion brands and media organisations] that include Asian design motifs or typographic elements – imitative or authentic – anywhere, including in products shown.	
RC5	Images [produced by Western fashion brands and media organisations] that include Asian settings, costume, apparel, design motifs, or typographic elements, including in products shown, but whose meaning or contribution to the image is ambiguous.	If Asian elements are included to enrich or energize an image but there is no readily associable connection between them and the focus, then the ambiguity surrounding their inclusion implies appropriation. The image's Asian elements have no Asian significance.

Image Analysis
Images were analysed qualitatively. Images that passed the inclusion and relevance criteria underwent formal analysis. This was achieved via a synthesis of two near-parallel systems: Panofsky's meaning method (1955) and Peirce's sign typologies (1931). The use of semiological systems to decode commercial images has healthy precedent: Barthes (1957) and Williamson (1978).

Panofsky's three-step method (1955) begins with 'pre-iconographic' analysis, which entails description of an image's purely visible elements. This is a report of matter-of-factness, devoid of interpretation or reading beyond description. The 'iconographic' analysis follows. In this, that which is shown is identified or named. This information is not resident in the image, only recognised through the viewer's knowledge or understanding. The final step is the 'iconological', in which the viewer attaches knowledge and concepts to the iconographic to read the greater meaning of the image.

Peirce's trinity features a similar gradation from concrete to interpretation. The icon is that which can be seen, i.e. the resembling visible matter; the index is whatever is associable with the icon; and the symbol is the meaning that the image ultimately communicates (Watson and Hill, 2000). The following table summarises the three systems.

Table 5: Two Systems and Three Levels of Visual/ Semiological Analysis

		Panofsky (1955)	Peirce (1931)
Sequence of visual analysis/ process of interpretation	1	Pre-iconographic	Icon
	2	Iconographic	Index
	3	Iconological	Symbol

Findings and Primary Analysis

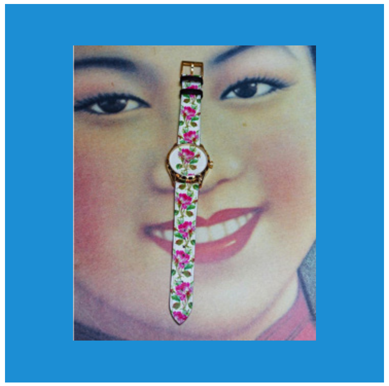
The following tables show representative images returned by the systematic search process and their primary analysis (semiological readings). If an image was part of a series, a photoshoot, or a theme – it was categorized as 'representative'.

The first table shows images sourced from the Instagram postings of the five most followed Western fashion brands. The second table shows images sourced from the Instagram postings of the five most followed Western fashion media organisations. For all, semiological readings are provided. A meta-analysis of these findings is provided in the subsequent section.

Although this research is primarily qualitative, broad quantification of these findings produce an interesting picture. Figures reporting frequency, proportionality, and appearance over time are included In the *Appendix*.

Representative images and their semiological readings
The following contain representative examples of the 77 images returned by the search and selection process, and their readings for each level of analysis.

Table 6: Western Fashion Brands - examples



Source Gucci
Date Posted 2018, July
RC# 4,5

Analysis Level
1. Pre-icon/Icon
Floral-patterned watch; smiling face picture
2. Iconogr/Index
Old Japanese/ Chinese advertising, product in vertical centre of face; cherry blossom patterning
3. Iconolo/Symbol
Pre-war Japan, femininity, delicacy, naïveté, model as context/background – product as focus

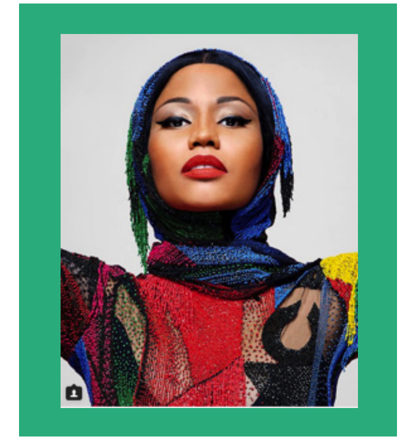
Source H&M
Date Posted 2018, May
RC# 3, 4, 5

Analysis Level
1. Pre-icon/Icon
Woman in grey and bold red, in street, red and black signage
2. Iconogr/Index
Japanese street scene, meat cuisine restaurant sign, reds-greys, strong verticals
3. Iconolo/Symbol
Japan/Asia, non-west, casual chic, multiculturalism

Source H&M
Date Posted 2018, March
RC# 3, 4

Analysis Level
1. Pre-icon/Icon
Giant Chinese-/ Japanese-style lanterns (oversize), characters read: 'spring' (fore) and 'summer' (rear)
2. Iconogr/Index
Typographic, visual novelty
3. Iconolo/Symbol
Cultural/linguistic distance, exoticism, magnitude, subtlety in design-boldness in scope, East-West collaboration, festivity

Table 7: Western Fashion Media Organisations - examples



Source Elle
Date Posted 2018, Summer
RC# 2,4

Analysis Level
1. Pre-icon/Icon
Low angle shot, mixed/ ambiguous ethnicity female, looking down, arms raised; strong colours, semi-transparent sparkling fabrics covering all but face – body skin visible under fabric
2. Iconogr/Index
Nicki Minaj (magazine cover), goddess pose, hijab-type head/neck covering, strong makeup
3. Iconolo/Symbol
Powerful-but-alluring, concealment-display; seduction-intrigue; Arabia, harems, Scheherazade, genie, multiculturalism, empowerment, defiance, victory

Source Vogue
Date Posted 2018, Summer
RC# 1,2,3

Analysis Level
1. Pre-icon/Icon
Three Caucasian females, various costumes
2. Iconogr/Index
Blue head wrapping; centre model carries wax head, Chinese style top
3. Iconolo/Symbol
Turban: raj, maharaja, gender fluidity, identity usurpation;
Chinois smock: dowager, porcelain;
second head: execution, budo; fusion, conflict, contrast; East-in-West

Source W Mag
Date Posted 2018, April
RC# 3,4,5

Analysis Level
1. Pre-icon/Icon
Two Caucasian females, in front of window, large Asian lettering
2. Iconogr/Index
One masculine, one feminine; both wearing leather jackets; Chinese food shop; window lettering: 'noodles', 'congee'
3. Iconolo/Symbol
Western multiculturalism, budget Chinatown food, East-in-West; gender fluidity
second head: execution, budo; fusion, conflict, contrast; East-in-West

Table 8: Images by Origin of Most Prominent Element

Border colour	Origin of Most Prominent Elements	No. of Images
	Japan	39
	Ambiguous/Extremely Polysemic	21
	South Asia	14
	Pan-Asian	14
	Middle East, North Africa, Egypt	14
	Chinatown/Little Tokyo	13
	China	13
	Russia and North East Asia (Including Koreas)	9
	South East Asia	5

Discussion

By aggregating the analyses of the images returned by the searches, the following table provides the meta-analysis of this research's findings.

Table 9: Recurring elements, themes, and impressions

Recurring elements	Recurring themes	Recurring impressions
Female Caucasian models in Asian or Asian-style apparel; female Caucasian models in Asian or Chinatown settings; Asia-signifying objects and mise-en-scène ; Asian typographic decoration/ lettering (seldom meaningful)	Geisha-look, red-white contrasts (the Japanese flag motif), 'kimono'-style garments, hybrid Chinese dress-kimono, harsh fringe haircuts/ heavy eye makeup on Asian models	Exoticism; multiculturalism; hi-tech; tradition; femininity; hybridity; fusion; delicacy; contradiction

The findings of this study suggest Asian cultural appropriation exists in fashion images but is infrequent. This research challenges the assumption that cultural appropriation characterizations/images are common and easily identifiable phenomena.

In the few images identified as appropriating, an exoticised Asian 'other' was discernible. The semiological analyses indicated that signifiers of 'other' were unsubtle, clumsy, and often caricaturing; appropriated Asian style elements and motifs do however appear to provide a qualitatively attractive (not necessarily positive) property, i.e. that of appeal by *difference*.

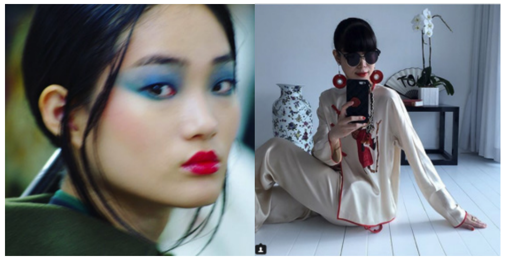
Those elements within images that were definable by the *relevance criteria* as indicative of cultural appropriation could, with similar criteria, be considered indicative of cultural *appreciation*. The categorisation is premised on the researcher's perspectives, theoretical frameworks, and the ethical philosophies. For example, use of a Chinese 'mandarin' collar on a Caucasian model could evidence 'appropriation' or 'appreciation', depending on the framing. A research design that tests whether an image is 'appropriation' or 'appreciation' would be desirable if neutrality were sought.

Several images netted by the *relevance criteria* prompt consideration of issues *other than* cultural appropriation. In particular, the use of Asian models as canvasses for eye makeup was notable and unpredicted. A quantitative content analysis could support this researcher's suspicion that Asian models are overrepresented in promotional images that feature eyelid accentuation. If found, such evidence would support the fetishisation that some theorists (e.g. Sturken and Cartwright, 2009) claim occurs through orientalism.

Another unexpected observation concerns the popularity of what I term 'pan-Asianism' or the 'Asian portmanteau' image. These terms describe images that combine, often indelicately, motifs, mise-en-scène, lettering, models, and other signifiers from multiple Asian sources, as if to ensure the Asian otherness of the gestalt.

Such images (see the following table for an example of each), although a minority within a minority, present enticing interpretative possibilities beyond the scope of this work.

Table 10: Examples of unpredicted categories



It seems improbable that brands would produce designs intended to repel the consumer, since there is no reputational or commercial benefit to doing so (with the possible exception of a publicity piece created to generate controversy). Similarly, fashion media organisations are unlikely to release images that feature unattractive content (again, unless provocation is intended). Therefore, designers and makers of images must be working with positive effect intended, which suggests *appreciation* more than *appropriation* describes the use of Asian style elements and motifs.

An alternative possibility exists: fashion images are simply destitute of originality. As some postmodernist theorists contend, fashion has lost meaning: designers and image makers merely scoop from any source, and Asian style is simply a source to plunder like any other. (This supposition seems somewhat improbable however, given the affluence and reputational stakes of fashion's larger entities.)

Indisputable is the globalisation that is occurring in fashion's markets, media, and consumer appetite. It seems that fashion could or would attempt to persist in occidental legacy mode into meaningful perpetuity.

Conclusions

The overarching finding of this research can be summarized thus: very few images by Western fashion brands and media organisations can be reliably interpreted as Asian culture-appropriating; very few images contain any Asian elements or models, despite the increasing importance of Asian markets in the strategies of fashion brands.

The relevance criteria (RC) were largely effective, but some images (few) were includable although they were inexact fits with the RCs. Although the RCs allowed methodical, efficient selection and rejection, insensitive application would have resulted in important candidate images being overlooked. Subjectivity in the application of the RCs was unavoidable, despite the systematic, explicit nature of the process.

The scale of this investigation – parameters considered – is sufficient to claim generalisability. The image output of the world's five most popular fashion brands and media organisations was analysed and evidence of Asian cultural appropriation was meagre. However, the possibility always exists that an examination of more brands and media organisations could reveal different findings.

Surprising was the relative absence of Asian style and motifs in the images examined. With Asian markets growing strategically more important, the sheer quality and variety of Asian style elements and motifs, a researcher could sensibly assume that fashion images should contain far more Asian style elements and motifs than this research indicates is the case.

This raises the questions of why are Asian style elements and motifs underrepresented? Is the lack indicative of hegemony? The dominance of the Caucasian model might also be questioned: a comparative study of Asian brands and media organisations could investigate the universality (or otherwise) of this phenomenon. Further research could explore such possibilities.

Appendix

Quantification of findings

Figure 1: No. of images by origin of most prominent elements

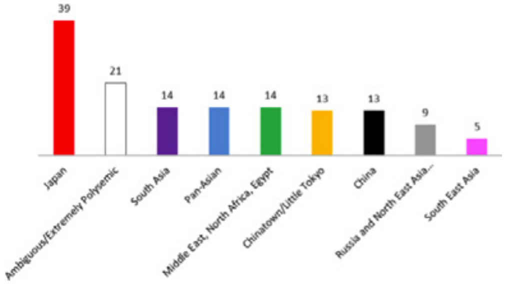


Figure 2: Distribution of images by year

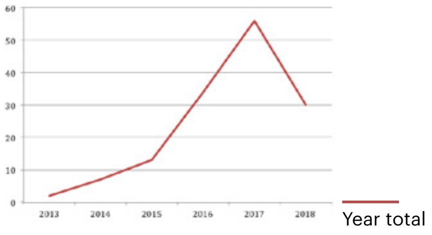


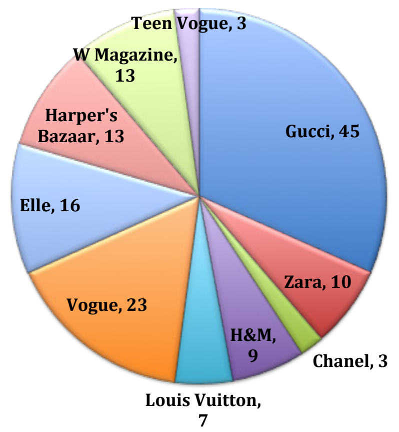
Table 11: Sources, popularity, and image counts

All five brands	n/a	14936	0.49
All five media	n/a	32171	0.21
All ten total	n/a	47,107	0.3

Table 12: Frequency of relevance criteria

Relevance criteria #	Table 1	Table 2	Frequency Total	Ranking by frequency
RC1	18	15	33	5
RC2	15	20	35	4
RC3	35	40	75	1
RC4	49	44	93	2
RC5	28	23	51	3
			287	

Figure 3: Proportionality: image counts by brand/media organisation



Most images were selected on the basis of their satisfying multiple *relevance criteria*, hence the total is not 142 (the numbers of images selected) and proportionality/percentage cannot be indicated.

References

Barthes, R. (1957) *Mythologies.* Translated by La Feriss, A. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972.

Denyer, D. and Tranfield, D. (2009) 'Producing a systematic review', in Buchanan, D. and A. Bryman, A. (eds.) *The SAGE handbook of organizational research methods.* London: Sage, pp. 671–689.

Hairston, T. (2017) 'A message to designers on how not to appropriate', *Refinery29*, Available at: https://www.refinery29.com/2017/09/171249/cultural-appropriationmeaning-fashion-creativity (Accessed: 24 June 2018).

Harvey, D. (1990) *The condition of post-modernity.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Kaiser, S. B. (2012) *Fashion and cultural studies.* London: Bloomsbury.

Lee, R. (2009) 'Social capital and business management: setting a research agenda', *International journal of management reviews*, 11(3), pp. 247-273.

Panofsky, E. (1955) *Meaning in the visual arts.* London: Penguin.

Rose, G. (2016) Visual methodologies: an introduction to researching with visual materials. 4th edn. London: Sage.

Schreier, M. (2013) Qualitative content analysis in practice. London: Sage.

Sherwood, J. (2017) *Appreciation or appropriation?* Available at: https://www.notjustalabel.com/editorial/appreciation-or-appropriation (Accessed: 11 August 2018).

Sikarskie, A. (2018) 'Thinking about cultural appropriation and indigenous fashion', in Kent, H. (ed.) Teaching fashion students. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 201-208.

Statista (2018) Available at: https://www.statista.com/topics/1267/pinterest/ (Accessed: 03 July 2018).

Stokes, J. (2018) *How to do media and cultural studies.* 2nd edn. London: Sage.

Swanson, K. and Everett, J. (2008) *Writing for the fashion business.* London: Bloomsbury.

Van Leeuwen, T. and Jewitt, C. (2001) *Handbook of visual analysis.* London: Sage.

Watson, J. and Hill, A. (2000) *Dictionary of media and communication studies.* 5th edn. Arnold: London.

Williamson, J. (1978) Decoding advertisements: ideology and meaning in advertising. London: Marion Boyars Publishers.

Young, J. (2010) *Cultural appropriation and the arts.* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

119 NOT JUST ‘THE LOOK’: IDENTITY, NEW MATERIALISM AND AFFECTIVE CLOTHING

Author
Lily Lei Ye
Beijing Institute of Fashion Technology, China

alxly@hotmail.com

Keywords
identity
new materialism
assemblage
post-qualitative study
homemade clothing

Abstract
This paper explores how our sense of self-identity is shaped by homemade clothes in the context of contemporary China, taking an anti-essentialist stance towards fashion and identity. This study takes a new materialist approach to investigate the understudied research agenda, foregrounding clothing’s ‘agential’ capacity to affect, and the fluidity of identity. Under this theoretical framework, identity is viewed as an assemblage of becoming, which is an effect of affective practices of both human and nonhuman elements. As such, identity is not fixed and inherent, and cannot be captured in neat typologies. The analysis of this post-qualitative study focuses on the memory evoked by homemade clothing and the feel of wearing homemade garments. Positioned outside the linear, take-make-dispose fashion system, homemade clothes not only shape our sense of self and fashion through its material agency, but can sustain both environmental and human well-being, resisting postmodern consumerism.

Introduction
This study was inspired by the author’s involvement in a charity clothing exhibition, curated by Chinese designer, Ma Ke. The exhibition was held at Wu Yong (Useless or 无用) Home under the theme of ‘Seeking the Most-Storied Homemade Garments’ in Beijing between October 2016 and April 2017 (see Fig. 1), which reflects the current ethical concerns in global fashion, and Ma Ke’s intention to draw attention to the loss of the emotional bond or the long-term connection between the garment maker and the wearer of clothes in the age of industrialised mass production and the consumption (Hui, 2015), highlighting the fashion industry’s negative impact on environmental and social sustainability. Indeed, the sustainable challenges the fashion industry faces have never been greater or more complex, according to the Pulse of the Fashion Industry Report 2017. It is therefore not surprising that issues about the relationship between clothing, people and sustainability have drawn growing interest in the field of fashion studies.

Figure 1: Poster of ‘Seeking the most-storied garments’ Exhibition.

A close look at previous discussions on fashion or clothing and identity reveals that most of them have been undertaken, explicitly or implicitly, using representational approaches, which emphasise the image and 'the look' created by the fashionable garments, and the discursive and semiotic aspects of clothing. These approaches, however, fail to fully account for the complex materiality and vitality of garments (e.g. Smelik, 2018; Bruggeman, 2014; Ruggerone, 2016). Furthermore, many existing studies of sustainability in relation to fashion or clothing are explored within the conventional production and consumption model of the mainstream fashion industry, focusing on fashionable garments. The consideration of homemade clothes and their impact on identity and sustainability is sparse (Holroyd, 2017) and deserves more attention.

This paper attempts to fill the research lacuna in existing literature by exploring how our sense of self-identity is shaped by homemade clothes in the context of contemporary China, taking an anti-essentialist stance towards identity, and highlighting the positive thoughts and feelings evoked by clothes. Different from the conventional point of view to fashion and clothing, this study takes a new materialist approach (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) to investigate the understudied research agenda, foregrounding clothing's 'agential' capacity to affect that has been neglected by existing literature, and the fluidity of identity. Furthermore, the study analyses how homemade garments can help promote sustainable consumption and well-being, bringing fresh insights to the discussion of people, fashion clothing and sustainability. In the next section, a justification for the choice of theoretical framework will be offered.

Theoretical framework

Emphasis on image, spectacle, and the semiotic aspects of clothing has fuelled the study of fashion over the last few decades. These approaches, however, fail to fully account for the affective dimension of garments and the vitality of the body. In contrast, this study takes a new materialist approach (e.g. Deleuze & Guattari 1987; Barad, 2007; Dolphijn & van der Tuin, 2012) to investigate how homemade clothes define and shape our individual sense of fashion and identity. Under this theoretical framework, identity is viewed as an assemblage of becoming, comprising both human and nonhuman elements such as homemade garments, foregrounding the affective dimension of clothing. As such, identity is not fixed and inherent, and cannot be captured in neat typologies. In addition, the new materialist approaches to clothing, fashion and identity think beyond Cartesian dualism between body and mind.

Though this study moves away from fashion's focus on images and the representational approaches to the study of clothing and identity, it is impossible to deny the importance of the representational dimensions of fashion and clothing in relation to individual identity. Whilst this study emphasizes the affective quality of homemade clothes or clothes' ability to evoke emotion, memories, imagination, and issues of identity (Gibson, 2014; Findlay, 2016), it is important to acknowledge that such affect cannot be completely separated from discourse, narrative, interpretation and representation (e.g. Wetherell, 2013). By attending to both affect and narrative, human and nonhuman elements, this study recognises that individual's identity is constituted through intra-actions (Barad, 2007) within the assemblage of affective flows, and is presented in the form of narrative articulated by the individual. As Taylor (1989) asserted that people, as 'self-articulated animals', make sense of life through articulating and reflecting upon their experiences and feelings. A description of the methodology which guides this study will be put in place in the next section.

Methodology

In line with the new materialists' philosophy, the post-qualitative approaches to research (St. Pierre, 2011; Lather & St. Pierre, 2013) deal with qualitative data differently, which 'attends to how affect and the researcher permeate the research process at every stage' (Mazzei, 2013: 777). Under this paradigm, research data is not passively analysed, interpreted and presented by researchers, but it has the capacity to affect researchers and stimulate their thoughts during the process of interaction with research data (Maclure, 2013). During this phase, the author was guided by the research aim and question, the theoretical underpinnings and existing literature.

Alongside other dress stories and a reflexive approach, autoethnographic accounts are the main source of data for this paper (Ellis & Bochner, 2010). The autoethnographic approach allows the author to reflect on previous experience as a means of inquiring. As such, the nature of data collection becomes a process of data generation weaving together a rich tapestry of research conversations, discussion, images, symbols and other embodied memories. The findings are open to further reinterpretation by the readers. I look for the 'resonance' (Conle, 1996) or dissonance readers may have with the stories presented in this study so that they can expand their understanding of experience known or unknown to them and join the dialogue around issues of clothing and identity. The findings and discussion of the research data will be presented in the next section.

Affective clothing and the sense of self

This section illustrates the relationship between homemade clothing and self-identity, highlighting how the sense of self is constructed through the affective encounters with homemade clothes. As mentioned earlier, identity is an effect of affective forces generated within the assemblage that comprises both human and nonhuman elements, including homemade clothing, memory and body. The analysis focuses on how a sense of self is constituted through affective encounters with homemade clothes, including the memories evoked by homemade clothes as well as 'the feeling of being dressed' (Ruggerone, 2016).

Homemade clothes, memory and identity

Existing research has noted the close link between memory and identity. Memory is crucial to self-identity formation (Jenkins, 2004; Lawler, 2008), and serves as both a phenomenological ground of identity, and the means for explicit identity construction (Antze & Lambek, 1996: xvi, cited in Hockey, et. al., 2013). As examples of affective clothing, homemade clothes have the capacity to stimulate owners' or wearers' memories that can prompt affect and sustain self-identity (Peters, 2014). My red top handmade by my mother (see Fig. 2) is emotionally invaluable to me, which could be understood as an example of an affective relationship between homemade clothes and their owners.

Figure 2: The photograph of the red top made by the author's mother in 1987

My mother made me the red top in 1987 to celebrate my entrance to university, which has witnessed my personal growth and preserved memories of the highs and lows in my life. As such, I have developed an inseparable emotional bond with this top over the years. Until now, this red top has been with me for over 30 years, wherever I go. Since it was made, I have worn this top at least four times a year. Yes, I still wear it whenever possible! I like it the best of my clothes because it brings back memories of important occasions and transitional moments in my life. The red top has become an integral part of my life transitions, such as becoming a university student, graduating from university, getting a job, going abroad, marrying and having a family. These memories evoked by the red top, form an important part of my autobiographic narratives and help me sustain a sense of continuity of the self (Giddens, 1991), which are essential to my past and present self. My accounts also support Peters' (2014: 76) observation that 'the emotional engagement that results from the mnemonic qualities of an object can effectively contribute to an object's longevity'.

I am deeply attracted to this top because it was touched by my mother's warm hands, reminding me of my mother's love, devotion and tenderness that are intimated and celebrated in the Chinese poem *A Traveller's Song*[1]:

> The thread in the hands of a fond-hearted mother
> Makes clothes for the body of her wayward boy;
> Carefully she sews and thoroughly she mends,
> Dreading the delays that will keep him late from home...

My feelings towards the red top resonate with the 'mental sense of linkage' between mother and daughter found by Raunio (2007), which was illustrated in one of the dress stories studied by Raunio:

> My blouse pleases me because my mother has made it - my mother, actually, makes quite attractive clothes. In addition, I have adopted my mother's ways of thinking on style, so the blouse feels like me (p.69).

1. A Traveller's Song (遊子吟 (Yóuz- Yín)) is one of the most famous classical Chinese poems, by the Tang Dynasty Chinese poet 孟郊 (Mèng Jiāo). The full translation can be found in http://www.ruiwen.com/wenxue/youziyin/105382/html

As mentioned earlier, my red top was exhibited at Wu Yong (Useless) Home in Beijing between October 2016 and April 2017 as a part of a charity clothing show themed on 'Seeking the Most-Storied Garment', curated by Ma Ke, a Chinese designer. More than 50 handmade clothes were selected for the exhibition, including mnemonic garments such as my red top, a half-century old small cotton padded jacket, a Qing Dynasty wedding dress, a dress featuring a big flower seedling that a grandmother left behind, a dark red cashmere overcoat, and an indigo-dyed cloth made by a mother's warm hand. These garments are examples of the way in which special emotional bonds were made with objects that were associated with significant experiences, complementing the purely functional and representative role of the cloth. Every piece of these clothes is a 'living object' that embodies culture, family values, emotions, memories and past experiences. Myself and another five guests were invited to share our 'dress stories' with the public at the opening ceremony of the exhibition. The golden thread connecting these stories was family bond and love. These dress stories or personal narratives of memories about homemade clothes, as a particular form of linguistic articulation, offer us a way of understanding the self in relation to family and loved ones, through which we make sense of who we are (Taylor, 1989).

All of these clothes were kept from disposal for their capacity to evoke personal memories and emotions, speaking of the owners' loving relationship to their family members. As explained by the owner of a small cotton padded jacket that was made by her mother:

> I'm glad I have kept some old clothes. They were ordinary, but they were precious to me. In the future, I would like to make clothes for my children according to the times, though we no longer need to make our own clothes because of poverty. However, despite the good living conditions nowadays, nothing is as considerate as those unforgettable handmade clothes ... I treasure this small jacket with full blossom pattern, which is a way of appreciating my mother...

For the owner of the small cotton padded jacket (see Fig. 3), keeping some 'ordinary' old clothes is also a way of appreciating her mother's love. Owners and wearers of these 'remembered and cherished clothes' make efforts to preserve them because they are 'tangible reminders of past experiences' (Raunio, 2007: 70) as well as 'companions to our emotional lives' and 'provocations to thought' (Turkle 2007: 5), which link the owners' past, present and future.

Figure 3: A small cotton padded jacket appearing in the 'Seeking the most-storied garments' Exhibition (Source: Useless, Wuyong, 无用民衣社)

In the next section, the relationship between the affective clothing and the sense of self will be illustrated through discussing the material experience of wearing homemade clothes and choice of what to wear.

Clothing choices, feelings of being dressed and identity

Concern with the relationship between clothing and identity is not new. It is, however, argued that existing sociological studies on clothing has put on too much emphasis on image and the symbolic aspects of it with a focus on the interpretive and representational dimension of clothing, but the experience of the individual wearing the clothing as well as the affective capacity of it remains uncovered (e.g. Candy, 2005; Findley, 2016). Moreover, in the literature review, Ruggertone (2016) discovered that many existing studies have been undertaken explicitly or implicitly within the dualistic Cartesian framework (e.g. Entwistle 2000, 2001; Woodward 2007). All these works treat the body as a passive element that is controlled by the mind, 'through which the individual creates the self that then needs to be reflected/represented by and in the (dressed) body' (Ruggerton, 2016: 586).

This study, however, takes an alternative position to explore this research agenda through a 'new materialist' lens, foregrounding the affective capacity of clothing and body. As mentioned earlier, I like my red top and wear it whenever possible. And I feel comfortable, happy and proud whenever I put it on. By attending to affect, I argue that my own experience of choosing to wear the homemade red top and the feelings of wearing it can be understood as an affective encounter between my body and the red top which stimulates a process of mutual becoming with a positive outcome (Ruggertone, 2016). In other words, it is the power of the red top that makes me feel good when I wear it, and the positive feelings I experience towards the red top attracts my attention to this cloth and informs my clothing choice. It is worth noting that the good feeling of being dressed is a pre-cognitive or affective one that was formed through interactions between my body and the red top. In this way, the dichotomous thinking model of mind-body and the concept of mind over body is challenged. In approaching the research agenda in this way, I rejected the dualist assumption that decision making originates in the mind of a Cartesian subject, and posited a non-dualist understanding of the embodied self that is evolved from the felt experiences of affects generated in interactions among both human and non-human bodies.

Another key point to make here is that homemade clothes are able to help the wearers create a sense of authenticity or being true to oneself. According to Taylor's (1991: 29) Ethics of Authenticity, 'being true to myself means being true to my own originality, and that is something only I can articulate and discover. In articulating it, I am also defining myself. I am realizing a potentiality that is properly my own'. As mentioned earlier, I am deeply attached to the red top made by my mother. I favour it because the top fits not only with my body, but also with my true self. In other words, this red top evokes a sense of authenticity, security and sincerity in me. Analytically, this experience resonates with van der Laan and Velthuis' (2016) observation that individuals feel comfortable in clothes that fit with both their bodies and their own perceptions of their identity.

Furthermore, homemade clothes such as the red top endow me with an identity associated with sustainability and empowerment, acknowledging sustainable practice involves both the material and emotional durability of objects such as homemade clothes (Chapman, 2005). The red top made by my mother in 1987, has been offering me a very satisfying and sustainable experience of clothing and fashion. The special emotional connection between the cloth and me makes the red top irreplaceable and not as easily disposed of as the other clothes. In order to extend the durability of the top, I have paid particular attention on how to care for it (Niinimäki & Hassi, 2011), e.g. handwashing and air-drying after washing it. Besides, I have not purchased any clothes for more than 2 years. The affect of homemade clothes stimulates me engaging in ethical consumer practices (Harrison et al., 2005) such as wearing homemade clothes and altering old clothes into new outfits. 'These forms of consumption support internal means of meeting needs, such that satisfaction is not sought through the purchase of clothing, but rather through our unique contributions to it' (McGrath, 2012: 19), sustaining both environmental and human well-being as well as resisting postmodern consumerism.

To sum up, this section illustrates that homemade clothes, as an example of affective clothing, not only provoke memories of the past and subsequent emotions, but stimulate positive feelings of wearing the garments, with far-reaching implications for one's understanding of the self as well as environmental and human well-being.

Concluding remarks

Much research on fashion and identity has adopted a discursive and semiotic perspective and has been more focused on image or 'the look', spectacle, and the representational dimension of clothing and fashion, thus overlooking the complex materiality and vitality of garments and body. In contrast, this paper takes a new materialist approach to investigate the relationship between our sense of self-identity and homemade clothing in China, foregrounding clothing's 'agential' capacity to affect, and the fluidity of identity. Under this theoretical framework, identity is viewed as an assemblage of becoming, which is an effect of affective practices of both human and nonhuman elements such as clothing. For this particular study, sense of self is generated through affective encounters with clothing and embodied meaning-making, challenging dualism between human and non-human bodies, or body and mind. As such, identity, here, is not fixed and inherent, and cannot be captured in neat typologies.

Furthermore, the analysis of this study focuses on how homemade clothes provoke and preserve memories as well as the material experience of dressing. It demonstrates the ways in which clothing affects the self through stimulating wearers' memories and allowing wearers to sustain a deeper emotional connection with their clothing, which leads to an extra care and prolonged use of the garments. Positioned outside the linear, take-make-dispose fashion system, homemade clothes not only shape our sense of self through its material agency, but could sustain both environmental and human well-being, resisting postmodern consumerism. Finally, it calls for applying the concept of 'emotionally durable design' (Chapman, 2005) in sustainable fashion design practice, shifting the focus on resource conservation, to fostering the durability of relationships between people and garments, with far-reaching implications for sustainable design and consumption (see also Fletcher, 2010; McGrath, 2012; Holroyd, 2017; von Busch, 2018).

References

Barad, K. (2007), *Meeting the universe halfway: Quantum physics and the entanglement of matter and meaning.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Bruggeman, D.S. (2014), *More than meets the eye. Dutch fashion, identity and New materialism.* PhD thesis. Radboud University.

Candy, F.J. (2005), The fabric of society: An investigation of the emotional and sensory experience of wearing denim clothing. *Sociological Research Online*, 10(1), 1-17. doi: 10.5153/sro.965

Chapman, J. (2005), *Emotionally durable design: objects, experiences and empathy*, London, Virginia: Earthscan.

Conle, C. (1996), Resonance in preservice teacher inquiry. American *Educational Research Journal*, 33(2), 297-325. doi: 10.3102/00028312033002297

Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1987), *A thousand plateaus — capitalism and schizophrenia.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Dolphijn, R. & van der Tuin, I. (eds.). (2012), *New materialism: interviews & cartographies.* Michigan: Open Humanities Press.

Ellis, C., Adams, T.E., & Bochner, A.P. (2011), Autoethnography: An overview. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 12(1), Art. 10. doi: 10.17169/fqs-12.1.1589

Findlay, R. (2016), Encountering clothes, imagining selves. *Cultural Studies Review*, 22(1), 78-94. doi: 10.5130/csr.v22i1.4913

Fletcher, K. (2010), Slow fashion: an invitation for systems change. Fashion Practice: *The Journal of Design, Creative Process & Fashion Industry*, 2(2), 259-266. doi: 10 .2752/175693810X12774625 387594

Gibson, R. (2014), *The memory of clothes.* Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Giddens, A. (1991), *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late-modern age.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Harrison R, Newholm T, & Shaw D (eds). (2005), *The ethical consumer.* Sage: London.

Hockey, R., Robinson, V. & Sherlock, A. (2013), Worn shoes: identity, memory and footwear. *Sociological Research Online*, 18(1), 20. doi: 10.5153/sro.2897

Holroyd, A.T. (2017), *Folk fashion: Understanding homemade clothes.* London; New York: I.B. Tauris.

Hui, C. (2015), Dirty fashion: Ma Ke's fashion 'Useless', Jia Zhangke's documentary Useless and cognitive mapping. *Journal of Chinese Cinemas*, 9(3), 253-270. doi: 10.1080/1750806 1.2015.1082746

Jenkins, R. (2004), *Social identity.* London: Routledge.

Lather, P. & St. Pierre, E. (2013), Post-qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 26(6), 629-633. doi: 10.1080/095183 98.2013.788752

Lawler, S. (2008), *Identity. sociological perspectives.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mazzei, L.A. (2013), Materialist mappings of knowing in being: researchers constituted in the production of knowledge. *Gender and Education*, 25(6), 776-785. doi: 10.1080/0954 0253.2013.824072

MacLure, M. (2013), Classification or wonder? Coding as an analytic practice in qualitative research. In R. Coleman and J. Ringrose (ed.) *Deleuze and Research Methodologies*, 164-183. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

McGrath, A. (2012), Fashioning sustainability: How the clothes we wear can support environmental and human well-being. Paper presented at the environment sciences senior thesis symposium. Berkeley: University of California.

Niinimäki K.& Hassi. L. (2011), Emerging design strategies in sustainable production and consumption of textiles and clothing. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 19(16), 1876-1883. doi: 10.1016/j. jclepro.2011.04.020

Peters, E. (2014), The mnemonic qualities of textiles: Sustaining lifelong attachment. *Craft + Design Enquiry*, 6, 75-94. doi: 10.22459/CDE.06.2014

Pile, S. (2010), Emotions and affect in recent human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 35(1), 5-20. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2009.00368.x

Raunio, A. (2007), Clothed landscape of memories. *The Design Journal*, 10(2), 62-72. doi: 10.2752/146069207789272695

Ruggerone, L. (2016), The feeling of being dressed: affect studies and the clothed body. *Fashion theory*, 21(5), 573-593. doi: 10.1080/1362704X.2016. 1253302

Smelik, A. (2018), New materialism: A theoretical framework for fashion in the age of technological innovation. *International Journal of Fashion Studies*, 5(1), 33-54. doi: 10.1386/infs.5.1.33_1

St. Pierre, E.A. (2011), 'Post qualitative research: The critique and the coming after', in Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) *Sage handbook of qualitative inquiry* (4th ed.) Los Angeles, CA: Sage, pp. 611–635.

Taylor, C. (1989), *Sources of the Self: The making of the modern identity.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Taylor, C. (1991), *The ethics of authenticity.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Turkle, S. (2007), *Evocative objects. Things we think with*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

van der Laan, E. & Velthuis, O. (2016), Inconspicuous dressing: A critique of the construction-through-consumption paradigm in the sociology of clothing. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 16(1), 22-42. doi: 10.1177/1469540513505609

Von Busch, O. (2018), Vital vogue: *A biosocial perspective on fashion.* New York: Self Passage.

Wetherell, M. (2013), Feeling rules, atmospheres and affective practice: Some reflections on the analysis of emotional episodes. In: Maxwell, C. & Aggleton, P (eds) *Privilege, agency and affect.* Basingstoke: Palgrave/ Macmillan.

163 SHADOWEAR: A NEW WAY OF RE-(A)DRESSING THE BODY

Author
Dinu Bodiciu
LASALLE College of the Arts, Singapore

dinu.bodiciu@lasalle.edu.sg

Keywords
shadow
alterity
illusion
identity
flatness

Abstract

Shadowear is a practice-based research that challenges the conventional approaches to the body in the process of fashion design. The prevailing methods in fashion design approach the body as a subject to be dressed, and attempt to translate its three-dimensionality into garments. Yet, such approaches overlook the multiple existences and extensions of one's body. This project explores the body from a new perspective: through the body's shadow projections onto various surfaces and in different contexts. Expanding the borders of the body and implicitly the garments, into the territory of the shadows, their flat appearance has the potential to dissolve perceptions of race, size, individuality, gender and identity.

Under the influence of light, transient features that the body produces onto surrounding surfaces – shadows – can be considered as impalpable extensions which trace our existence and continuously accompany us. Aiming to decipher the visual information hidden within the silhouette of the shadow and translate it into garment-making, the designer has freedom for innovation and play. This method entails both a rigorous approach to the shadow silhouette in the process of pattern making, but also an imaginative methodology to make the ephemeral and impalpable, permanent and tangible.

This research proposes a new method in fashion design by shifting the focus of the process of creation from the three-dimensionality of the body, to the flatness of one's shadow. This method is an attempt to redefine and challenge existing fashion conventions, and to explore new approaches to the body, investing the designer with a range of new roles, exemplified through *Shadowear*, a new method for designing and making garments from and for one's shadows.

Introduction

For centuries, the physical body stands as the central denominator for garment construction and design. A three-dimensional entity with curves and slopes, under a continuous state of change and new standards, the body has always challenged our creativity to reinvent and reinterpret season by season the same old fashions and styles. Blinded by its three-dimensionality, designers dealing with dressing, covering, protecting and embellishing it have always looked into its immediate corporeal features and functions. Conventional approaches to garment making have focussed on what is real and physical about a body, overlooking other features that the body is producing while interacting with the environment in which exists. I call these features extensions (from physical traces like droppings, odours and vapours up to imprints onto surfaces, impalpable shadows, sounds, etc.) and I am interested in exploring how these extensions are influencing our understanding of what a body actually is and what it involves.

It is noticeable to mention that some forward-thinking artists have tackled the concept of expanding the body, in both the analogue and digital fields. Artists such as Rebecca Horn and Ann Hamilton have proposed a range of dress artefacts and extensions to enhance the body both physically and sensorially (Schwartzman, 2011). Orlan's practice of modifying the body in order to challenge norms of beauty proposes a body in a continuous change, able to be stretched to unexpected limits. This body is actively living and organically responding to the society it lives in (Zylinska, 2002; Schwartzman, 2011). Taking a sculptural approach Caroline Broadhead shifts the attention from the body to the garment. Her early works like *Ready to Wear* (1998), Shadow dress and *Over My Shoulder (Yellow)* (1996) are attempts to give life to garments' shadows.

Similarly, in the field of fashion, some designers have re-interpreted and challenged the body in various ways (Granata, 2017), questioning what garments are and how they can be worn, how garments are constructed and what they mean at a symbolic level, as well as examining notions of beauty and perfection. For Rei Kawakubo and Yohji Yamamoto, the garment does not obey the volumes of the body, it actually challenges this body through distortions and volume shifts almost like in a continuous search for a new physical identity. In Georgina Godfrey's designs the body becomes an object to be re-considered in the attempt to critically challenge norms of beauty and aesthetic, while for Martin Margiela the garment, and implicitly the body are becoming the subject of dissection-like approaches in a search for the hidden social and cultural connotative data embedded within (Granata, 2017). In the above-mentioned examples where the garments have a double role: to dress a body and also to modify it while being dressed, the wearer becomes what Tarryn Handcock (2014) defines as a *skin that wears.* These attempts belong to the field of speculation, where established notions of dress are invested with new semiotic values, challenging us to imagine matching garments for various situations, contingencies and contexts into which a body could operate.

I will further briefly discuss two existing fashion practices developed by labels such as Maison Martin Margiela (SS2011) and Comme des Garçons (FW2012) where an attempt to imbue a flattened look to the three-dimensional body has been attempted through intricate construction approaches. Maison Martin Margiela's Spring/Summer 2011 collection is an attempt to flatten the human body at least at a first glance. By using engineered panelling and construction support materials the designers have pushed most of the garment details to the front of the body onto the flattened textile surface which becomes the only visible side of the garment when the subject is seen from the front. This attempt seems to challenge the perception of the body by generating a split between the head and limbs, which are left uncovered as three-dimensional appendices of a torso which was reduced to a geometric flat surface while being depleted by any traces of organic nature (Fig. 1).

Figure 1: Maison Martin Margiela, Spring/Summer 2011. Photograph by Giovanni Gianonni. *The Fashion Design Directory*, Thames & Hudson, 2011

The Fall/Winter 2012 collection by Japanese brand Comme des Garçons was proposing an exaggerated silhouette in the attempt to tackle canons about body size and proportions (Granata, 2016). The main fabric of each garment was transformed into a 'canvas' on which stylised silhouettes of the same design, but in a smaller scale, were pasted on, investing the entire look with a flat-like quality. While the flattened silhouette was producing an oversized appearance, a vibrant colour palette was used to instil a buffoon-like appearance accentuated by the exaggerated disproportion between the augmented garments and small human parts appearing from behind them (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Comme des Garcons, Autumn/Winter 2012. Photograph by Inez and Vinoodh. *Rey Kawakubo/Comme des Garcons: Art of the In-Between*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2017

Albeit in both examples the three-dimensionality of the body has been considerably toned down and the resulted designs permeate a flat-like appearance, none of the approaches was aiming to propose a new method for challenging the body and its' extensions in the process of garment design. This design process still follows the rules of established fashion making paradigms, for instance consideration of construction, shape, fit and sizing. It is essential to note that in both examples the body as a physical entity still remains the reference for the entire garment construction and design process.

Through the method articulated in this paper, I propose the expansion of the borders of identification of the body, and implicitly the garments beyond the physical dimension, into the territory of shadows, where the flatness of the projected body dissolves perceptions of race, size, individuality, gender and identity. Through the shadow, the identity of the individual is reduced to an index (Stoichita, 1997) where the mark of the body becomes a trace of its existence only as a species. Taking this consideration as a premise, this research aims to render a new method for garment making which shifts the existing paradigms of benchmarking bodies into standards and stereotypes together with offering an alternative to current fashion design practices. This method is an attempt to stretch the boundaries of fashion beyond the confines of culturally and socially accepted approaches towards the body. It proposes instead a posthumanist perspective (Braidotti, 2013) by shifting the focus from the body to a more complex field of representation that takes into account the interaction between the body and environment.

Methodology & Outcomes

Although the anthropological apparatus conferring value and meaning to the shadow varies in cultures and times, some indisputable traits could be attributed when considering an overall understanding of what shadows represent at a symbolic level. In order to clarify the reason for which the shadow plays such an important role in instigating this design method, I will shortly comment on some distinct cultural aspects and connotations which have historically marked the construction of human representation in the visual field. After formulating the semiotic dimensions of the shadow I will introduce the working process for the *Shadowear* method and reflect on its potential values for fashion design practice.

Pliny's story in *Natural History*, *XXXV* which recounts how Butades's daughter captured her lover's shadow by marking its outline on the wall, is the first record to document the origin of visual representation; the shadow becomes 'the other' of the physical body, reducing its identity to an appearance (Stoichita, 1997). Furthermore, the story tells us that Butades used the shadow's outline to sculpt the semblance of his daughter's loved one after the young man's death and that this sculpture was later kept in the temple at

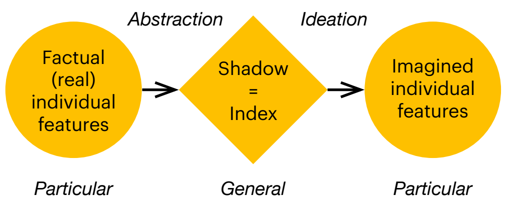
Corinth (Stoichita, 1997). With the help of this story we learn about the potential value of the shadow to be understood as the soul of the individual, and once with the disappearance of the physical body the soul (the double) could be kept alive through the sculpted representations (a double).

Later on, the Platonic scenario of the cave, similar to oriental shadow puppetry (Chen, 2003; Korsovitis, 2003) becomes a new order of representation and exegesis whereby the realm of the shadow becomes alterity, reinforced and supported by the addition of sound (Stoichita, 1997). Strongly embedded in Plato's philosophy, *'the shadow represents the stage that is furthest away from the truth'* (Stoichita, 1997), but also gains a fundamental semiotic charge, which prevails in the history of visual representation, being the semblance produced by the lack of light.

Piaget's work in setting up the framework for human cognitive development introduces the concept of the shadow stage (Piaget & Inhelder, 1956), which is further developed by Lacan in relation to the differentiation of the 'self' to the 'other'. As Lacan states, the *mirror stage* involves the identification of the *'I'* while the shadow stage involves the identification of the *'other'* (Lacan, 2006). Based on these considerations I would like to outline the important role played by the shadow as a mediator in the cognitive apparatus of identification. Taking this rationale further, the shadow could be seen as a conversion agent from particular (the *I*, the individual) to general (the *other*, the common), preserving the confines of the species but lacking details about race, size, identity and even gender. The shadow becomes the *Index* (Stoichita, 1997) of the species, a territory which has been cleared of any traces of individuality. Bringing the subject to this level of abstraction (a shadow) will allow the receptor (the designer) to imagine features beyond the confines of reality, thus becoming a new tool for ideation and an alternative space yet to be explored for fashion design.

Based on these considerations I am proposing the following speculative design approach (Dunne & Raby, 2013) as an innovative conceptualisation process, illustrated below (Fig. 3), which delineates the thought process used as an instigator of a practical design methodology. The translation of the three-dimensional data of a body into the flat surface of its cast shadow could be seen as a process of *abstraction* in which individual features of the subject have disappeared. The shadow becomes an intermediary state, as a converter, whereby only a set of basic information about the body has been kept, and will be further used for the process of *ideation* of new elements of dress.

Figure 3: Diagram illustrating the conceptualisation process which grounds the *Shadowear* design method



I will further detail the practical methodology of addressing the shadow from the perspective of garment design and production, which entails the following stages:

Abstraction
Translation - Ideation
Make

By shifting the focus of the designer/garment maker from the three-dimensionality of the body (which brings forth considerations about measurements) to the flatness of the shadow, this method simplifies and replaces the entire set of data as required by traditional methods of garment production. For a clear understanding of the proposed method a series of illustrations and visual documentation gathered during my own practice will be further used.

Abstraction (Production and recording of the shadow)
The first stage in the process, with utmost importance in capturing the body as a subject for the subsequent stages, is the documentation of the shadow. As a transient extension of the body, and in continuous change, the shadow is always influenced by some physical and optical parameters: the source of light, the distance between the source of light and the subject, the surface where the shadow is projected on, and the angle of projection. The combination of these parameters is influencing the shadows' shape, size, proportions and distortion ratio, thus influencing the process of abstraction of the body.

There are two main sources of light, natural

(sun, moon, fire) or artificial (incandescent light, fluorescent light) each one producing a particular type of shadow. Although the source of light is the most important factor in the production of the shadow, and with technological developments, the types of artificial light have strongly diversified, this paper will focus only on the factors detailed below as being relevant for the shape and quality of the shadow.

The distance between the source of light and the body is the factor responsible for the size of the shadow. There is a simple rule, which has been used since the 14th century and documented by artists such as Alberti, Leonardo or Durer (Stoichita, 1997), namely that the size of the projected shadow is inversely proportional with the distance between the source of light and the subject. For shadows cast under the light originating from astral bodies like the Sun and the Moon (Fig. 4a), the size of the shadow is close to the actual size of the body (not considering yet the angle of projection which will be further detailed) whereas if the shadow is produced by an artificial source like a candle or a lightbulb, positioned close to the body, the shadow will become augmented in size (Fig. 4b).

Figure 4a: Shadow produced by astral bodies

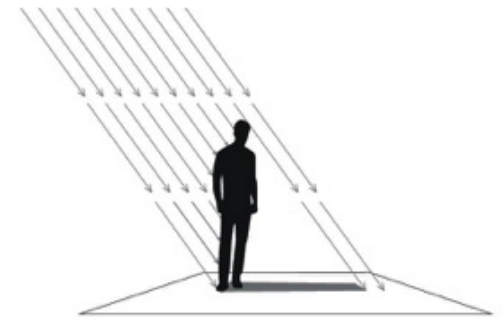
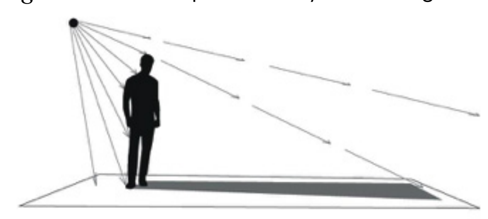


Figure 4b: Shadow produced by artificial light



The third aspect is the angle of projection which influences the proportions of the shadow, specifically the harmony between length and width. The wider the angle between the source of light and the shadows' projection surface, the bigger the proportion between the length and the width of the shadow will be. This angle could range from 90 to 180 degrees (see below figures 5a and 5b which showcase this relation).

Figure 5a: Shadow produced at an angle of 93°

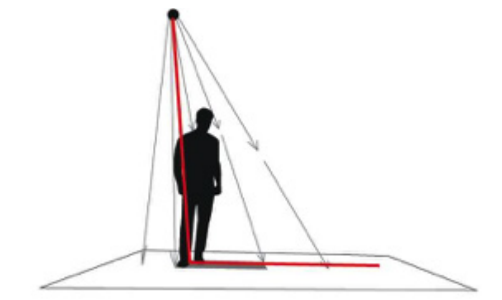
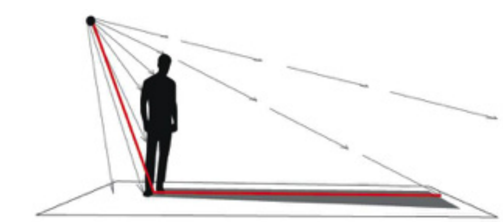
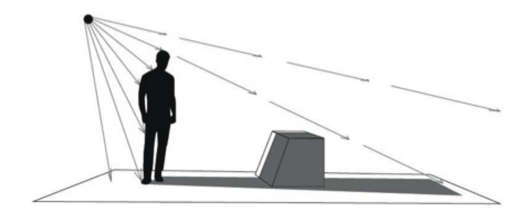


Figure 5b: Shadow produced at an angle of 115°



The Surface of projection is the fourth aspect to be considered in generating a shadow. Together with the angle of projection, this aspect is responsible for the distortion of the shadow. If the projection is produced on a flat surface, the outline of the shadow will be smooth in contrast with a more textured projection surface (objects, shapes) where the shadow will be distorted (Fig. 6).

Figure 6: Illustration showcasing the distortion of the shadow when projected on textured surfaces



Utilising the interrelation between these four parameters, the resulted shadow could be strongly controlled and anticipated in order to serve as a suitable starting point for this design method.

Translation - Ideation

Once the desired shadow has been achieved and photographed, through the process of translation – ideation - a new item of dress will be generated. The photographed shadow, although lacking most of the details of the subject which has produced it, as earlier discussed, it still keeps certain traces of spatiality and body posture. Similar to an investigator, the designer will further proceed with a reconstruction of the original three-dimensionality of the body which produced the shadow. This process of reconstruction could be addressed as two-fold: in a rigorous manner, a process which I will name *translation*, when traces of dress recorded in the outline of the shadow are regenerated by the designer into new garments; or in a creative manner, a process which I will name *ideation*, when the silhouette of the shadow stands as a canvas, and the designer has the liberty to design garments beyond the confines of the shadow and without any reference to the garments worn by the subject which generated the shadow.

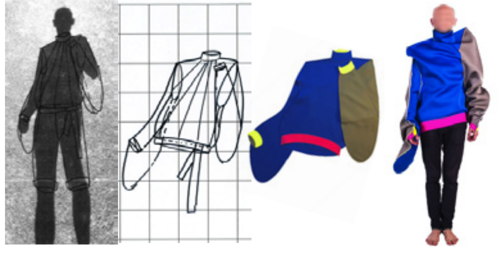
By approaching the process of *translation*, the designer will act as an investigator (Fig. 9), trying to elucidate elements of dress worn by the subject when the shadow was documented. Through *translation*, the surface of the shadow is the confinement where the designer can creatively express by tracing details of construction and features for the new garment. Although this process seems quite restrictive there still remains a wide area of exploration which allows the design process to cross beyond the reiteration of archetypal garment details and features (Fig. 7a-7c).

Figure 7: Translation approach illustrated as shadow (Fig. 7a), intermediary pattern (Fig. 7b) and final garment (Fig. 7c)

a b c

Compared with translation, the second approach, ideation (Fig. 8a-8d), imposes no restrictions, allowing the designer to manifest freely as a *creator* (Fig. 9) while addressing the shadow only as a reference for the pose or spatiality for the newly designed garment and as a source of data regarding fit and wear. This approach challenges the designer to reconcile established notions and knowledge about garment construction and detailing in contrast with innovative, accidental and progressive interpretations of what elements of dress and fashion could become.

Figure 8: Ideation approach illustrated as shadow (Fig. 8a), the intermediary design on a grid (Fig. 8b) and final garment as flat (Fig. 8c) and on a three-dimensional body (Fig. 8d)



a b c d

Regardless of approach (translation or ideation) this stage requires a strong understanding of spatiality and flat tri-dimensional representation. As both approaches open up a boundless territory where speculation and experimentation could be exercised this is the most important stage of this process.

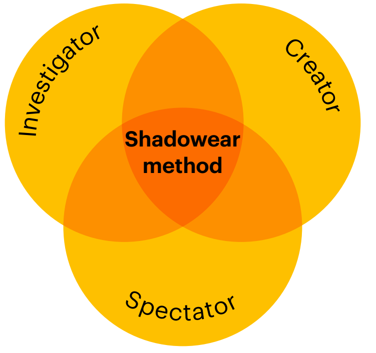
Make

Once the new design has been completed, the sketch will be brought through scaling to the size suitable for the body. Although in my practice I have used a grid (Fig. 8b) as the technical tool for rendering the designed garment to body size, a wide range of analogue and digital scaling methods could be used. The scaled design will be further drafted and cut in the desired material. There is only one rule about measurements when scaling the design to the human-size: the narrowest section of the shadow (of the newly designed garment) has to fit the body area to which it corresponds. If this rule is followed the garment will always fit well.

It is important to outline that from the drafting stage each piece of a pattern is different from the other, unlike for traditional garment making processes, where most of the time the majority of the panels are cut in pairs, given the symmetric nature of the body. For this method the pattern pieces and the assembling process become similar to a puzzle game, instigating the maker's attention and logic. As this design method does not cater to mass production or a fast fashion practice, a consideration about fabric waste and longer assembly times is required.

A strong consideration of fabric properties is required in order to achieve the desired level of novelty for the final outcome. For example, when making a traditional jacket, next to the main fabrics a whole range of construction materials like interfacing, canvas, felt, padding and assembly knowledge is required, whilst in our case, all this knowledge is challenged, even more, could be fully eradicated. The accidental ways in which the garment will drape on the body as a result of these material considerations is the utmost important outcome of this method, positioning the designer in a new role, the one of a *spectator* (Fig. 9), discovering unexpected features of his own work. Given that this method renders a new approach for design, the choice and combination of materials and production methods could also be subject for further consideration as it opens new territory for design investigation.

Figure 9: A diagram which illustrates how the combination of the three roles played by the designer as an investigator, creator, and spectator contribute together when undertaking the Shadowear method.



The final outcome - the new 'shadow' garment - carries a series of features investing the design with intangible values in contrast with traditionally produced garments, such as some characteristic features of the original subject, from pose to body attitude and setting context. These features, together with details added through the design process confer the new garment with an aura of complexity which invites the receptor to decode the design language and its aims in a completely new light, by shifting the paradigm of knowledge on the relation between body and the garment into a new territory (Fig. 10a-10e). This new territory can be articulated based on the post-structuralist concept of 'line-of-flight' proposed by Deleuze and Guattari (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Thus, I take the new relationship between the body and the garments designed through this new method, as articulating a line of flight, that is, a system and process of semiosis which reaches a maximum of centrifugal energy and escapes a given territory of traditional garment knowledge and representation to rearticulate itself in the territory of significance of the *Shadowear*. Through this process, *Shadowear* will open new meanings in relation to concepts of dress as a cultural construct, and of the relation between the body and the garment, as new territories to be populated with semiotic content.

Figure 10: a-e Illustrations of the entire *Shadowear* method, from abstraction through translation/ideation and the making of the new garment (Fig. 10a the original shadow; Fig. 10b the translation of the garment using the grid; Fig. 10c the scaled design; Fig. 10d the final garment on a flat surface; Fig. 10e the final garment on a three-dimensional body)

a b c d e

Conclusion

The above detailed *Shadowear* method opens up new strands for fashion design practice. By shifting the designer's attention from the physical subject to the shadow as the *index*, the entire process of design and construction of garments becomes filtered through an apparatus similar to a process of 'unknowing' (Hara, 2015).

This method casts a new light for understanding the body and identity while giving substance to the quotidian and daily existence and bringing forth awareness about what we are as entities beyond the confines of a physical body. Stretching the body past the boundaries of familiar human representation set by traditional fashion design and production practices obscures the prototypical model of the Vitruvian man towards a posthumanist framework.

The innovative side of this method could be articulated as a three-pronged approach with benefits for both the designer and the wearer as direct participants in this process, as well as for the enrichment of the design language at a cultural level.

From the perspective of the designer/maker, the method broadens the complexity of roles invested by the designer, from creator to investigator and spectator. By handling a wider range of roles, the designer becomes an agile and versatile player when developing a practice and conveying a message.

On the wearer side, this method challenges archetypal notions about garments and dress codes. The wearer is faced with products which are carrying clear and recognisable traces of known elements of dress while not worn. The minute these garments are worn, the expected appearance is shifted to a distorted reality which pushes the subject into an uncomfortable and disruptive angle, allowing a wider field for play, exploration and a re-evaluation of what 'being dressed' could entail.

Finally, *Shadowear* could be considered as a teaching approach for fashion design, instigating critical thinking, and combining in a fluid and dynamic manner creative and technical processes, together with investing a thorough knowledge of fashion history and construction, while simultaneously challenging it.

References

Bolton, A. (2011). *Rei Kawakubo/Comme des Garcons: Art of the In-Between.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, pp. 127.

Braidotti, R. (2013). *The Posthuman.* Cambridge: Polity.

Chen, F. P. (2003). Shadow Theaters of the World. *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 62, No. 1, pp. 25-64.

Deleuze, G., Guattari, F. (1987). *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 123-164.

Dunn, A. & Raby, F. (2013). *Speculative Everything; Design, Fiction and Social Dreaming.* Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Fogg, M. (2011). *The Fashion Design Directory.* Thames & Hudson, pp. 208

Granata, F. (2016). Mikhail Bakhtin: Fashioning the Grotesque Body. in A. Rocamora and A. Smelik, ed. *Thinking Through Fashion*, 1st ed. London: I.B.Tauris, pp. 97-114.

Granata, F. (2017). *Experimental Fashion: Performance Art, Carnival and the Grotesque Body.* London: I.B.Tauris.

Handcock, T. (2014). *Skin That Wears: Body-site as a Context for Designing Wearable Artefacts.* [pdf] Melbourne: RMIT University. Available at https://researchbank.rmit.edu.au/view/rmit:161236 [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018].

Hara, K. (2015). *Ex-formation.* Zurich: Lars Muller Publishers, pp. 8-20.

Korsovitis, C. (2013). Ways of the Wayang. *The Everyday The Familiar and THE BIZARRE*, India International Centre Quarterly, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 59-68.

Lacan, J. (2006). The Mirror Stage as Formative of the I Function as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience. *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English.* [trans. Bruce Fink], New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Piaget, J., Inhelder, B. (1956). *A Child's Conception of Space.* London: Routledge & K. Paul.

Schwartzman, M. (2011). *See Yourself Sensing; redefining Human Perception.* London: Black Dog Publishing.

Stoichita, V. I. (1997). *A Short History of the Shadow.* London: Reaktion Books Ltd.

Zylinska, J. (2002). *The Cyborg Experiments: The Extensions of the Body in the Media Age.* London: Continuum.

168 COMFORT IN CLOTHING: FASHION ACTORS AND VICTIMS

Author
Karen Cross
Robert Gordon University, Scotland

k.a.cross@rgu.ac.uk

Keywords
comfort
clothing
dress
identity
well-being

Abstract

Fashion psychology is an emerging discipline, recognising the potential of clothing to enhance well-being in an era when mental health issues are increasing in the Western world. Well-being is important to the individual and on a wider societal level, with the Office for National Statistics monitoring the well-being of UK inhabitants and the World Health Organisation stating that depression will be the most common health issue in the world by 2030. As comfort is a key aspect of well-being, this study explores meanings associated with comfort and discomfort in everyday, non-elite clothing. Comfort in clothing can be physical, physiological and psychological, and the psychological comfort gained from clothing is identified in literature as under-researched. Psychological theory was explored, revealing individuals perform multiple identities, dependent on the reaction of others and filtered by previous, lived experience. Fashion was found to be a recognised method of communicating identity in the social space and research suggests the physical response to psychological constructs or meanings associated with certain garments can be used to change or enhance mood. As psychological comfort can only be measured subjectively, this study employed an interpretive paradigm and qualitative methodology. In keeping with fashion's location within visual culture, participant-produced visuals, described as a form of photo elicitation were collected, accompanied by short narratives. Fashion Management students, as a key informant sample, were briefed to create photographic fashion images styled on a 'Comfort in Clothing' or 'Discomfort: Fashion Victim' theme, accompanied by 100-word narratives, providing rich data. The study was longitudinal, over a three-year period, to negate the influence of short-term fashion trends and groupthink. Multimodal textual analysis was used to explore comfort and discomfort associated with clothing and fashion in the participant-styled images and narratives. Four identities emerged; the private self, the unrestricted self, the body-conscious self and the confident self.

Introduction

Well-being is important to the individual and on a wider societal level (Evans et al., 2015). The Cambridge Dictionary (2018: np) definition of well-being is, 'the state of being comfortable, healthy, or happy'. However, levels of happiness in Western societies have remained static for the past fifty years and rising mental health issues are identified as a global concern (Burnham, 2012). The recent emergence of the Positive Psychology discipline (Lomas et al., 2014) provides empirical evidence for the use of positive interventions to improve well-being, with Masuch and Hefferon (2014: 227) establishing that clothing could be used to manage well-being, describing it as a 'rich source of positivity in participants' lives'. This led the researcher to explore how every day, non-elite (Craik, 1994) clothing and fashion might provide psychological comfort, identified as under-researched by Kamalha et al. (2013). Psychological theory was explored, revealing individuals perform multiple identities in different social spaces, dependent on the reaction of others (Cooley, [1902] 2009) and filtered by previous, lived experience (Mead, 1967; Goffman, [1959] 2002). Clothing and fashion was found to be a recognized method of communicating identity in the social space (Wilcox et al., 2009; Rudd and Lennon, 2000) and the theory of Enclothed Cognition (Adam and Galinsky, 2012) suggests the physical response to psychological constructs or meanings associated with certain garments could be used to change or enhance mood (Pine, 2014). Similarly, Masuch and Hefferon (2014) posit that dress practice can be used to manage mood, befriend the body and negotiate selfhood. Corner (2014: 4) stresses the importance of fashion to the self, stating that, '[f] aster than anything else, what we wear tells us the story of who we are – or who we want to be. Fashion is the most immediate and intimate form of self-expression', placing fashion at the forefront of the communication of identity and associated psychological comfort or discomfort.

Comfort

Pineau (2008: 271) states that 'comfort corresponds to everything contributing to the well-being and convenience of the material aspects of life'. Steele (2001: 24) describes comfort as a 'relative concept', which was not considered important for many centuries. Comfort, in products ranging from corsets to furniture, became a valued property in the nineteenth century; corset advertisements of that time usually highlighted comfort as a feature. In 1887 Amelia Jenks Bloomer stated that women's dress should focus on function, comfort and health, with aesthetics being a secondary consideration. This links to the Aesthetic Dress Movement, which advocated simple and elegant silhouettes with unrestricting undergarments (Design Museum, 2015). In the 1920s, Chanel's jersey flapper dress liberated women by 'enabling them to move more freely and more comfortably, and even to get dressed and out of the house more quickly, than previous fashions' (Barnard, 2014: 61), hinting that the time-poor consumer (Bauman, 2012) is not a new phenomenon. In more recent times, Pine's (2014) research found that 52% of respondents dressed to be comfortable. Retail analysts have found that the use of comfort as a fashion marketing strategy tends to target the mature consumer, but that research suggests almost a quarter of female consumers aged 15-25 prioritise comfort over style (Clements, 2015). Clothing comfort can be categorized into three areas, physiological/ergonomic, sensorial/tactile/physical and psychological (Kamalha et al., 2013). Physiological comfort is concerned with the thermal regulation of the body (Bye and Hakala, 2005). Aspects of physical comfort include moisture sensations such clamminess, dampness, wetness, stickiness and clinging, and pressure sensations relating to garment fit, such as being tight, loose, lightweight, heavy, soft or stiff (Kamalha et al., 2013). Peck and Childers (2003) describe comfort as a controlled and conscious outcome-directed, instrumental factor related to consumer purchase goals, however this definition neglects psychological comfort considerations.

Psychological comfort

Psychological comfort is related to the wearer's values, roles and social being, the internal self-consciousness and self-satisfaction. Kamalha et al. (2013) note the influence of person attributes such as cultural/religious/political beliefs, values, personality, body image and personal interests. Clothing attributes include fashion, style, aesthetics, design, colour and texture. Environmental attributes, such as occasion, location, climate, social-cultural settings and norms were also found to affect levels of psychological comfort. Table 1 provides an overview of clothing comfort models:

Consensus can be seen among the authors in Table 1 on the relationship between the environment, clothing and the person (Sontag, 1985; Fourt and Hollies, 1970). Branson and Sweeney (1991) and Pontrelli (1975) agree on the importance of previous experience, anticipations and influences, linking to the concept of lived experience in identity theories (Mead, 1967; Goffman, [1959] 2002). Lui and Little's (2009) model posits that psychological feelings that arise from garment/body interaction can only be measured subjectively, unlike the scientific, objective measurements of physical and physiological comfort.

Table 1: Clothing Comfort Models (adapted from Kamalha et al., 2013)

Authors	Fourt& Hollies (1970)	Pontrelli's Clothing Comfort Model (1975)	Sontag's Clothing Comfort Triad (1985)	Branson & Sweeney (1991)	Lui & Little 5Ps model (2009)
CONCEPTS	Notes the relationship between clothing, person and environment	Describes Physical elements and Psycho-physiological elements, filtered by 'stored person modifiers', such as personality, preferences, lifestyle, previous experience, influences/ prejudices and anticipation/ expectations	Comprises: Person attributes Clothing attributes Environmental attributes	Describes the wearer's 'filters' such as previous experience, anticipations and influences	Notes Physical, Psychological, Physiological, Psychophysical and Psycho-physiological, focusing on the mind-body connection

Discomfort

Discourse on the discomfort of dress is not a contemporary phenomenon. In, 'A dialogue between Fashion and Death', poet and philosopher Leopardi personifies Fashion as one who persuades and forces, 'all genteel men to endure daily a thousand hardships and a thousand discomforts and often pain and torment and I even get some of them to die gloriously for love of me' (Corner, 2014: 106). Corner (2014) explains how a constant feature of female dress across history is that of constraint. Examples of physically restrictive clothing include foot binding in China and tightly laced corsets in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. There are records that suggest some women complained corsets or stays were uncomfortable, however the idea that 'one must suffer for beauty' (Steele, 2001: 25) was commonplace. Corsetry became linked with valued aristocratic attributes such as discipline, self-control and being upright and proud, compared to the bent bodies of the physically working lower classes. Those in favour of corsets (usually those selling them), flipped the comfort/discomfort discourse, highlighting the psychological discomfort of body dissatisfaction and the comfort gained from looking good in the right corset. While it may seem that the twenty-first-century is more relaxed and free in terms of dress practice, Corner (2014) argues that diet and exercise are modern means of fashion constriction.

Whitehead and Petrov (2018: 1) note that dress practice can be used to threaten 'the comforts of an accepted social order', describing the 'adornment rituals' (2018: 4) of contemporary Western society's fashions as horrifying. Examples include fashions for tattoos, piercings, toxic cosmetics and items of clothing that physically distort the body. Sociologist Entwhistle (2003) describes dress as a second skin which one is only conscious of if something is not quite right, whether that is poor fit on the body or poor fit to the social space (i.e. physical or psychological discomfort). Almond (2014) agrees, identifying discomfort or physical pain experienced while wearing clothing that distorts the body and psychological pain, from deprivation, marginalisation, undervaluation, embarrassment and prejudice, that leads to use of fashion for self-re-creation. Whitehead and Petrov (2018) note that freedom of self-expression, linked to psychological comfort, is often valued more than physical comfort.

Bauman (2012: 73) describes the contemporary world's abundance of seductive and addictive choice as 'too wide for comfort', noting that 'everything in a consumer society is a matter of choice, except the compulsion to choose' (2012: 74). This choice-overloaded consumer emerges in the work of fashion researchers (Crewe, 2017; Jenss, 2016; Corner, 2014; Damhorst et al., 2005). Crane (2000: 6) references 'the complex range and multitude of simultaneously "fashionable" styles of clothing and personal appearance', noting that choice leads to confusion for the consumer. Crewe (2017: 5) attributes the decline of historical and fixed ideological identities, such as gender, class and age to the evolution of this freer fashion system, describing 'reflexive individualized consumption' as a requirement when creating self-identity. Crewe (2017) notes that human actors increasingly inhabit multiple spaces, which necessitates greater choice. Thus, more choice and fewer fixed identities provide greater freedom for the consumer. However, Crewe (2017), Corner (2014) and Bauman (2012) agree that increased choice leads to higher risk for the consumer, meaning that even simple, utilitarian purchases have become bewildering. Consumers can therefore be described as casualties of the fashion system, a normative capitalist force (Thompson, 2017; Corner, 2014) legitimising addictive behaviours. As early as the nineteenth century, those seen as enslaved by fashion were referred to as fashion victims, with Whitehead and Petrov (2018: 17) likening fashion victims to zombies, due to their 'unthinking consumption'. Ahmed (2015) states that fashion brands now need to engage with consumers on a deeper level, to provide fulfilment and meaning.

Summary
The use of clothing in the construction and communication of identity is well-established, however identity in the contemporary world is increasingly complex and fragmented, leading to anxiety. The psychological aspects of comfort gained from dress practice are identified as under-researched and of increasing importance in the search for positive interventions to enhance mental well-being. This research aims to explore the subjective experiences of and attitudes towards comfort in clothing of choice-overloaded Generation Z (Pike, 2016) female fashion consumers and to determine how the concept of psychological comfort can support identity formation and psychological well-being.

Methodology
Given fashion's 'transnational flows, ongoing change, diverse webs of meaning, and material consequences for people and the planet' (Kaiser and Green, 2016: 161), it can be described epistemologically as a socially constructed phenomenon (Carson et al., 2001). This suggested an interpretivist ontological worldview was relevant to this study, exploring subjective meanings based on actors' individual perspectives and contexts, with the researcher gaining understanding and knowledge through an inductive approach and qualitative methodology (Creswell, 2014; Marshall, 1996). Inductive research commences with data collection, aiming to develop or build theory at a micro level, limited to small numbers of people and using qualitative research methods (Kawamura, 2011). Brennen notes that qualitative research can be ambiguous and contradictory, as well as enlightening, and that it can be used to understand people's experiences and in turn, human relationships, describing it as 'interdisciplinary, interpretive, political and theoretical in nature' (2017: 4). Similarly, May (2002), in relation to interpretivism, posits a Socialist approach, whereby micro level detail such as the examples and responses of individuals can be used to establish social explanation. Silverman (2005) states that qualitative research can be an appropriate method for exploring everyday behaviour, providing a rationale for the use of qualitative methods in this research as dress practice is an ordinary, everyday occurrence in Western culture.

The researcher takes an active role and is a subject of interpretive research (Brennen, 2017), necessitating explanation of the researcher's background and previous experience. For this study, the researcher's 'frame of reference' (Carson et al., 2001: 7) includes involvement with fashion on multiple levels, including idiographic/biographical knowledge from wearing clothes daily; educational/pedagogical knowledge from having studied and taught fashion-related subjects; and experiential knowledge from having worked in the fashion industry for several years. This knowledge is a posteriori, or empirical, gained through experience and experimentation, using sense organs like seeing, touching and listening (Wodak and Meyer, 2016; Mida and Kim, 2015). Thus, the researcher's fashion knowledge aligns with Silverman's (2005: 41) advice to conduct

research in 'familiar territory'. Blaxter et al. (2010) agree, stating that there is a requirement for the researcher to have a familiarity and understanding of the background, history, issues and existing studies in the discipline, to provide context to the research.

Method: multimodal textual analysis
Wodak and Meyer (2016) describe research involving a mix of image and text as multi-modal. Bauman states that '[i]n a consumer society, people wallow in things, fascinating, enjoyable things' (Bunting, 2003: np). A variety of object and narrative research projects, including Miller's 'The Comfort of Things' (2009) and Spivak's 'Worn Stories' (2014), were explored as inspiration for this research. Similarly, Sheridan and Chamberlain (2011) tested the use of things in social science research; in studies where interviewees were asked to bring an object with them, the object prompted previously forgotten experiences, offered proof of the past and enhanced both memory and narrative. Mida and Kim (2015) note that objects can be primary evidence of cultural views and society, and that beliefs can be presented less self-consciously in objects. Spivack describes clothes as 'a rich and universal storytelling device' (2014: 7). Linked to this, Brennen (2017: 2) discusses a cultural materialist view, which posits that all artifacts of material culture, including current fashions, 'are produced under specific political and economic conditions', and that cultural artifacts can be used in textual analysis to provide insights about society at a specific time and place in history. Brennen (2017) also describes language as a basic element of human interaction and a medium of meaning creation which is socially shared. A mix of image and narrative aligns with Rose's (2001) assertion that while visuals can be powerful on their own, they are more often presented alongside some form of text. Participants were asked to create a photographic fashion shoot inspired by a 'Comfort in clothing' or 'Discomfort: fashion victim' theme, with an accompanying narrative of approximately 100 words. Thus, these multi-modal, image and narrative elicitations provided personal and individual data, linking to Bauman's (2012) description of contemporary society as being highly individualised.

Sample
Brennen (2017) states that qualitative research should be narrowed to a specific geographic region, time-period and group of people, to ensure the research topic is not too large for a single study. As the research concerned meanings, conventional implicature (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999), requiring contextual knowledge of the meanings, references and identities discussed, suggested the research be constrained to participants currently living in Scotland. This reflected the researcher's own cultural background, therefore minimised ambiguity and enabled interpretation based on cultural consistency (May, 2002), such as shared language and norms. The study was limited to females, as the researcher is female, females tend to prioritise clothing purchases compared to males (Mintel, 2015) and womenswear accounts for the largest clothing market share in the United Kingdom (UK) (Keynote, 2015). Almond (2014) posits women suffer more through fashion, describing how male designers such as Christian Dior encased and restricted the female form whereas female designers such as Jean Muir designed clothing that is physically comfortable to wear. Similarly, Ruggerone (2016) notes that women are more affected by clothes than men, with the UK's current cultural and societal values leading to anxiety around appearance. The all-female sample comprised of stage 4 BA(Hons) Fashion Management students, recognising them as Generation Z choice-overloaded fashion consumers. This use of key informant sampling (Marshall, 1996) was deemed appropriate given the centrality of fashion and clothing to the research and made use of the students' styling skills to provide unique and visually rich data. One hundred and thirty-nine images and narratives were gathered; fifty-eight from the 2015 cohort, forty-seven from the 2016 cohort and thirty-four from the 2017 cohort. The longitudinal time-period enabled comparison between cohorts to enhance the reliability of the research, described as the 'constant comparative method' by Silverman (2005: 214). As the students from each cohort knew each other, gathering the data across three years also aimed to overcome elements of groupthink and mitigate influence of short term trends. The mean age of the participants was 21.

Coding and analysis

Descriptive coding (Richards, 2009) was used to anonymise participants. Topic coding (Richards, 2009) provided a first stage to the analysis of the primary data. Words, sentences or paragraphs from the narratives were labelled and collated into categories, allowing key themes to emerge. Initially, these themes were 'in vivo' (Richards, 2009), named using words from within the narratives. Concurrently, a semiotic analysis of each image was conducted, categorising by colour, clothing style, location, props, model pose and facial expression. The images provided a rich source of additional data that demonstrated depth of feelings, lived experiences, priorities and concerns. Analysis of each in vivo theme in conjunction with the analysed images and the literature reviewed led to themes being reduced and developed into overarching frameworks related to the formation and communication of identity within this sample of fashion-focused participants.

Results and discussion

The largest clothing category to emerge from the data, across all three cohorts, was knitwear. This was not unexpected, as the physical and physiological aspects of comfort related to knitwear are well documented. In addition, knitwear was on-trend for the duration of the data collection so should have been at the forefront of the fashion students' thoughts, given their knowledge of fashion forecasting. Finally, the data collection period (October-December) is traditionally associated with knitwear in the fashion calendar. In line with Kamalha et al. (2013), some participants did acknowledge the physiological comfort of knitwear, using words such as warm and cosy in the narratives. Binary to this, many of the images showed the knitwear styled with bare skin. These images were either taken in a studio setting (see Fig.1 and Fig.4), or at home, usually sitting on the bed (see Fig.2). Thus, *the private self* emerges, an identity symbolised by models on their own, blinds shut and curtains drawn. Knitwear, despite its proven warmth credentials, is not for wearing outside or in social settings. For most of these participants, knitwear is a form of loungewear, associated with home and relaxation, described by several 2015 participants as 'me-time'. The wearer is not on show, finding relaxation in the privacy of the home environment (see Fig.3), described by P10 as the 'most genuine self' and by P48 as a place 'where I am not worried about how I look'. This agrees with Holliday's (1999) identification of home as a safe haven for comfort dressing and Entwhistle's (2003) concept of the home-appropriate body. This private persona identity was also clad in nightwear, again in all three cohorts but more so amongst the 2017 participants. P121 states 'Pyjamas… are garments rarely seen by the outside world; there is comfort in those moments of being our authentic selves'. P121 uses hyperbole to describe pyjamas as the 'heroes of home comfort'. Several participants used emotional words (Saldana, 2016) such as joyful and delight when describing arriving home and changing out of everyday clothes into pyjamas, with P138 noting 'there is no better feeling'. This aligns with Baron's (2013) pleasure-invisible category of dress, where pleasure-inducing pampering or self-care is involved and appearance is not judged.

Figure 1

Figure 2

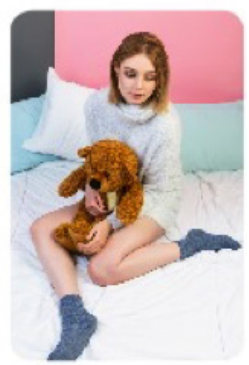
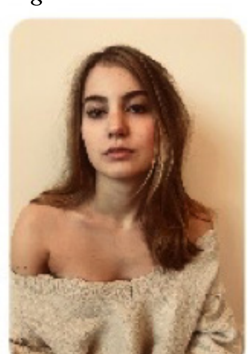


Figure 3

Figure 4



Many participants placed emphasis on loose, oversized knits, 'being able to move without restriction' (P57), establishing a second identity, *the unrestricted self*. Participants used words such as freedom and ease. The unrestricted self is associated with simplicity, with P139 stating '[t]he outfit is uncomplicated'. P132 styles her oversized knitted jumper with 'minimal makeup' and 'hair hanging naturally' (see Fig.5). P10 notes that '[c]omfort is not extravagant or over-the-top, it is rather undemanding.' It is worth noting that the person attributes (Sontag, 1985) of the student participants include busy and complicated lives, balancing study, part-time work, family, friends, relationships and social media and the environmental attributes see them inhabiting multiple spaces (Crewe, 2017). Thus, the unrestricted self seems to focus on uncomplicated dress practices, using clothing that can span both private and public settings, in line with Baron's (2013) duty-visible category, where dress requires an element, but not an excess of personal care. In terms of psychological comfort, the preference for oversized clothing could signify decreased mental well-being, as Pine's (2014) research found that people tend to wear baggy tops when feeling low. However, loose and oversized were often used in conjunction with words conveying softness against the skin, visualised via teddy bears, furry cushions and blankets, highlighting the importance of physical comfort (Kamalha et al., 2013) to the participants. The unrestricted self was represented by several other types of clothing including activewear, lingerie and nightwear; notably all tend to be in direct contact with the skin. For example, Fig.6 features yoga clothing and a model in a yoga pose, demonstrating how clothes can move with the body.

Figure 5

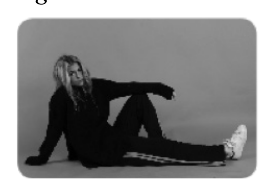
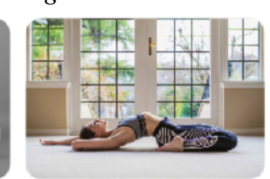


Figure 6



Similarly, P94 features activewear to signify 'freedom of movement while working out'. Freedom of movement is a phrase used by several participants, mainly in relation to activewear or models in the images being active rather than static, as shown by Fig.7's dancer. Interestingly, bare skin, prevalent in the private self, is also present in the unrestricted self. P62 describes a pair of ripped, loose fitting jeans, chosen 'to expose the skin' (see Fig.8). Fig.7's dancer has bare legs and feet and P125's model has bare legs, binary to the accompanying narrative's emphasis on warmth and the chunky knit and blanket as signifiers of warmth in the image. In a more extreme narrative, P107 describes the 'instant relaxation the individual feels when escaping from the imprisonment clothing offers', translated into an image where the model is loosely draped in a silky dressing gown (see Fig.10), suggesting that bare equates to freedom. Using similar language in a completely different context, P87 locates the unrestricted self on the street, stating '[t]hey wear loose clothes to signify a physical and psychological release from restraint or confinement' (see Fig.9), rejecting Corner's (2014) notions of restrictive female fashion.

Figure 7

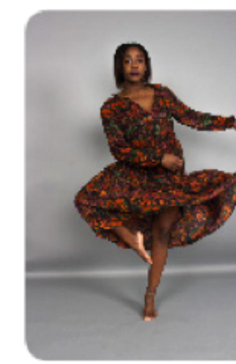


Figure 8

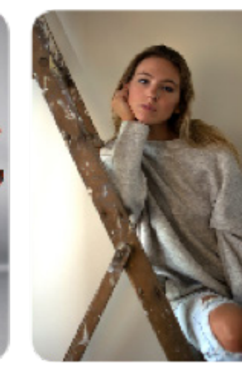
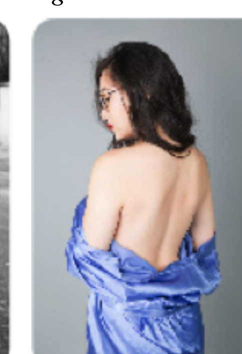


Figure 9

Figure 10



A further identity, initially related to oversized knits emerged; *the body-conscious self*. The body-conscious self focused on the psychological comfort gained from oversized tops worn when body confidence was low. For example, P98 states that an oversized jacket 'completely hides the model's figure', noting that a 'negative body image creates the need to mask the body with oversized clothing' (see Fig.11). The body-conscious self was also present in narratives and images featuring the colour black as a slimming colour (Eisman, 2006), and the classic little black dress. P131's narrative states that 'women, particularly young women turn the body project into a full-time occupation with their focus being on the thin ideal', rejecting the current body positive zeitgeist (Sastre, 2014). This narrative is accompanied by an image epitomising the thin ideal (see Fig.12). Several participants agreed with P31's assertion that '[t]he pressure to look perfect is felt more than ever'. P76 states that '[t]oday's society is constantly exposed to advertisements and products that focus on an idealised image'. As the participants have studied marketing and advertising subjects, their knowledge of idealised imagery is not unexpected and it is clear from the findings that it causes them anxiety. Their focus on the thin ideal suggests the body positivity movement is still niche rather than norm, aligning with Foucault's assertion that bodies are self-disciplined according to the time and space they find themselves in (Mida and Kim, 2015). The focus on the body moves from camouflage (Picardie, 2015; Craik, 1994) to control in P107's narrative, describing the 'fit and structure of a bra to make you feel safe'. P81 contrasts the physical discomfort of wearing a corset with the psychological comfort gained from the changed body shape, described by P96 as 'unnatural body modification' linked to 'unrealistic pressure laid on women's physical appearance'. P79's narrative also focuses on control, stating '[t]the restriction of movement which the waist trainer conveys is a reflection of today's celebrity culture, and how the media present body image in a constraining manner, emphasising the requirement to be slim, to conform', again ignoring the body positivity movement prevalent in recent fashion media. In the accompanying image, the waist trainer is worn on top of a comfortable, loose white shirt, shaping both the shirt and the body underneath, a visible statement of control (see Fig.13). P2's image (see Fig.14) shows the body uncomfortably controlled with Spanx shapewear and a waist trainer, the dark background, uncomfortable pose and strained facial expression signifying discomfort. This narrative describes the wearer as an actor, wearing a costume required to 'play a role convincingly', aligning with Entwhistle's (2003) research that posits dress as a means of controlling and managing bodies in social settings.

Figure 11

Figure 12

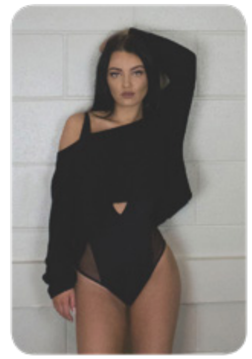


Figure 13

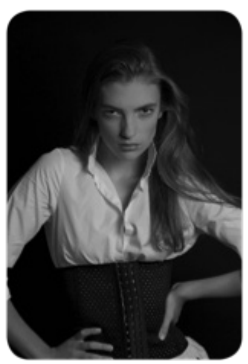


Figure 14

P31 visualises the body-conscious self as a 'vulnerable woman, who has become a victim to the pressures of the fashion and beauty world; willing to put her body through pain and discomfort in order to make herself feel accepted and comfortable in the real world' (see Fig.15). The image uses a jagged black crime scene outline to define the body as a fashion victim (Almond, 2014); the model lies motionless and devoid of emotion as she is manipulated by external, faceless agents. Thus, the body-conscious self is a public persona, using fashion and clothing binaries to camouflage or control the body, with the goal of fitting in with a desired community identity. P81 confirms the influence of the public, stating that people believe that 'others judge

them', suggesting that Cooley's ([1902] 2009) Looking Glass Theory remains pertinent today and correlating with Bauman's (2012) assertion that having a common identity offers security in contemporary society.

Figure 15

Another public persona emerged from the data through the theme of confidence, providing psychological comfort that P61 describes as 'exactly how she wants to feel when going on a night out'. This aligns with Guy and Banim's (2010) aspirational or strived-for self, the 'woman I want to be'. Many participants agreed that *the confident self* prioritises psychological comfort, often enduring physical discomfort to do so. P61's narrative states that 'specific garments aid confidence and psychological comfort yet are uncomfortable to wear'. In the accompanying image the model wears a classic, fitted little black dress and high heels. Linked with high heels, the confident self is often described by the participants as sexy. P1 asserts '[m]agazines are particularly guilty of presenting the conformist ideology that women should be in heels, with accentuated legs, sexy poses, confident attitudes'. This narrative is accompanied by an image of high heels and a bruised foot on a grotty pavement, surrounded by darkness, the bruises and background signifying discomfort and the fashion victim theme (see Fig.16). Similarly, P14's 'scene from the night before' (see Fig.17) shows the 'extreme, contradictory emotions of adoration and resentment that a woman can have for high heeled shoes'. Cards and alcohol are used to signify addictive behaviour, red is used to connote both sexiness and danger with the skull emphasising the danger. The shiny glitter-ball and patent shoes signify the glamour and debauchery of a night out. The narrative continues the contradiction, noting positives that the heels 'make the wearer walk taller and appear more confident'. P23 agrees that heels are uncomfortable to wear but also notes their ability to boost self-esteem and confidence. Thus, this is intentional dress (Rudd and Lennon, 2000), where the participants manage their appearance to meet cultural ideals and normative expectations, gaining respite from the anxiety of individualistic choice (Bauman, 2012).

Figure 16

Figure 17

Continuing the physical discomfort/psychological comfort binary, P11 created an image with a little black dress and knee high boots, describing it as coordinated and very 'put together'. The narrative states 'despite the physical discomfort, the attentively put-together look, portraying a completely different identity of myself, made me feel extremely confident' (see Fig.18). Being elegant and fashionable, translated visually into smart and coordinated clothing, is also highlighted in Fig.19, and aligns with Pine's (2014) findings that 73% of women dress up to feel confident.

Figure 18

Figure 19

Confidence in coordination was also gained from lingerie, with P44 stating 'when a woman is wearing matching underwear, she feels quietly confident and feels she has her life together'. P50 agrees, stating 'it's what's underneath that counts', describing the bra as signifying the 'foundation of the outfit', adding to 'inner confidence and a feeling of security'. This suggests internal motivations (Pine, 2014), rather than external motivations such as looking sexy or fashionable. A few participants related confidence to activewear, with P117 noting the 'confidence and empowerment athleisure clothing can provide to the wearer'. This is evident in Fig.20's powerfully-posed and almost intimidating group of girls, styled in a streetwear athleisure aesthetic, against an unsettling backdrop of rough seas and urban graffiti. This moves the confident self from mainly hedonic (Masuch and Hefferon, 2014), put-together, making-an-effort looks to a more functional or utilitarian context. Similarly, P117 locates her athleisure clothing in an industrial background to signify that 'athleisurewear can be worn anywhere', in line with Hancock's (2016) assertion that the growth in activewear sales is due to versatility, as well as fashionability and comfort. P66's image shows a close up of hiking boots (see Fig.21), accompanied by a narrative that explains she has problems with her feet, and that the boots 'give her the support she needs and increase her confidence levels because she knows that they will prevent her from injuring herself', another example of confidence gained via feeling safe.

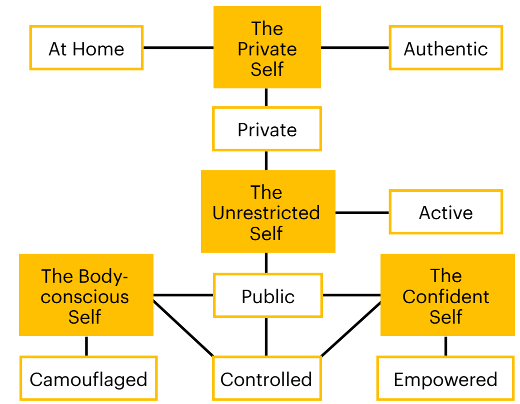
Figure 20

Figure 21

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to explore the subjective experiences of and attitudes towards comfort in clothing of choice-overloaded Generation Z female fashion consumers (Pike, 2016; Bauman, 2012) and to determine how the concept of psychological comfort gained from dress practice can support identity formation, using an inductive, theory-building approach. Data was gathered in the visually rich form of participant-produced photographic images and narratives, making use of fashion management students' specialist styling skills. Four identities emerged; the private self, the unrestricted self, the body-conscious self and the confident self (see Fig.22). All four placed the most importance on environmental attributes (Kamalha et al., 2013) such as location, occasion, social-cultural settings and norms. Person attributes focused on the body; bare, camouflaged or controlled. Camouflaged and controlled aligns with the work of Picardie (2015), Corner (2014), Pine (2014), Entwhistle (2003) and many others. The participants' focus on bare skin was not reflected strongly in the literature reviewed but may be attributed to the fashion management students' exposure to and specialist knowledge of fashion media imagery in Western culture, which often does feature bare skin. Surprisingly, given that the participants were fashion management students, clothing attributes such as fashion, style, colour and texture were given limited attention, and usually in relation to the body rather than current trends. Two fashion trends were evident, that of knitwear and athleisure wear (Hancock, 2016).

Figure 20: Female identities expressed through psychological comfort in clothing



The private self is an authentic identity, devoid of performance and linked to the security of home, aligning with Holliday (1999) and Baron's (2013) pleasure-invisible category of dress. This could be linked to the participants' student status, as many will be living away from their family home while studying, thus seeking security and comfort. A narrow range of clothing is utilised within this identity, comprising oversized knits, pyjamas and unstructured lingerie, physically and psychologically comforting. The focus on knits within the images could be attributed to the fashion management students' knowledge of knitwear trends, prevalent during the data gathering period. *The unrestricted self* is both a private and public identity, linked to freedom, to move, to think, to be. The range of clothing employed is expanded to encompass activewear, streetwear and jeans as well as the oversized knits and nightwear, relevant to the variety of locations (Crewe 2017) and situations, but still simple and easy. While the private self is stationary, reading, drinking tea, lounging on sofas and beds, the unrestricted self is busy, moving and active. This identity focuses on the self, even when in public, seeming unconcerned with the judgement of others, happy to dress in an uncomplicated manner with loose hair and no makeup. It could be linked to the participants' student status, where study and part-time jobs perhaps negate the need for a more professional and put-together look. *The body-conscious self* also uses oversized clothing but this time is firmly located in the public space, aware of others and their potential judgement. In this identity, oversized clothing provides camouflage and protection. The body-conscious self is more complex than the first two identities; as well as utilising oversized clothing, psychological comfort is gained from the binary opposite of restrictive styles such as structured lingerie, fitted dresses, belts and high heels and the colour black is employed for its perceived slimming qualities. This links with the work of previous researchers around the clothed body (Picardie, 2015; Corner, 2014; Entwhistle, 2003), suggesting this identity is applicable beyond the fashion management participants. However, this identity was visualised as a victim in the participants' images; poses were static, uncomfortable and unnatural and expressions were fixed or pained. It is likely that the focus on the fashion victim emerged due to the fashion management students' specialist knowledge of fashion history, media and semiotics. *The confident self* is also in the public domain, an actor on display (Goffman, 2002) using complex dress practices for hedonic or utilitarian purposes. For hedonic dress practice, physical comfort is relinquished and psychological comfort is prioritised - this identity requires effort, planning and coordination. This positive management of appearance is well established in female fashion consumers (Masuch and Hefferon, 2014) and is not specific to the fashion management participants. The confident self also emerged in activewear, offering utilitarian comfort that empowered the wearer in a variety of settings, confident in their ability to fit in and to perform as required. The focus on activewear reflects a cultural shift towards casual dress being acceptable in a wider range of settings (Hancock, 2016), but it could be argued that the fashion management participants could be more likely to find confidence in this look due to both their Generation Z age category and their trend awareness.

In conclusion, this exploratory research established ways that fashion and clothing can provide well-being in the form of psychological comfort related to private and public identities of choice-overloaded, multi-tasking Generation Z fashion management students. Existing literature suggests these identities could be applicable beyond the limited participant sample; this could be tested in further research. This research contributes knowledge to the study of everyday, non-elite dress and the psychological comfort gained from clothing, both identified as under-researched in the available literature. Finally, it utilises an innovative, key informant participant elicitation multimodal methodology, in keeping with fashion's place in visual culture.

References

ADAM, H. and GALINSKY, A.D., 2012. Enclothed Cognition. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(4), pp. 918-925.

AHMED, I., 2015. *A reality check for fashion's status quo.* [online]. UK: Business of Fashion. Available from: http://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/week-in-review/a-reality-check-for-fashions-status-quo [Accessed 16 June 2015].

ALMOND, K., 2015. The spiral relationship between suffering and the production of fashionable clothes. *Clothing Cultures Special Edition Methodologies*, 2(1), pp. 27-43.

BARNARD, M., 2014. *Fashion Theory: An Introduction.* Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Baron, J.G., 2013. Curating the Self: A Proposed Intervention for Positive Identity Crafting Through Self-presentation and Clothing. [online]. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania. Available from: https://repository.upenn.edu/mapp_capstone/51/ [Accessed 22 June 2015].

Bauman, Z., 2012. *Liquid Modernity.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Blaxter, L., HUGHES, C. and TIGHT, M., 2010. *How to Research.* 4th ed. Maidenhead, Berkshire: Open University Press.

Brennen, B.S., 2017. *Qualitative Research Methods for Media Students.* 2nd Ed. Oxon: Routledge.

Bunting, M., 2003. *Passion and Pessimism.* [online]. London: The Guardian. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/books/2003/apr/05/society [Accessed 8 December 2018]

Burnham, A., 2012. *Labour scorns Cameron's 'happiness' agenda.* [online]. London: The Guardian. Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/society/2012/jan/29/happiness-targets-misplaced-andy-burnham [Accessed 8 March 2016].

Bye, E. and Hakala I., 2005. Sailing Apparel for Women: A Design Development Case Study. *International Textile and Apparel Association*, 23(1), pp. 45-55.

Cambridge Dictionary, 2018. *Well-being.* [online]. UK: Cambridge University Press. Available from: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/well-being [Accessed 19 October 2018].

Carson, D. et al., 2001. Qualitative Marketing Research. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.

Clements, M., 2015. *Comfort Seekers? Fashion Apparel Retail Expert Identifies Surprising Millennial Consumer Segments.* [online]. Chicago, IL: Chicago Now. Available from: http://www.chicagonow.com/.../comfort-seekers-fashion-apparel-retail-expert-identifies-surprising-millenial-consumer-segments/ [Accessed 2 April 2016].

Cooley, C.H., 2009. *Human nature and the social order.* 7th ed. London: Transaction Publishers.

Corner, F., 2014. *Why Fashion Matters.* New York, NY: Thames & Hudson.

Craik, J., 1994. *The face of fashion: Cultural studies in fashion.* London: Routledge.

Crane, D., 2000. *Fashion and its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Creswell, J.W., 2014. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Crewe, L., 2017. *The Geographies of Fashion: Consumption. Space and Value.* London: Bloomsbury.

Damhorst, M.L., Miller-Spillman, K.A. and Michelman, S.O., 2005. *The Meanings of Dress.* 2nd Ed. New York, NY: Fairchild Publications Inc.

David, A.M., 2015. *Fashion Victims.* London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts.

Eisman, L., 2006. *Colour: Messages and Meanings.* Gloucester, MA: Hand Books Press.

Entwhistle, J., 2003. The Dressed Body. In: L. Welters and A. Lillethun, eds. *The Fashion Reader.* Oxford, UK: Berg. pp. 139-149.

Evans, J., Macrory, I., and Randall, C., 2015. *Measuring National Well-being: Life in the UK.* [online]. UK: ONS. Available from: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171766_398059.pdf [Accessed 17 June 2015]

Goffman, E., 2002. The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. In: CALHOUN et al., eds. *Contemporary Sociological Theory.* 3rd ed. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 46-61.

Guy, A., and Banim, M., 2000. Personal collections: Women's clothing use and identity. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 9(3), pp. 313-327.

Hancock, J.H., 2016. *Brand Story: Cases and Explorations in Fashion Branding.* 2nd ed. New York, NY: Fairchild Books. Holliday, R., 1999. Sexualities. Sage Publications, 2(4), pp. 475-479.

Jaworski, A., and Coupland, N., 1999. In: A. Jaworski and N. Coupland, eds. *The Discourse Reader.* London: Routledge.

Jenss, H., ed., 2016. *Fashion Studies: Research Methods, Sites and Practices.* London: Bloomsbury.

Kaiser, S.B., and Green, D.N., 2016. Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in *Fashion Studies. In: H. Jenss, ed. Fashion Studies: Research Methods, Sites and Practices.* London: Bloomsbury. pp. 160-180.

Kamalha, E. et al., 2013. The Comfort Dimension; a review of perception in clothing. *Journal of Sensory Studies*, 28, pp. 423-444.

Kawamura, Y., 2011. *Doing Research in Fashion and Dress.* Oxford, UK: Berg.

Keynote, 2015. Clothing Retailing. [online]. UK: Keynote. Available from: https://www-keynote-co-uk.ezproxy.rgu.ac.uk/market-report/retail/clothing-retailing [Accessed 6 April 2016].

Lomas, T., Hefferon, K. and Ivtzan, I., 2014. *Applied Positive Psychology.* London: Sage.

Marshall, M. N., 1996. Sampling for Qualitative Research. *Family Practice*, 13(6), pp. 522-526.

Masuch C.S. and Hefferon, K., 2014. Understanding the links between positive psychology and fashion: a grounded theory analysis. *International Journal of Fashion Studies*, 1(2), pp. 227-246.

May, T., 2002. *Qualitative Research in Action.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Mead, G.H., 1967. *Mind, self, and society.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Mida, I., and Kim, A., 2015. *The Dress Detective.* London, UK: Bloomsbury.

Miller, D., 2009. *The Comfort of Things.* Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Mintel., 2015. *Womenswear, UK, May 2015.* [online]. London: Mintel. Available from: http://academic.mintel.com/display/738271/?highlight#hit1 [Accessed 6 April 2016].

Peck, J. and Childers, T.L., 2003. Individual Differences in Haptic Information Processing: The 'Need for Touch' Scale. *Journal of Consumer Research* Inc., Vol 30, pp. 430-442.

Picardie, J., 2015. The Language of Fashion. *Harper's Bazaar.* January 2015 p. 144.

Pike, H., 2016. *Tapping Generation Z.* [online]. UK: Business Of Fashion. Available from: https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/intelligence/tapping-generation-z [Accessed 27 February 2019].

Pine, K., 2014. Mind What You Wear: *The psychology of fashion.* [online]. Hatfield: Karen Pine. Available from: read.amazon.co.uk/?asin=B00KBTB3NS [Accessed 20 April 2017].

Pineau, C., 2008. The Psychological meaning of comfort. *Applied Psychology*, 31(2), pp. 271-282.

Richards, L., 2009. *Handling Qualitative Data.* 2nd Ed. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Rose, G., 2001. *Visual Methodologies.* Sage Publications: London.

Rudd, N.A. and Lennon, S.J., 2000. Body image and appearance-management behaviours in college women. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, 18(3), pp. 152-162.

Ruggerone, L., 2016. The Feeling of Being Dressed: Affect Studies and the Clothed Body. *Fashion Theory*, 21(5), pp. 573-593.

Saladana, J., 2016. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers.* London: Sage.

Sastre, A., 2014. Towards a Radical Body Positive. *Feminist Media Studies*, (14)6, pp. 929-943.

Sheridan, J. and Chamberlain, K., 2011. The power of things. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 8(4), pp. 315-322.

Silverman, D., 2005. *Doing Qualitative Research.* 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Sontag, M.S., 1985.Comfort dimensions of actual and ideal insulative clothing for older women. *Clothing and Textile Research Journal*, 4(1), pp. 9-17.

Spivack, E., 2014. *Worn Stories.* New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press.

Steele, V., 2001. *The Corset: A Cultural History.* New Haven & London: Yale University Press. Thompson, M.J., 2017. The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Theory. New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan.

Whitehead, G.D. and Petrov, P., 2017. *Fashioning Horror.* London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Wilcox, K., Hyeong, M.K. and Sankar, S., 2009. Why do Consumers Buy Counterfeit Luxury Brands? *Journal of Marketing Research*, 46(2), pp. 247-259.

Wodak, R. and Meyer, M., eds., 2016. *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies.* 3rd ed. London: Sage.

Design Museum, 2015. *Women Fashion Power Exhibition.* London: Design Museum.

176 STYLE BEFORE TECHNOLOGY: RETHINKING THE DESIGN PROCESS FOR E-TEXTILES GARMENTS

Authors
Amy Chen
Jeanne Tan
Xiaoming Tao
Hong Kong Polytechnic University
Philip Henry
University of Leeds, UK

Corresponding author
amy.f.chen@connect.polyu.hk

Keywords
fashion
function
e-textiles
expression
design

Abstract

This paper recommends the inclusion of E-textiles in fashion not necessarily as the addition of electronic components onto the fabric, but as the integration of working mechanisms into the textile and garment design, in order to fulfil aesthetic and functional design requirements. This paper describes the preliminary research into haptic feedback textiles, to illustrate a methodology that can be undertaken to develop E-textiles garments with a closer integration of fashion and function.

E-textiles garments can often be considered as a less than seamless combination of fashion and electronics. Existing examples in fashion often appear to simply apply electronic components to a finished fashion garment, rather than an integrated design process. The inherent change of the two fields, soft fabrics versus rigid printed circuit boards, contributes to this situation.

This paper reviews research that has brought the two fields closer together: the development of E-textiles construction kits, textiles-based electronics components and embodied design using E-textiles. E-textiles construction kits, while readily available, are targeted towards teaching and learning, rather than as a tool for design. Textiles-based electronic components have primarily been researched from the technological perspective, with the latest developments seeming far removed from the field of fashion and textiles design. While the embodied design process can be used to create more meaningful human garment interaction, it does not address E-textiles within a fashion design process, a process that must balance different design requirements, outlined in Lamb and Kallal (1992) Functional, Expressive and Aesthetic model.

This paper has sought to address the complex nature of E-textile in a fashion design process by presenting a hypothetical E-textiles fashion methodology. It has been developed following a review of design processes undertaken within fashion and E-textiles design, as well as original preliminary practice-based research.

Introduction

Fashion and electronics are arguably two disciplines that exhibit very different creative approaches. Fashion is often driven by a prevailing aesthetic, differentiated via self-expression. Electronics, on the other hand, brings to mind prescribed functionality driven by logic and problem solving. In view of such unlikely collaborators, E-textiles garments, also referred to as smart clothing, can perhaps be seen as an uneasy marriage of the two. The design and manufacturing process of fashion and electronics each have their own set of established materials, techniques and design criteria. There are currently three main strategies identified as successful approaches for integrating electronics and garment design: Textiles-adapted, Textiles-integrated and Textiles-based (Bosowski et al.,2015).

Textiles-based E-textiles components have been developed from a technical, and a design perspective. Research from the technological field has created advanced E-textiles, from yarns embedded with microelectronics (Dias and Ratnayake,2015) to textiles-based electrodes (Erdem et al., 2016, Sumner et al., 2013), while exploration from the design perspective has ranged from the creation of textiles-based components, to its incorporation into a full garment. However, prominent examples of E-textiles garment seldomly use this method of integration.

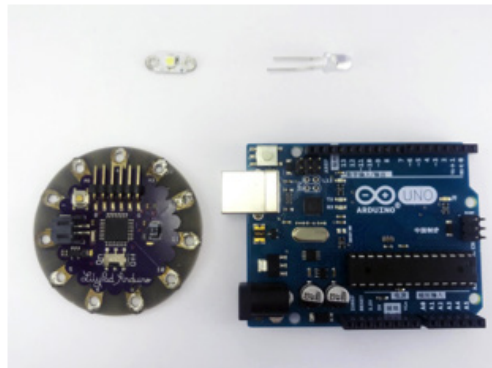
In early smart clothing, garments were adapted to fit electronics (Textiles-adapted), the ICD+ jacket by Philips and Levi's is a key example. It is a garment designed to fit a mobile phone and a MP3 player and it connects these devices through a wired harness. Tommy Hilfiger and Junya Watanabe have both designed solar power garments using the Textiles-adapted principle, by featuring removable solar panels that allow the wearer to charge their mobile device. Conventional electronic components, while readily available, are not designed to be integrated into the fabric. With these garments, it is fashion design that literally has to make way for the electronics, through the use of strategically placed pockets and attachment areas.

Textiles-integrated E-textiles is a level of integration in between Textiles-adapted and Textiles-based, as this strategy features 'an interconnection between electronic elements and the textiles within' (Bosowski et al., 2015). E-textiles construction kits can be used to create Textiles-integrated E-textiles. Designed to aid the creation of E-textiles, these construction kits can provide both the knowledge and the components for E-textiles creation, although the construction kits themselves can be restrictive. This paper discusses the current limitations with E-textiles construction kits when employed in a fashion design process and proposes a hypothetical methodology, with the aim of addressing the design of E-textiles in a fashion design process.

E-textiles construction kits

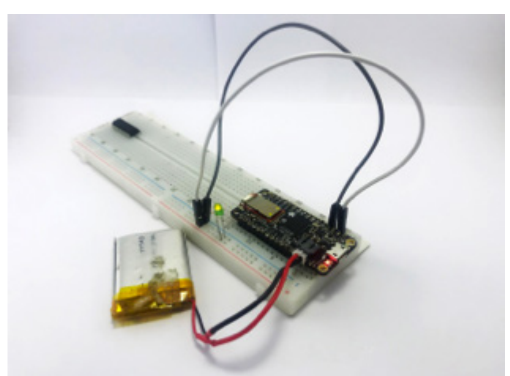
E-textiles construction kits are designed to facilitate a straightforward integration of electronics and textiles, offering an accessible platform for the blending of skills from both disciplines. The Lilypad Arduino (Buechley and Eisnberg, 2008) is well-known example, although other E-textiles components and kits have also been produced by Adafruit and Kitronic. E-textiles construction kits mount small electronic components onto rigid printed circuit boards (PCBs) which are designed with holes at the connection points (Fig. 1). E-textiles components can be stitched onto the fabric in a similar manner to a button or a sequin, while conductive thread can be used to create embroidered circuitry. E-textiles construction kits are beneficial in that they can give the designer an introduction to electronics. E-textiles construction kits are often directed towards use in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) education (Ngai et al., Buechley et al., 2008). As such, the kits can vary in complexity, with basic kits focusing on creating illuminated textiles using sewable light emitting diodes (LEDs), to more advanced kits allowing the user to programme the functionality using a microcontroller, such as different lighting patterns according to light levels or movement patterns.

Figure 1: Top Left: Sewable LED (Electro-fashion by Kitronic), Top right: 5mm LED, Bottom Left: Lilypad Arduino microcontroller, Bottom Right: Arduino Uno microcontroller



Potentially due to the construction kit principally being used as a STEM teaching tool, it can be difficult to place the E-textiles construction kit within the fashion or textiles design process, namely the prototyping phase. Conventional electronics fit into electronics' own prototyping process. Electronic components are available with pins, which allows them to be used in the prototyping stages with a breadboard and jumper cables (Fig. 2). This allows for the quick but temporary connection of parts.

Figure 2: Example of breadboard with jumper cables and electronic components



On the other hand, E-textiles kits are designed to be stitched onto fabric, which is a more permanent attachment method. E-textiles components are standard electronic components that have been adapted for attachment to textiles. In order for an E-textiles construction kit to be used in the prototyping stage of a garment, there needs to be a stable, temporary method of attaching the components to the fabric, and for connecting the components to each other. The breadboard approach has been adopted in the Teeboard (Ngai et al., 2009). A t-shirt based breadboard is used in conjunction with snap button textiles based cabling for the quick creation of wearable electronics. While it allows for prototyping on the body, it does not allow for prototyping on the actual garment. Fabrickit, an E-textiles construction kit by Despina Papadopoulos (Quinn, 2013) offers more flexibility when prototyping onto the garment, through the sole use of snap button connections and textiles-based cabling. However, the Fabrickit is limited to creating illuminated E-textiles and is currently considered to be a retired product (Sparkfun, 2018). A more accessible method of creating temporary connection is through the use of crocodile clips, used in conventional electronics prototyping. The main disadvantage of this method is that the crocodile clips are prone to slipping off the PCBs (Chen, 2017).

E-textiles design as part of fashion design

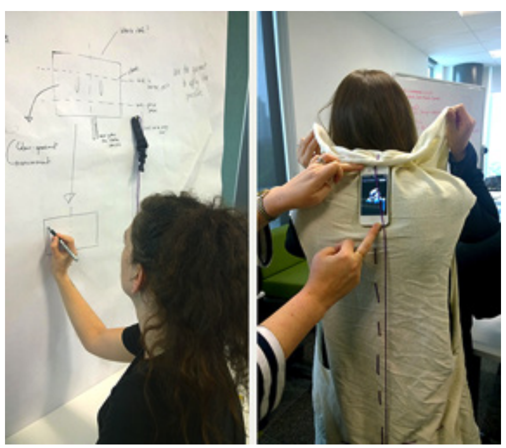
Although E-textiles construction kits contain electronic components that are useful building blocks for creating an E-textiles garment, they are restrictive in that components are utilitarian in appearance in comparison to the ever-changing variety of fasteners, beads, yarns and fibres a fashion designer expects to work with. The range of E-textiles components is a small element of the electronics industry and it can be observed that conductive yarns are also limited in terms of their appearance and texture. This is particularly a problem for a designer who may not have any experience in the wider field of electronics, as the kits may set a limit to their design exploration.

The limitation is not only a physical, material restriction, but also a mental restriction. When discussing the design of a construction kit, Resnick and Silverman (2005) stated that the design of the construction kit 'determines, to a large extent, what ideas users can explore with the kit – and what ideas remain hidden from view'. Through a construction kit, the designer can learn about circuitry design, and programming in more advanced kits, but the working principles behind individual electronic components are not explored in the E-textiles construction kits. Concealing the inner workings of the components is beneficial in the introduction of E-textiles, so as to not overwhelm the designer with information. Yet a fundamental understanding of the working principles of an electronic component can open up further possibilities for more textile-based E-textiles. Working principles can be applied to the construction of E-textiles components that can better merge design aesthetic with functionality.

This notion has been explored in E-textiles development from the design perspective. In the Kit-of-no-parts (Perner-Wilson et al., 2011), the working principles behind electronic components such as switches and potentiometers, were recreated in textiles, handcrafted from conductive textiles materials. Kobakant (2012), Tomico and Wilde (2016) and Joseph et al. (2017) went further, applying the crafted E-textiles components to artistic performance pieces. The Crying dress (Kobakant, 2012) cries through a series of textiles-based speakers, embroidered in a decorative manner over the garment, while the Sound Embracer (Tomico and Wilde, 2016) utilises knitted stretch sensors to create a musical instrument that envelops the body. While these projects are encouraging explorations into E-textiles garment design, the textiles-based components used in them are relatively basic when compared to the wider research into the field of E-textiles components, and they have not developed much further beyond the work by Perner-Wilson et al. (2011). The textiles-based components that have been used in the previous research are primarily sensors, relying on resistive sensing, in which the sensor stimuli (e.g. stretch, pressure) causes a detectable change in the resistance of the material.

The projects by Tomico and Wilde (2016) and Joseph et al. (2017) have demonstrated the use of the embodied design process, for E-textiles garments, a process that puts the relationship between the body and the garment at the forefront of the design process. However, while the process may can be used to develop E-textiles garments with a more intimate, meaningful relationship between the wearer and the garment, this does not necessarily mean that the process can be used to create garments that put fashion styling ahead of the technical elements of the garment. In 'Where Embodied Imagination Meets Digital Materiality' (Joseph et al., 2017), context emerged from exploration. In this project, a cloak was designed to create 'a sense of bodily awareness', developed through observation and material exploration. Felted pressure sensors sensed the body's posture and movements, and vibration motors activated accordingly. However, particularly with functional fashionable garments, the context is fixed. According to Tomico and Wilde (2016), the exploratory nature of this design process means that design exploration can become self-absorbed, and the context of its use may be neglected. Therefore, the methodology undertaken by Joseph et al (2017) and Tomico and Wilde (2016) may not be applicable to the field of fashion design.

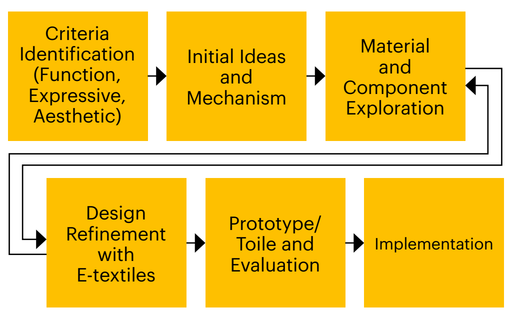
Figure 3: Embodied interaction experimentation, using mobile phone vibration (Joseph et al., 2017)



Balancing fashion design with technical development

To address the gaps summarised in the existing research, the author proposes a hypothetical methodology for the design of E-textiles garment. The aim of the proposed methodology is to consider E-textiles design as part of a fashion design process. This methodology has been drafted following the author's preliminary practice-based research into E-textiles components, and a review of literature concerning fashion design. This methodology adapts the Functional, Expressive and Aesthetic (FEA) design framework by Lamb and Kallal (1992), which been employed in the design of functional non-E-textiles garments. This framework highlights the need to create criteria in order to effectively evaluate the design. In this methodology, the classification of aspects of the garment into functional, expressive and aesthetic elements allows the designer to better identify how the inclusion of technology is contributing to the design, with the intention of encouraging them to consider E-textiles components in terms of their underlying function. The proposed methodology aims to support material exploration within a predefined context to allow for the development of new textiles-based E-textiles components.

Figure 4: Proposed Design Methodology for E-textiles Fashion Garments



Criteria identification

It is beneficial for the designer to outline the key objectives of the garment in order to form a criteria. Lamb and Kallal (1992) emphasise this in the Functional, Expressive and Aesthetic (FEA) model, as the criteria is used to evaluate future design iterations. By strategically splitting up the garment into these three elements, the role of electronics within the garment can be identified. For example, electronics may serve to enhance the aesthetic element of the garment, or it may be used for functional purposes. Its role may be expressive, and the electronics are used to convey a socio-cultural message. Once this has been identified, the designer can better pinpoint the types of mechanism are required to fulfil that role.

Initial ideas and mechanisms

During the Initial Ideas and Mechanisms phase, the designer may find numerous options within electronics that can be used to produce the desired effect. However, the direct attachment of conventional electronics can have a negative impact on the garment's comfort and appearance. In order to create more textiles, and thereby garment friendly alternatives, learning the working principles behind the electronic components can help the designer to broaden their options. Design and research projects in the field of wearable technology show that there can be a number of different options for producing single function (Table. 1). It should also be noted that there are some technologies that do not require the use of electronics i.e. thermochromic material and shape memory which react to heat. Depending on the use case for garment, it may be that these materials can be integrated in isolation. However, connection to electronics can create more complex functionality, as demonstrated by My Heart on My Dress by Jingwen Zhu (2016).. This garment is designed to visualise the wearer's experience, converting digital diary entries into patterns and shapes on the garments. Thermochromic ink is printed on the top layer of the dress, while a middle layer contains heating pads that will heat up to make particular motifs visible. Bluetooth is used to communicate the diary entries from the wearer's mobile phone to the garment.

Figure 1: Examples of functions and their underlying mechanisms

Function	Mechanism	Examples
Touch sensing	Resistive sensing	Felt Pressure sensor, Stroke sensor (Perner-Wilson et al., 2011)
	Capacitive sensing	Project Jacquard (Poupyrev et al., 2016); The Musical Jacket (Orth, 1998)
Colour change	Illumination	Light Emitting Diodes (LEDs) (CuteCurcuit, 2017), Electroluminescent wire (Elektrocouture, n.d.) Polymeric Optical Fibre (POF) (Tan, 2015)
	Thermochromic material	My Heart on My Dress (Zhu, 2016)
Motion sensing	Resistive sensing	Knitted stretch sensor (Perner-Wilson et al., 2011)
	Electromyogram (EMG)	Athos training clothes (2018)
Haptic feedback	Vibration motor	Maptic – Sensory devices for the visually impaired (Farrington-Arnas, 2017)
	Electrical Muscle Stimulation	Let Me Grab This (Pfeiffer et al., 2014), TENS garment for therapy (Li et al., 2010)
Heat generation	Conductive material	KnitWarm (KnitWarm, 2018), My Heart on My Dress (Zhu, 2016)
Movement	Motors/ Electromagnetism	Live:Scape Bloom (McMillan, 2016)
	Shape Memory material	Skorpions garment collection (Berzowska and Mainstone, 2008)

Material and component exploration

After researching functions and their underlying mechanism, the options need to be narrowed down according to the FEA criteria and other garment construction considerations. Firstly, the designer needs to determine if the principle can be created in textiles. The next consideration is ease of integration into the fabric and the garment. Materials that are in a form commonly used in textile design are relatively easy to integrate, i.e. yarns, inks and fabrics. Thermochromic inks and conductive materials are examples. Conductive materials have been applied using a range of textiles and garment construction processes to create a range of textiles-based components. The Musical Jacket by Maggie Orth (1998) uses embroidery to create buttons with conductive thread, while Google's Project Jacquard (Poupyrev et al., 2016) utilises conductive thread in conjunction with a woven structure to create a gesture sensitive fabric. Perner-Wilson et al. (2011) produced a stretch sensor by knitting conductive thread into the looped structure. More challenging materials can be integrated, although these require more attention to manage the material properties. Polymeric Optical Fibres (POF) are an example. POF can be used to carry light, as light can travel down the length of the fibre, but POF are more rigid than conventional yarns. Textiles integration is more difficult as excessive bending can cause unwanted damage (Tan, 2015), hence, POF is better suited to woven fabrics rather than knitted fabric. Finally, the new textiles-based component needs to be critically examined to determine if it can be feasibly integrated into the garment as a whole.

Figure 5: Urban Glow - Garment using woven POF (Tan, 2015)

Preliminary research: Haptic textiles

The first three phases have been employed in the authors' exploration into textiles-based haptic textiles, using the working principles behind existing vibration motors. First, the mechanism behind vibration motors was examined. Vibration motors create vibration through an unbalanced weight attached to the shaft. The motor movement itself relies on electromagnetism. The concept of using electromagnetism with fabric has been explored by researchers for other functions. Harnett (2018) developed a fabric linear motor, while V2 (2012) created a garment that used knitted fabric speakers. Kobakant (n.d) underwent a similar development process in the creation of Flipdot fabric. Flipdots are beads which can change orientation through electromagnetism, based on the principles behind flip-disc displays. In the previous works, the electromagnet works in conjunction with a permanent magnet. Secondly, after the Initial Ideas and Mechanisms phase, preliminary experiments were conducted on the creation of haptic feedback textiles, based on the previous works. During the experimentation, it was found that there were a number of issues that make this idea difficult to implement in textiles. The fine enamelled wire used in the electromagnet heats up when powered, potentially making it uncomfortable. This can be rectified by using a thicker wire, but the thicker wire creates additional bulk. It was found that the haptic feedback generated was weak when compared to conventional vibration motors. Due to these reasons, the decision was made to not continue with this option.

Figure 6: Electromagnet (Left: Without magnet. Right With magnet)

A second option explored as part of the haptic feedback textiles is the use of electrical muscle stimulation (EMS). This is based on the work of Pfeiffer and Rohs (2017), who discuss the use of EMS as haptic feedback. The preliminary research in this area was designed to investigate its feasibility in textiles, as Pfeiffer et al. (2014) used self-adhesive electrodes in their research. The mechanism behind EMS is that electrical impulses are transferred to the body through the electrodes, which, depending on the strength, can activate tactile receptors or cause muscle contraction. Textiles-based electrodes has been extensively researched, as they are can be used in electromyography and electrocardiography, as well as EMS. Textiles-based electrodes have been created using knit, embroidery, weaving and print (Mestrovic et al., 2007, Lenninger et al., 2013, Erdem et al., 2016, Rattfalt et al., 2007), therefore the concept of an electrotactile based haptic textiles seemed feasible. Electrodes can be produced using conductive fabric and yarns, however, during the initial experimentation, it was found that these simple electrodes require a filler, such as water, to reduce the electrical resistance between the electrode and the skin, in order to function. Prior research has successfully created dry electrodes that do not require a filler (Yang et al., 2014, Erdem et al., 2016) but during the preliminary experimentation, the materials available were not capable of producing a dry electrode.

Design refinement with e-textiles

The design of an E-textiles garment can be considered in two parts, the design that necessitates the electronics' function, and the design for the garment. The first part is primarily relating to the placement of components in order for them to perform a function. Touch sensors need to be placed somewhere that is within reach, just as illuminative elements need to be placed where they can be seen. While necessity may impact on design, the design of the garment may also influence the technology the designer wishes to use. For instance, a knitted stretch sensor that detects the movement on the hand needs to be placed near the hand and wrist. In contrast, for EMG, the electrodes may be placed on the forearm, as the muscles that control the hand's movement are located there. As well as placement, visibility is also a key consideration. The visibility of electronics exists on a scale. The electronics may be completely concealed, or placed on an inner layer of the garment. This is especially the case for electronics that facilitate the functional part. Often, the more complex the function, the larger the supporting electronics i.e. microcontroller and battery. Simple illuminated garments can be created using LEDs, and a power source but garments that have sensing functions often need a microcontroller to perform their programmed actions. In other cases, the electronics are partially concealed, as a certain amount of visibility may be required for its function. With illuminated garments, the form of the LEDs may be hidden by a layer of sheer fabric to obscure the appearance of the LEDs (Michel and Fraunhofer IZM, 2008, CuteCircuit, n.d). Visibility may be required to indicate functional areas, like with the weave of the Project Jacquard fabric. On the other hand, the electronics may be incorporated into the garment as a decorative element, forming part of the identity of the garment, as seen in the embroidery on The Crying dress.

Prototyping/toile & evaluation, and implementation

The design of the garment is likely to be developed further during the garment prototyping phase. In this phase, methods used in the embodied design process, such as trialling the garment and the electronics on the body, can be used to troubleshoot the human-garment interaction. The designer may choose to use conventional electronics or E-textiles electronics in this phase, depending on the functions required from the garment. Prototyping electronics on a garment can be difficult, as discussed with regards to E-textiles construction kits, but the process provides key insights into the garment's usability, comfort and feasibility. Recording this information can assist in refining the garment design. Evaluation against the criteria established at the beginning of the project is necessary to ensure that the garment performs how it is intended to. Once the set of criteria has been satisfied, the final design can be implemented.

Conclusion

The inclusion of electronics into garments is a field that has been approached from a number of perspectives. Researchers have tackled the practical elements of attaching electronics onto fabric through the development of E-textiles construction kits, although this has seldomly been within the context of the fashion design process. At the more conceptual end of the scale, E-textiles has also been explored as a means for human-garment interaction, with the design starting with the interaction, and ending with the garment. This paper has sought to address the complex nature of E-textiles in a fashion design process, with the aim of balancing the demands of functionality with expectation of beauty and expressiveness. To this end, the author proposes a hypothetical E-textiles fashion design as a means of addressing the needs of fashion and electronics within the design process. This hypothetical methodology has been developed following a review of design processes undertaken within fashion and E-textiles design, as well as preliminary research conducted by the author. The proposed methodology considers the inclusion of E-textiles not necessarily as the addition of electronic components onto the fabric, but as the integration of working mechanisms into the textile and garment design. In this way, the proposed methodology is designed to be flexible, and aims to encourage further exploration and experimentation in E-textiles, from a design perspective. The methodology encourages a bilateral relationship between function and fashion to ensure that design compromise is not too one-sided. As the methodology is largely based on the FEA model Lamb and Kallal (1992), it is hoped that it will be applicable in the design of functional apparel and fashion design, although further research is required to refine the methodology.

References

Athos. (2018). Athos - Company [Online]. Available: https://www.liveathos.com/company [Accessed 25 October 2018].

Berzowska, J. & Mainstone, D. (2008). *SKORPIONS: kinetic electronic garments.* ACM SIGGRAPH 2008 talks. Los Angeles, California: ACM.

Bosowski, P., Hoerr, M., Mecnika, V., Gries, T. & Jockenhövel, S. (2015). *4 - Design and manufacture of textile-based sensors A2 - Dias, Tilak. Electronic Textiles.* Oxford: Woodhead Publishing.

Buechley, L. & Eisenberg, M. (2008). *The LilyPad Arduino: Toward Wearable Engineering for Everyone.* IEEE Pervasive Computing, 7, 12-15.

Buechley, L., Eisenberg, M., Catchen, J. & Crockett, A. (2008). The LilyPad Arduino: using computational textiles to investigate engagement, aesthetics, and diversity in computer science education. *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems.* Florence, Italy: ACM.

Chen, A. (2017). *Creating an Effective E-textiles Toolkit for Fashion Design: Literature Review and Research Methodology.* Masters Thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University.

Cutecircuit. (2017). *The debut of the Graphene dress* [Online]. CuteCircuit. Available: http://cutecircuit.com/graphene/ [Accessed 28 June 2017].

Cutecircuit. (n.d). *CuteCircuit MFA Dress* [Online]. CuteCircuit. Available: http://cutecircuit.com/cutecircuit-mfa-dress/ [Accessed 15 May 2018].

Dias, T. & Ratnayake, A. (2015). *5 - Integration of micro-electronics with yarns for smart textiles. Electronic Textiles.* Oxford: Woodhead Publishing.

Elektrocouture. (n.d.). Vision Quest [Online]. Available: https://elektrocouture.com/vision-quest/ [Accessed 24 August 2018].

Erdem, D., Yeşilpinar, S., Şenol, Y., Taner, T. & Karadibak, D. (2016). *Design of TENS Electrodes Using Different Production Techniques.* Tekstilec, 59, 132-136.

Farrington-Arnas, E. (2017). *Maptic* [Online]. Available: https://emilios.co.uk/portfolio-maptic.html [Accessed 9 July 2018].

Harnett, C. (2018). *Fabric Linear Motor* [Online]. Available: http://harnettlab.org/2018/02/19/fabric-linear-motor/ [Accessed 9 July 2018].

Joseph, F., Smitheram, M., Cleveland, D., Stephen, C. & Fisher, H. (2017). Digital Materiality, Embodied Practices and Fashionable Interactions in the Design of Soft Wearable Technologies. *International Journal of Design,* 11, 7-15.

Knitwarm. (2018). *KnitWarm* [Online]. Available: https://www.knitwarm.com [Accessed 24 August 2018].

Kobakant. (2012). *The Crying Dress* [Online]. kobakant.at: Kobakant. Available: https://www.kobakant.at/?p=222

Kobakant. (n.d). *Flip-Dot Fabric* [Online]. kobakant.at. Available: http://www.kobakant.at/DIY/?p=5878 [Accessed 9 July 2018].

Lamb, J. M. & Kallal, M. J. (1992). A Conceptual Framework for Apparel Design. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal,* 10, 42-47.

Lenninger, M., Froeis, T., Scheiderbauer, M., Grabher, G. & Bechtold, T. (2013). High current density 3D electrodes manufactured by technical embroidery. *Journal of Solid State Electrochemistry,* 17, 2303-2309.

Li, L., Au, W. M., Li, Y., Wan, K. M., Wan, S. H. & Wong, K. S. (2010). Design of Intelligent Garment with Transcutaneous Electrical Nerve Stimulation Function Based on the Intarsia Knitting Technique. *Textile Research Journal,* 80, 279-286.

McMillan, C. (2016). *Live:scape BLOOM* [Online]. RMIT: RMIT. Available: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a600956fe54ef90e14fcafb/t/5abecf8c03ce6487317e9b99/1522454491724/The_edges_and_in_between_catalogue.pdf [Accessed].

Mestrovic, M. A., Helmer, R. J. N., Kyratzis, L. & Kumar, D. (2007). Preliminary study of dry knitted fabric electrodes for physiological monitoring. 2007 *3rd International Conference on Intelligent Sensors, Sensor Networks and Information.*

Michel, M. & Fraunhofer Izm. (2008). *The Klight Dress* [Online]. Available: http://www.stretchable-circuits.com/projects/fashion/klight [Accessed 20 Dec 2018].

Ngai, G., Chan, S. C. F., Cheung, J. C. Y. & Lau, W. W. Y. (2009). The TeeBoard: an education-friendly construction platform for e-textiles and wearable computing. *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems.* Boston, MA, USA: ACM.

Ngai, G., Chan, S. C. F., Hong, V. L. & Ng, V. T. Y. (2013). *Designing i*CATch: A multipurpose, education-friendly construction kit for physical and wearable computing.* Trans. Comput. Educ., 13, 1-30.

Orth, M. (1998). *Musical Jacket* [Online]. maggieorth.com. Available: http://www.maggieorth.com/art_Jacket.html [Accessed 19 Sept 2018].

Perner-Wilson, H., Buechley, L. & Satomi, M. (2011). Handcrafting textile interfaces from a kit-of-no-parts. Proceedings of the fifth international conference on *Tangible, embedded, and embodied interaction.* Funchal, Portugal: ACM.

Pfeiffer, M. & Rohs, M. (2017). Haptic Feedback for Wearables and Textiles Based on Electrical Muscle Stimulation. In: Schneegass, S. & Amft, O. (eds.) *Smart Textiles: Fundamentals, Design, and Interaction.* Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Pfeiffer, M., Schneegass, S., Alt, F. & Rohs, M. (2014). Let me grab this: a comparison of EMS and vibration for haptic feedback in free-hand interaction. *Proceedings of the 5th Augmented Human International Conference.* Kobe, Japan: ACM.

Poupyrev, I., Gong, N.-W., Fukuhara, S., Karagozler, M. E., Schwesig, C. & Robinson, K. E. (2016). Project Jacquard: Interactive Digital Textiles at Scale. *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems.* San Jose, California, USA: ACM.

Quinn, B. (2013). *Textile Visionaries: Innovation And Sustainability In Textile Design,* United Kingdom, Laurence King Publishing.

Rattfalt, L., Chedid, M., Hult, P., Linden, M. & Ask, P. (2007). Electrical Properties of Textile Electrodes. *2007 29th Annual International Conference of the IEEE Engineering in Medicine and Biology Society.*

Resnick, M. & Silverman, B. (2005). *Some reflections on designing construction kits for kids. Interaction design and children.* Boulder, Colorado: ACM.

Sparkfun. (2018). *fabrickit BricKit* [Online]. sparkfun.com. Available: https://www.sparkfun.com/products/retired/10350 [Accessed 15 November 2018].

Sumner, B., Mancuso, C. & Paradiso, R. (2013). *Performances evaluation of textile electrodes for EMG remote measurements.* 2013, 6510-6513.

Tan, J. (2015). Photonic Fabrics for Fashion and Interior. In: Tao, X. (ed.) Handbook of Smart Textiles. Singapore: Springer Singapore.

Tomico, O. & Wilde, D. (2016). Soft, embodied, situated & connected: enriching interactions with soft wearables. mUX: *The Journal of Mobile User Experience,* 5, 3.

V2. (2012). *betaKnit Research* [Online]. V2.nl. Available: http://v2.nl/lab/projects/betaknit-research [Accessed 3/4/18].

Yang, K., Freeman, C., Torah, R., Beeby, S. & Tudor, J. (2014). *Screen printed fabric electrode array for wearable functional electrical stimulation. Sensors and Actuators A: Physical,* 213, 108-115.

Zhu, J. (2016). *My Heart on My Dress* [Online]. http://www.jingwen-zhu.com/. Available: http://www.jingwen-zhu.com/#/my-heart-on-my-dress/ [Accessed 25 October 2018].

PLACE, SOCIAL MEDIA AND IDENTITY

Whilst fashion is a global phenomenon, local indigenous culture still shapes the clothing of many people. Several papers addressed how traditional costume can be transformed whilst still preserving cultural identity. The impact of social media on the dissemination of fashion was another key theme, and other papers made reference to place, investigating how national traits can be embodied within fashion branding.

No 20 Paramita Sarkar, Nilanjana Bairagi
Clothing preference of the 21st Century Tribal Women: a study of the transformation in the costume of tribal women of Tripura, India

No 59 Alice Dallabona
Be Italian! Aesthetic employees and the embodiment of national traits in luxury fashion flagship hotels

No 93 Christina Stewart
Made in Scotland: country of origin branding in the Scottish textile industry

No 147 Mohd Zaimmudin Mohd Zain, Patsy Perry, Liz Barnes
Navigating the fashion-faith landscape in Malaysia: the influence of fashion bloggers on Generation Y Malay females' fashion consumption

No 151 Madeleine Marcella-Hood
Scottish style: the construction of national identity and place amongst Scottish fashion influencers on Instagram

No 172 Li Xin, He Yang
Designers, producers, and users: minority women's three identities in their costume culture

20 CLOTHING PREFERENCE OF THE 21ST CENTURY TRIBAL WOMEN: A STUDY OF THE TRANSFORMATION IN THE COSTUME OF TRIBAL WOMEN OF TRIPURA, INDIA

Authors
Paramita Sarkar
Nilanjana Bairagi
National Institute of Fashion Technology, India

Corresponding author
paramita.sarkar@nift.ac.in

Keywords
ethnographic
regional costume
traditional costume transformation
Tripuri tribe
Reang tribe

Abstract

An ethnographic research was conducted from 2011 to 2016, to study the tribal costume of the Tripuri and Reang tribe. Tripura is situated in the northeastern part of India. It is surrounded on the north, west, and south by Bangladesh and is accessible to the rest of India through Assam and Mizoram state. Tripura witnessed the emergence of a new culture, with the flow of immigrants in the state during the post-independence period.

There are about nineteen different tribes living in Tripura. The Tripuri and Reang are the most primitive tribes of Tripura. The uniqueness of the tribal community is expressed in the hand-woven textiles. The tribal communities are known for their conformity in dressing, a form of social interaction within the tribal community in which one tries to maintain standards set by the group. With modernisation and socio-economic development, the preferences of the modern tribal women have changed from the traditional way of dressing and adorning.

The traditional costume has also undergone changes in terms of textiles, colour, and motifs as well as in draping style. The research paper focuses on the transformation that has taken place in the traditional costume, while the Tripuri and Reang tribal women also strive to preserve their cultural identity. One of the great challenges for tribal communities in the 21st century is to develop practical models to capture, maintain, and pass on traditional knowledge systems and values to future generations.

The study ideates that there is a rise of contemporary local, regional, national and global contexts, raising questions about cultural conviviality and the influence of trans-cultural, trans-national and multicultural factors influencing different cultural identities, which can also be witnessed through the textiles and costumes of the tribes.

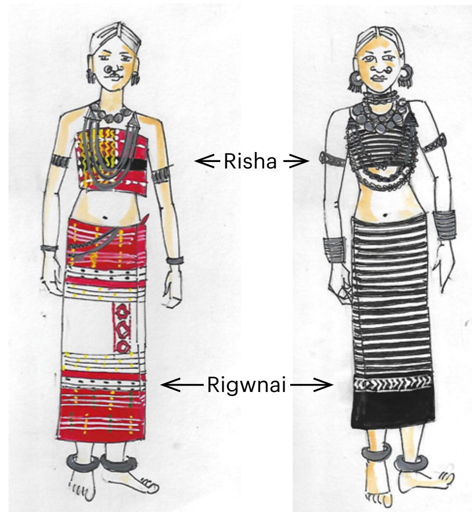
Introduction

The state of Tripura is situated in the northeastern part of India. It is surrounded on the north, west, and south by Bangladesh and is accessible to the rest of India through Assam and Mizoram state (Tripura State Portal, 2012). Tripura was a princely state until it merged into the Union of India on 15th October 1949 after the independence of India on 15th of August 1947. Since then the history of Tripura has witnessed various political, economic and social developments. Tripura gained full statehood on January 21, 1972. During the last phase of the princely rule by the Manikya dynasty, Tripura witnessed the emergence of a new culture, which was the outcome of the migration from colonial Bengal and the adjoining territories of the state. The flow of immigrants increased in the state during the 1950s and reached its zenith during the Independence movement of Bangladesh in 1971 (De, N., 2012). The current population of Tripura is approximately 32 lakhs (3.2 million) among which 31.1% belong to the scheduled tribe category. There are about nineteen different tribes living in Tripura. The Tripuri, Reang, Jamatia, Noatia, Halam, Chakmah, Mog, Garo, Munda, Lushai, Orang, Santhal, Uchai, Khasi, Bhil, Lepcha, Bhutia, Chaimal and Kuki tribes have their own cultural heritage and identity, which is reflected in their traditional costume. Two tribes - the Tripuri and Reang are the most primitive tribes (Anon., 2010). According to Census India, Tripura Report 2001, the Tripuri tribe has the highest population, and the Reang tribe has the second highest tribal population in the state. The uniqueness of the tribal community is expressed in the hand-woven textiles, woven on backstrap looms. This research aims to study the traditional costume of the Tripuri and Reang tribes of Tripura and their transformation, and to correlate the changes in the tribal costume with various socio-economical and socio-cultural factors. The change in demography, exchange of culture, change in religion, the influence of media and communication and religion play a significant role in the transformation in tribal clothing in the 21st- century.

Methodology

Ethnographic research was conducted to study the tribal costumes of two tribes in Tripura. The data was collected in both rural and urban settings and followed multi-sited ethnography. Data was collected using methods including participant observation, face-to-face interviews, focus group discussion and visual ethnography. The triangulation of data was done through observation, interviews and visual ethnography. The selection of the villages is also based on factors such as the concentration of the Tripuri and Reang tribe's population. To study the Tripuri tribe, field visits were carried in Sunder Tilla, Khumulwng, Rajarghat, Agartala (capital of the state) in West Tripura District and Champahowa in Khowai District. And to study the Reang tribe, field visits were made to Bogafa and Chakhi Kho in South Tripura District. A survey was conducted among 100 Tripuri and 100 Reang women to study their clothing preferences. Further market study and observation of street fashion helped to understand the fashion trends.

Figure 1: Sketch of a Tripuri woman (left) and Reang woman (right) in traditional costume.



Findings & discussions traditional costume of Tripuri and Reang women

The tribal women wear an unstitched costume. The costume consists of two parts known as a risha (draped on the upper abdomen to cover the breast) and a rigwnai (draped like a wrap around skirt to cover the lower abdomen). The costume of the Tripuri and Reang tribe have the same name and same draping style. However, the colour combinations, motifs and designs of both the tribes are different, as shown in Fig 1. The Tripuri women wear pre-dominantly red and white colours, whereas the Reang women wear only black and white. The traditional colours of the costume form the identity of a tribal community. The colours help to identify the village or tribe the women belong to.

Traditionally the tribal women of Tripura weave their traditional textiles on the backstrap loom. Weaving on the backstrap loom is practiced by the women of the tribal communities in Tripura. Traditionally the tribal women used locally grown cotton yarns and dyed the yarns in natural dyes. The Tribal women weave specific motifs on the rigwnai, different from the motifs of other tribes of Tripura. Traditionally the Tripuri women classified the rigwnai in categories based on the design, and are locally known as Sada, Chamathia and Shikla. The Reang women classified the rigwnai in two categories, based on the design worn by elderly and younger women. In the Reang tribe, the younger women before and after marriage wear rigwnai with stripes in black and white. Women who have become a mother-in-law or grandmother wear a black rigwnai with motifs on the borders, in both sides of the rigwnai, with borders in the warp direction. Women from both of the tribes weave traditional geometric motifs unique to their community.

Transformation in the tribal costume of Tripura

During the research, it was found that the traditional costume worn by the tribal women in rural areas has undergone various changes. Changes are observed in reference to change in yarn design, draping, motif and colour. The researcher, in discussion with the officials of the Tripura Weavers' Centre came to know that due to unavailability of the local cotton fibers, cotton yarn from the mill as well as acrylic yarn is being used for the weaving of traditional costumes. According to Mr. Tapan Lal Chakraborty (2012), an official at the Tripura Weavers' Service Centre in Agartala, acrylic yarns were introduced at the end of the 20th century, and in the early 21st century, the use of 2/40s mill spun cotton yarns, as well as 20s acrylic yarns, gained popularity. The acrylic yarn became popular among the tribal community as sizing of the yarn is not required, it is wrinkle resistance, comfortable during cold weather conditions and cheaper and more durable than cotton yarns. Women started using contemporary colours as the acrylic yarns were available in various shades. In similar research, Bhandari, Dhingra, & Kashyap (1998), reported that cotton yarn is no longer in use in the entire Northeast except in Manipur and Assam. The Researcher observed during the field visits that the Tribal women wear new styles of rigwnai as daily wear in the office, home and outside. The new versions of rigwnai have contemporary colours, new surface designs (hand embroidery, machine embroidery, and fabric paints), and are not necessarily made on the backstrap loom. Both frame-loom woven fabric and power-loom made fabrics readily available in the market can be purchased to make this rigwnai. The tribal women can purchase the new rigwnai from local shops, custom make it from other weavers' fabric, or weave the fabric themselves.

During an interview, Ms. Deepali Debbarma (2012), an expert weaver from the Tripuri tribe explained that traditionally the tribal women of Tripura always weave motifs inspired by nature and daily commonplace objects. Each tribal community has their own motifs. For example: Larima (butterfly), and Bang (spider) motifs of the Tripuri community; Malim mhba (Jasmine flower), Wah mul (bamboo flower) and Thakumtum (duck's egg) of the Reang community. The colour combinations of motifs are different in different communities. It was observed that the Tripuri women have started wearing contemporary motifs. The younger generation of women seems to be fond of floral motifs. There were no specific names for these motifs as they were copied from printed designs, or self-designed. Traditionally the Tripuri women used green, yellow and blue to weave motifs on a red and white base. During the interviews Ms. Gunabati Reang (2012), from the village Bogafa, explained that the Reang women would only weave the motif in white colours. The Reang women continue to wear traditional designs of motifs; however, they now weave the motifs in contemporary colours. The researcher found the change in motifs used by the Tripuri women portrays the change in their lifestyle. In the last few decades, educated Tripuri women have begun to work outside their homes. A few Tripuri women own, cultivate and engage in the rubber plantation. As the Tripuri women become essential wage earners, some enterprising women have recently begun weaving traditional pieces professionally for other urban tribal women who do not have the time to weave for themselves.

From the interviews and observations, the following three reasons were found for how the changes in the lifestyle of the Tripuri women are portrayed in the contemporary motifs. Firstly, during the interviews, few women mentioned how they copy new motifs. They do not claim authorship. New motifs are quickly dispersed among the group to become fashion. One weaver related that she took inspirations from the designs of trendy saris worn by other women. Secondly, due to the commercialisation of traditional textiles, symbolic meaning, as well as the exclusivity of designs, has been reduced to minor concerns for many weavers, or is no longer considered at all. According to weaver Shefali Debbarma (2012), motifs are kept simple, for easy production. Other than weaving, motifs are also created using various surface design techniques such as hand and machine embroidery. Thirdly it was observed the new generation of educated tribal women are not skilled weavers like their ancestors. Due to less time, they prefer making simpler motifs. In similar research (ManKiller, 2019), many of the traditional motifs are no more in use. One of the great challenges for tribal peoples in the 21st century will be to develop practical models to capture, maintain, and pass on traditional knowledge systems and values to future generations.

Earlier the tribes were strict in wearing colours and motifs only from their communities, but with changing times, they have started wearing colours and motifs from different communities. The use of contemporary colours and motifs has now removed the age-old tradition of conformity of dressing.

Traditionally the length of the rigwnai was from the waist to mid-calf, as it was easy to climb the hills, during cultivation. As tribal people shifted to the plains, the length of the rigwnai was increased to ankle length. In urban areas, the women felt the need to cover their body. They learnt to wear a blouse and skirt from women in urban areas. Women started wearing ri-kutur (a type of stole) instead of risha. The educated and working women in good positions further felt they should dress like other non-tribal communities. Draping of a risha and ri-kutur visually looked similar to a sari. The new draping style also helped them to preserve this traditional costume. The main change involved the clothing of the upper torso. Earlier the women wore risha to cover the breast. They also wore many beaded ornaments and coin necklaces to decorate the exposed upper abdomen. After the 1950s, the tribal women adopted blouses and t-shirts. It was observed that the draping of the traditional costume varied among individuals in the same community, and influences from other cultures were reflected in the draping pattern. New styles of draping were observed during the research period from 2011 to 2015 among both the Tripuri & Reang women, as shown in Figures 2 and Fig 3.

Figure 2: Tripuri women wearing contemporary costumes in West Tripura District.

Figure 3: Reang women wearing contemporary costumes in South Tripura District.

As mentioned earlier the tribes were identified by the traditional colour and motifs of the costume. The tribal communities are known for conformity in dressing, a form of social interaction within the tribal community in which one tries to maintain standards set by the group. However, presently the readymade contemporary costume is the same and is worn by tribal women of every community. It was observed that no more we can recognise which village or tribe the women belong to from the costume they wear.

Clothing preference of the 21st century tribal women

A survey was conducted among 100 Tripuri women and 100 Reang women to study the clothing preference of Tribal Women in the urban and semi-urban areas. The result of the survey of both the tribes was compared to find if there is any significant association between the clothing preferences of the women of both the tribes. The findings of the research show that 71% of the Tripuri women said that women in the last two generations in their family wear the traditional costume, whereas 100% of the Reang women indicated that their previous two generations wear the traditional costume. 31% of the Tripuri women prefer to wear traditional costume when they travel outside of the state, whereas 64% of Reang women said that they wear traditional costume when they travel outside of the state. The results showed that the Tripuri women are more experimental in dressing when they travel outside compared to the Reang women. 35% of the Tripuri women said that they could weave the traditional textile on the backstrap loom and 70% of the Reang women said that they weave the traditional textile on the backstrap loom. 69% of Tripuri women traditionally drape the traditional textile, and 31.0% said they would cut and stitch the fabric to construct a garment, while 96% of Reang women said they traditionally drape the traditional textile and 6.1% said they would cut and stitch the fabric to construct a garment. It was found in both the tribes the majority of the women did not prefer to cut and sew the traditional fabric. 80% of the Tripuri women and 53% of Reang women said they prefer wearing contemporary colours. It was found that Tripuri women and Reang women both prefer wearing new colours. It was found that only 2 out of 100 Tripuri women answered that they always wear their traditional dress, 45% said they prefer wearing other Indian dresses such as the salwar kameez or sari. 10% of the women said they prefer wearing only western dresses and 43% said that they wear both Indian and Western dress. Among the Reang tribal women it was found that 50 out of 100 Tripuri tribal women answered that they only wear the traditional dress, 8% said they prefer wearing other Indian dresses like salwar kameez or sari, 21% of the women said they prefer wearing only western dresses and 21% said that they wear both Indian and western dress. Hence there is a significant association between the women of both the tribes in regarding preference of wearing clothing. The association is more in the Tripuri women with respect to Reang women in wearing non- traditional clothes.

It was observed that the change in the transformation of clothing is more among the Tripuri women than Reang women. Both the tribes have a different socio-economic background. The Tripuri tribe are the dominant tribe in Tripura, the kings and rulers of the state belong to the same community. They were educated, and economically better off than other tribes. According to the census report of 2011, the literacy rate of the Tripuri women is 50.2%, and the Reang women are 27.3% The educated Tripuri women were exposed to various forms of written, visual and digital media. The nature and dimensions of change in the lives and status of the Tripuri women living in urban areas are greater, and they have lost some of their traditional rights. The gains they have made in the spheres of education, employment or personal mobility are significant compared to rural tribal women.

On the other hand, the transformation in the costume is witnessed slowly since the Reang population is settled in rural areas, their exposure to the outside world seems to be less compared with the Tripuri tribe, primarily settled in the capital Agartala and West Tripura district. Similar to the Tripuri tribe, the exposure to new culture and change in the surrounding environment, physical, social and economic conditions affect the change process in their cultural domain. The Reang women continue to wear the traditional costume in rural areas.

The younger generation of both the tribes has contemporised the traditional costume. In similar research, according to Gregory (2018), clothing tastes become more settled with age, older persons tend to have a more significant percentage of their income taken up with commitments, and after years of experiment, one finds the styles which are most satisfying. Young people may welcome frequent fashion changes, which give them a chance to experiment and still be like everybody else. In urban areas, the women wear new designs of rigwnai and drape it in different styles. The younger generations of women, residing in urban areas, wear western dresses and other Indian dresses, reflecting their participation in global culture. They prefer wearing contemporary designs of rigwnai on special occasions. According to Dhamalji (2010), in early 21st century India, the younger elite wear the universal western jeans and t-shirts. Many men and women are comfortable wearing both jeans and traditional dress, thus demonstrating their ease in the multinational world of the new millennium. Pitimaneeyakul (2010) reported that in the twentieth century, the hill tribes in Thailand wear the traditional casual wrapping-cloth forms of dress in rural areas as everyday wear. In urban areas, women wear trousers, skirts, shirts, blouses, and dresses, reflecting their participation in global culture. Becker (2010), reported that in the Tosonga tribe, the main changes over the last hundred years involved the upper body. In the 1930s, many more beaded ornaments were used to decorate the exposed upper torso, arms, and head. Later in the century, women adopted blouses and t-shirts.

The findings of the research show the nature and dimensions of change in the lives and status of tribal women in Tripura. The urban tribal women have lost some of their traditional rights; the gains they have made in the spheres of education, employment or personal mobility are significant compared to rural tribal women.

Factors affecting the transformation of the costume

The transformation in the tribal costume is co-related with various socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. As in many other tribal areas in India, Tripura is going through a transitional phase. The nature and pace of change are specific to this frontier state owing to its history and demographics, as well as to common policy implemented following independence. However, change is everywhere and has had an impact on traditional social structures. The last part of the Manikya dynasty of Tripura witnessed the emergence of a new culture in Tripura, which was the outcome of the migration from colonial Bengal and the adjoining territories of Hill Tipperah. There are two phases of migration in the last hundred years of Manikya rule in Tripura, which not only increased the population of the state but also altered the ethnic composition of Tripura's population (De, N., 2012). The First Phase of Migration in Tripura (1849-1947) and Second Phase of Migration in Tripura (1947-1949). The migration from colonial Bengal and the exchange of culture among the nineteen tribes also affected socio-cultural change in Tripura. Mixed cultural influences are visible in the tribal clothing. New draping styles are primarily influenced by immigration of people from the neighbouring districts of Bangladesh.

Moreover, the impact of mass media (television, the internet and mobile phones) on the younger generation, has influenced them to contemporise their dressing style. The 21st century tribal women are educated and well-travelled, and read magazines like Femina, Shanada, Vogue. These publications spread the latest fashion ideas. Local dressmakers copy the styles the best they can with available fabrics, as shown in Fig 4. As more women became aware of fashion styles through magazines and other forms of mass communication, their desire to wear these fashions increases, as shown in Fig 5.

Figure 4: Signage board of a tailor's shop in Agartala, showing a model wearing salwar kameez.

Figure 5: Tribal woman wearing salwar kameez made from tribal textile in Agartala.

In the 21st century, visual history is created by print media, for example advertising displays, hoardings, banner stands, printed film posters, CD covers, photographs in magazines and newspapers. Sometimes the clothes of the model for a printed advertisement can give the idea of clothing to the consumer who will be using the product. On the other hand, the photographs of models, film stars, celebrities draping a sari in different ways can encourage ordinary people to imitate the same style. The theory of mass society and the power of media (C. Wright Mills) states that there is a significant relationship between foreign media and fashion trends in girls. Various studies shows that clothing displays played a role as a source of information to professional women on the choice of clothing designs. The study results indicated that clothing displayed in fashion magazines, fashion shows, friends, newspapers and family members were the most popular sources of information used by professional women in their choice of clothing designs.

It was found that the younger women in urban areas, especially in the capital Agartala are exposed to various visuals of advertisement. The researcher found that the younger tribal women of both rural and urban areas wear other Indian dresses such as the sari and salwar kameez. Western dresses such as t-shirts, jeans, skirts, are worn by the younger generation of women residing in Agartala. According to Wilkinson-Weber & Clare M (2014), the fashion trend in most Asian countries follows the style of Bollywood outfits. In other words, we can say that Bollywood outfits represent the fashion of the modern age.

The educated tribal youth are now familiar with the increasing use of smartphones. The researcher found that the younger generations are very actively involved in social networking sites like Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp. Their interaction is now not limited within the tribal community, they have access to a wider world. The researcher found many online communities are promoting tribal culture and costume. Apart from that profile pictures of the young tribal girls residing in urban areas shows that for special occasions they prefer to wear tribal costume, but for daily wear, they prefer wearing western clothes.

Based on the study of socio-economic and socio-cultural changes in Tripura, and observation and interviews, it was found that the change in demography, exchange of culture, change in religion, the influence of media, communication and religion all play a significant role in transformation in clothing.

Conclusion

To conclude, it can be said that Tripura has been mainly a tribal region, but with the passing of time and growing cultural contact with neighbouring areas, as the population of non-tribal people has steadily increased in the state, their influence is also reflected in the different tribes. The older Tripuri and the Reang tribal women, living in rural areas maintain their design preferences of colour, stripes and motifs to preserve their cultural identity in the rigwnai. Some of these clothes have been woven for centuries, while others originated during the beginning of the 21st century. At first glance, the more recent clothes seem quite distinctive in comparison to the older clothes. The younger generations are open to a new culture and a new mode of dressing. They wear contemporary, traditional costume, other Indian and western dresses. Young women were observed to be more experimental with clothing, compared with the older women who still prefer more traditional costumes. The findings of the research indicate that unlike their ancestors, the younger generations of tribal women living in urban areas are creating their own identity within the community. The 21st century tribal women add their own personal touches and styling. As with many other tribes, the changes in the lives and status of the Tripuri and Reang women are reflected in their dressing style. The transformation of the costume is more noticeable in the Tripuri than in the Reang tribe. With the change in the socio-economic status of the tribal women, socio-cultural changes are reflected in the changes to their traditional costume.

References

Anon., 2010. *A Land of Rich Ethnic Tapestry- Tripura.* Agartala: Tribal Research and Cultural Institution Government of Tripura.

Bhandari, V., Dhingra, S., & Kashyap, R. (1998). *Textiles and crafts of India.* New Delhi: Prakash Book Depot.

Census 2011. (n.d.). Retrieved May 4, 2013, from https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/tripura.html

De, N. (2012). Migration in the Last Hundreds of Years of Manikya Rule in Tripura: Investigating the Historical Facts. *International Journal of Social Science Tomorrow,* 1(2), 1.

Dhamija, J. (2010). India. *In Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: South Asia and Southeast Asia* (pp. 61–71). Oxford:Bloomsbury Academic.

Gregory, P. M. (2009). An Economic Interpretation of Women's Fashions. *In Classic and Modern Writings on Fashion.* Oxford: Berg.

Mills, C. W. (1956). *The Power Elite.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Pitimaneeyakul, U., & Labat, K. L. (2010). Laos. *In Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: South Asia and Southeast Asia* (pp. 271–275). Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Tripura State Portal. (2017). Retrieved May 13, 2017, from https://tripura.gov.in/history

Wilkinson-Weber, C. M. Fashioning Bollywood: The Making and Meaning of Hindi Film Costume. *Beyond the Screen.* London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Interviews

Chakraborty, T. 2012. Personal interview.12 March, Agartala, West Tripura.

Reang, Gunabati. 2012. Personal interview.15 March, Bogafa, SouthTripura.

Debbarma, Shephali, 2015, Telephone interview. 15 August, Agartala, West Tripura.

Debbarma, Deepali, 2012, Personal interview. 13 March, Agartala, West Tripura

59 BE ITALIAN! AESTHETIC EMPLOYEES AND THE EMBODIMENT OF NATIONAL TRAITS IN LUXURY FASHION FLAGSHIP HOTELS

Author
Dr Alice Dallabona
University of Leeds, UK

a.dallabona@leeds.ac.uk

Keywords
luxury fashion flagship hotel
aesthetic labour
cultural opportunism
Italianicity
national identity

Abstract
This paper focuses on the aesthetic employees associated with the new spaces of luxury fashion brands in the hospitality industry, i.e. luxury fashion flagship hotels. These are defined as hotels that are opened as a function of brand extension by luxury fashion labels, and are primarily associated with Italian luxury brands. Luxury fashion flagship hotels hold a very close relationship with their respective parent brands and they can also employ strategies that see the deployment of characteristic traits associated with Italy and its culture as a way to augment their offerings, maximising the brand extension potential. Traits of Italianicity can also be employed in luxury fashion flagship hotels to provide a coherent setting that is in line with the philosophy of the brands, and that involves not only interior design and services but also the appearance and performance of staff in a situation where fashion and cultural values are strictly intertwined. Through different case studies, it will be argued that the use of Italian national identity traits and strategies of cultural opportunism involves a double form of commodification of embodied dispositions of staff, who are expected to personify both the brand's values and some Italian national characteristics. In this sense luxury fashion flagship hotels are posited as sites where cultural processes and business practices coexist, and where composite, complex, and at times, contrasting identities are showcased and negotiated.

Introduction
The present work aims to examine the case of the aesthetic employees associated with luxury fashion flagship hotels, and to investigate the use of national identity traits and strategies of cultural opportunism in terms of the appearance and performance of staff.

The term 'luxury fashion flagship hotel' (Dallabona 2015a) was coined to differentiate between true hotel brands opened as a function of brand extension by luxury fashion labels, and other forms of association between those brands and ventures in the hospitality industry. In fact there are cases where owners, or creative directors, of luxury labels appear to have simply invested in the hospitality industry in the name of diversification, as in the case of the Ferragamo family (who currently own five Lungarno Hotels in Florence and one in Rome) or of designer Alberta Ferretti, (who has launched two hotels, Castello Montegridolfo and Carducci76 in Italy). A number of international luxury fashion designers and brands have also ventured into the hospitality business in terms of occasional collaboration, and lent their talent primarily to curating design elements. For example, Azzedine Alaia designed the '3 Rooms' hotels in Paris and Milan, while at Hotel Halekulani in Honolulu (USA) bridal designer Vera Wang curated a suite. Diane Von Furstenberg designed a suite in 2010 for Claridge's in London, whilst Karl Lagerfeld has also been rather active in this field. In 1994 he curated the refurbishment of Schlosshotel Vier Jahreszeiten in Berlin, in 2012 he made over the Hotel Metropole in Monaco, and moreover he has more recently worked on the Sofitel So Singapore. Suites curated by Bottega Veneta are now available at St Regis Hotel in Florence and Rome and also at Park Hyatt Chicago, but there are many more examples of this. In Paris Sonia Rykiel has curated the refurbishment of Hotel de Crillon and of the restaurant of Hotel Lutetia, whilst Christian Lacroix collaborated with the Hotel le Bellechasse and Hotel le Petit Moulin. Also in Paris, Martin Margiela designed the Maison Champs-Elysées. However, all of those examples belong to the category of occasional collaboration, and are not part of a consistent strategy of brand extension resulting in the creation of true branded hotels associated with the name of luxury fashion labels, which is a phenomenon that only involves Italian luxury brands (Dallabona 2015b).

The luxury fashion flagship hotel phenomenon currently includes four brands (Dallabona 2017): Versace, with Palazzo Versace hotels in Main Beach (Australia) and in Dubai (United Arab Emirates); Bulgari with the Bulgari Hotels and Resorts developments in Milan, Bali, London, Dubai, Beijing and Shanghai (China); Armani with the Armani Hotels and Resorts in Dubai and Milan; Fendi, who launched the Fendi Private Suites in Rome in 2016. However, two more luxury fashion flagship hotel brands existed in the past, Missoni Hotels and Resorts (in Edinburgh and Kuwait city) and Maison Moschino in Milan, which are the focus of this article.

Methodology

The researcher adopted a semiotic approach to examine the cases of Missoni Hotel Edinburgh and Maison Moschino in Milan. Such an approach was chosen due to the very versatile nature of semiotic theories (Mick at al. 2004: 53), which allow for the analysis of the different elements involved in the luxury fashion flagship hotel phenomenon and the discourses concerning them.

There are intrinsic difficulties in researching the luxury sector, as companies are very wary of outsiders and extremely cautious in allowing access to their staff or spaces (Tungate 2005). The decision to focus on the cases of Missoni Hotel Edinburgh and Maison Moschino was in this sense the outcome of a self-selection process.

This study examines different types of data, the discourses and narratives present in the media concerning the hotels in question, interviews conducted by the researchers and her observation of Missoni Hotel Edinburgh and Maison Moschino. Both hotels were visited on three occasions, and the observation was carried out in line with the one employed by Thornton (1995) and Gray (2003). Semi-structured in-depth interviews with a purposive sampling (Bryman 2008) were conducted with key figures involved in the management of the two hotels in question.

Hotel Missoni Edinburgh and Maison Moschino

The first Missoni Hotel opened in Edinburgh (UK) in 2009 and was followed two years later by a resort in Kuwait, but both closed in 2014 when the licensing agreements between the fashion label and Rezidor (an international hospitality management company based in Brussels) were terminated. Missoni Hotel Edinburgh is still managed by the same group, now named Radisson Hotel Group, and has been re-branded as Radisson Collection Hotel Royal Mile Edinburgh.

Maison Moschino was opened as a one-off hotel in Milan in 2010 as a function of a licence agreement between the parent brand Moschino and Hotelphilosophy S.p.A., an Italian hospitality management company that specialised in luxury and design hotels. The hotel closed down in August 2014 as the group the licensee belonged to ran into some difficulties. Maison Moschino has now opened its doors again as NH Milano Palazzo Moscova.

As discussed by Dallabona (2017), the reason for the closure of these hotels is to be found in the choice of strategy employed to create and manage them, i.e. licensing. The latter is in fact characterised by some intrinsic vulnerabilities that were exposed in the aftermath of the economic slowdown from 2008 onwards, which resulted in a shift in the market for luxury fashion and lifestyle brands. All of the other luxury fashion flagship hotels created as a function of different strategies are still open today, whilst more have been added.

Luxury fashion flagship hotels hold a very close relationship with their respective parent brands and can employ strategies that see the deployment of characteristic traits associated with Italy and its culture as a way to augment their offerings, maximising the brand extension potential. This was theorised by Dallabona (2015a and 2016) in terms of cultural opportunism aimed at exploiting the positive characteristic linked to Italy to serve and nourish the brands.

However, traits of Italianicity can also be employed in luxury fashion flagship hotels to provide a coherent setting that is in line with the philosophy of the brands and that involves not only interior design and services, but also the appearance and performance of staff in a situation where fashion and cultural values are strictly intertwined.

Here, it will be argued that the use of Italian national identity traits and of strategies of cultural opportunism by those luxury fashion flagship hotels involve a double form of commodification of embodied dispositions of staff, who are expected to personify both the brands' values and some Italian national characteristics.

In the present work such Italian characteristics are examined in terms of Italianicity, a term coined by Barthes (1977: 48) to identify any element that could be considered, in different times and contexts, as Italian. This terms is used here, instead of 'Italianness', because it emphasises the flexibility of national traits and supports the notion that those are not defined once and for all, but respond to different contexts and can change in time, even resulting in the co-existence of contrasting narratives such as modernity and tradition as examined in the case of digital representations of Italian craftsmanship (Dallabona 2014).

Hotel Missoni Edinburgh employed characteristic traits associated with Italy and its culture in a variety of areas, aiming at augmenting and providing coherent offerings based on the Missoni's public persona to their clientele (Dallabona 2015a and 2016). The Missoni family plays a prominent role in the running, but especially in the communication and marketing strategy, of the Missoni brand and the narratives focus in particular on notions of family, informality and friendliness, which provide the dimension of brand culture (Kapferer 2004). These traits are strictly intertwined with Italy and refer to a relaxed lifestyle which appeals to time-poor city dwellers (Vita 2005: 30).

However, these traits refer to a mythical dimension (Barthes 1972) that does not necessarily provide an accurate account of how Italians live their lives nowadays, but that nonetheless creates powerful narratives which are presented and reinforced by films and TV shows, and also by a variety of entities including brands like Missoni. In this sense luxury fashion flagship hotels are posited as sites where cultural processes and business practices coexist, and where composite, complex and, at times, contrasting identities are showcased and negotiated. In fact the traits of Italianicty employed by Missoni Hotel Edinburgh are different from the ones showcased in Maison Moschino.

Service culture at Hotel Missoni Edinburgh focuses on certain elements of Italianicity which are in line with the brand identity of the label and the public persona of the Missonis, in this sense emphasising the dimension of unpretentiousness, friendliness and informality in a variety of ways. As examined in Dallabona (2015a), this was for example the case for staff at the hotel's restaurant, whose friendliness was aimed at avoiding forms of 'intimidation' by the waiters (Bell and Valentine 1997: 127). This focus on making sure that guests feel welcomed is one that very much echoes the narratives surrounding the Missonis because, as Rosita Missoni observed, they are well-known in the fashion world for being good hosts (Nayer 2011), and this is an element mentioned by countless interviews and journal articles (Dallabona 2016).

This is the ethos behind the choice, within Hotel Missoni Edinburgh, not to have formal uniforms in contrast with other hotels in that category. At Hotel Missoni Edinburgh staff wore Missoni kilts (presenting a twist to the the traditional Scottish garments by adopting Missoni patterns instead of tartan ones) or Missoni clothes, with an emphasis on the colourful knitwear pieces that constitute the signature style of the label, in this sense alluding to the dimension of informality that characterises Missoni but that also represents a trait associated to Italianicity. In this perspective staff at Hotel Missoni Edinburgh embody corporate identity (Solomon 1998), and as their bodies contributed to communicate the brand values (Pettinger 2004) they can be considered as aesthetic employees (Warhurst et al. 2000, Warhurst and Nickson 2001 and 2007, Witz et al. 2003) that are 'made up' by their employers (Du Gay 1997).

However, because staff at Missoni Hotel Edinburgh have to embody certain specific traits that are in line with the brand identity of the Missoni label but also associated with Italianicity, such as friendliness and informality, this means that they actually embody both brand values and national traits (Dallabona 2015a). This is a double form of commodification involving aesthetic employees, one that sees employers looking for people who possess traits which can make them act spontaneously in a way that is consistent with the brand identity, meaning that employers seek to hire people who possess what Bourdieu calls 'habitus' (Witz et al. 2003: 47). The habitus is a complex entity that is the product of lifelong experiences accumulated since childhood and that reflects the specific social conditions of individuals, resulting in certain dispositions that are embodied and guide people's behaviour (Bourdieu 1984 and 1991). These embodied dispositions are not staged but genuine as they have become second nature for people (Goffman 1969), and it's precisely for their sincerity that they are attractive for employers, as this means that staff will therefore be naturally able to convey the brand values in a convincing way.

Nowadays, it is becoming more and more common for employers to select staff based on their personalities (Bell and Valentine 1997: 126), but it has to be noted that the focus on friendliness at Hotel Missoni Edinburgh was actually also supported by promoting real forms of friendliness and sociality among staff, which reinforced the dimension of familiarity so closely intertwined with the Missoni brand identity. For example, staff took part in calendar photo shoots and charity runs, and drinks were even created to celebrate certain members, as in the case of the drink 'Bella Carina' which was named after the hotel's manager. This was part of the service culture of Missoni Hotel Edinburgh, called VITA (the Italian word for life), that focused on notions of family, friendliness and values such as care and solidarity, and that was inspired by Italy, considered as a mythical entity characterised only by positive values.

However, the case of Maison Moschino is different in the sense that the traits of Italianicity portrayed there, despite being similarly positive, are actually not the same ones that are emphasised by Hotel Missoni Edinburgh. This is a function of the fact that Maison Moschino is in line with the Moschino aesthetic and brand values, which focus on notions of creativity that capitalise on Italy's reputation in this field, and in particular with regards to fashion. As argued by Spinelli (2004), many companies have been exploiting Italy's reputation as a creative country, which in turn creates a circle that sees such a trait circulating worldwide in a variety of domains reinforcing the myth of Italian creativity. This was especially the case for Italian fashion, which has successfully established itself as power player after WWII as a function of particular circumstances (White 2000), but also of the specific contribution of fashion houses. Maison Moschino capitalised on this reputation, and in particular on the specific traits that characterise Milan and its style. Milan is the Italian fashion capital and is at the centre of a 'magic circle' (Dunford 2006: 29) of industrial districts, i.e. clusters of enterprises (mostly small or medium sized) that operate in the same field, and that constitute the backbone of the Italian industrial system (Becattini 2003, Pyke et al. 1990).

As the Italian fashion industry bloomed and became more and more renowned and profitable, Milan's image became one of a sophisticated, exclusive and elegant capital of shopping (Foot 2003: 147) that is characterised by a specific look of 'understated elegance' (Ferrero-Regis 2008: 13). The 'Milanese look' is one facet of the Moschino label, as that is characterised by a mix of minimalist and understated pieces and of flamboyant and over-the-top ones. These contrasting aesthetics are present in the products, and also in the spaces associated with the label, including Maison Moschino (Dallabona 2015a and 2017). There, a neutral backdrop of clean lines and white surfaces offered an opportunity for the most extravagant aspects of the Moschino label to stand out, and in this sense the service culture at Maison Moschino focused on both traits. Staff at Maison Moschino wore black suits but presented with a twist, in the form of boat necks for female staff and a more casual cut for male staff.

At Maison Moschino, staff embodied traits associated with Italian fashion and supported guests on their own personal fashion journey, as they were at hand providing information and tips on the city's shopping areas. The hotel is located at the core of that 'microfashion' phenomenon which contributes to strengthening the role of Milan as a the fashion capital and a place permeated with Italian creativity (Muscau 2008: 151). The most renowned independent luxury boutique of the city, Corso Como 10, is located less than 500 meters away from Maison Moschino. Corso Como 10 is the shop opened in 1990 by Carla Sozzani (sister of Franca, the long-serving director of Italian Vogue), and represents a landmark for international fashionistas (Klein 2005). Moreover, Maison Moschino also offered a package that was specifically tailored for those who love the brand, called 'Shopping Therapy', offering a discount in all the Moschino boutiques (and also in the Alberta Ferretti ones, as the two companies belong to the same group).

Conclusion

Maison Moschino and Hotel Missoni Edinburgh both refer to elements of Italianicity in their spaces, services and branding strategies, but they rely on different elements. But what is it that makes it possible for Maison Moschino and Hotel Missoni Edinburgh to use such contrasting traits to support their brand and nonetheless articulate them as being authentically Italian?

This is a function of the variety of features associated with Italy, and which spring from a rich heritage originated in different geographical, historical and cultural contexts, as the country itself faced a troubled path to unification (which was only achieved in 1861), but also of the very nature of national identity. National identity is not a monolith, perennially static and immune from change, but is actually a concept that evolves and is re-shaped by different elements and narratives (Edenson 2002, Billig 1995, Borneman 1992). In this sense national identity is something that can always be re-elaborated (Cubitt 1998: 3), a fluid (Cartocci 2009) or liquid entity (Bauman 2000) that is never complete but always in process (Hall 1990: 222). We can theorise nations from a semiotic perspective, as texts (Ferraresi 2000), entities created through narratives (Bhabha 1990) where reality and fiction are strictly intertwined and, at times, difficult to differentiate (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). In this sense, traits of national identities like those examined here belong to the realm of myth, social and ideological constructs that hide their nature through an aura of reality (Barthes 1972) and innocence (Barthes 1977: 51) which make them appear as if they were self-evident laws of nature (Bronwen and Ringham 2006: 213). But those traits of Italianicity are not natural or obvious; they are constructed entities that serve, in this case, to nourish branding strategies. In doing so, it's only the positive elements that get selected, portrayed and reinforced, both creating and supporting idealised versions of Italianicity that in turn contribute to reinforce the positive image of the brands who employ them.

National traits can be a valuable resource for brands, and can be used to permeate every aspect, from products and services to spaces and employees, in a situation where socio-cultural elements and business practices are closely intertwined and influence each other. In fact if it's true that businesses regularly appropriate cultural elements, the former are also necessarily taking part in cultural processes (Jackson 2002: 5), in a situation that sees any part of branding and marketing strategies, including the bodies and attitudes of staff discussed here, becoming sites for shaping and mobilising notions of national identity.

References

Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*, London: Cape.

Barthes, R. 1977. *Image-Music-Text*, London: Fontana.

Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Becattini, G. et al., 2003. *From Industrial Districts to Local Development: An Itinerary of Research*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Bell, D. & Valentine, G. (1997). *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat*, London: Routledge.

Bhabha, H. (1990), *Nation and Narration*, New York: Routledge.

Billig, M. (1995), *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage.

Borneman, J. (1992), *Belonging in the Two Berlins: Kin, State*, Nation, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bronwen, M. and Ringham, F. (2006), *Key Terms in Semiotics*, Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd.

Bryman, A., 2008. *Social Research Methods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bourdieu, P., (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cartocci, R. (2009), 'Come si distrugge l'identita italiana', In Identita' *Italiana tra Europa e societa' multiculturale*. Colle di Val d'Elsa (SI): Fondazione intercultura Onlus, pp. 181–197.

Cubitt, G. (1998), *Imagining Nations*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Dallabona, A., 2014. Narratives of Italian craftsmanship and the luxury fashion industry: representations of Italianicity in discourses of production, in Joseph H. Hancock II, Gjoko Muratovski, Veronica Manlow and Anne Pearson-Smith (Eds.), *Global Fashion Brands: Style, Luxury & History*, Chicago: Intellect.

Dallabona, A., 2015a Luxury fashion flagship hotels and cultural opportunism: the cases of Hotel Missoni Edinburgh and Maison Moschino. *Hospitality and society*. Volume 5, Numbers 2-3, 1 September 2015, pp. 117-143(27)

Dallabona, A., 2015b Luxury fashion hotels: exploring the relationship between hôtellerie and luxury fashion brands. *International Journal of Sales, Retailing and Marketing*, Vol 4 No.2, pp. 78-85.

Dallabona, A., 2016. At home with the Missoni family: narratives of domesticity within Hotel Missoni Edinburgh. *Home cultures*. 13:1, pp. 1-21.

Dallabona, A., (2017) The challenges of luxury fashion flagship hotels: the case of Maison Moschino. *Critical studies in fashion and beauty*. 8:2, 219-268.

Du Gay, P. 1997. *Production of Culture/Cultures of Production*. London: Sage.

Edensor, Tim (2002), *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*, Oxford: New York: Berg Publishers.

Ferraresi, M. (2000), 'Interpretare la marca Nazione', In Lombardi, M., ed. Il dolce tuono. Marca e pubblicità nel terzo millennio. Milano: Franco Angeli, pp. 241–276.

Ferrero-Regis, T. 2008. Fatto in Italia: Refashioning Italy. *PORTAL Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies*, 5(2), pp.1-17.

Goffman, E., 1969. *The presentation of self in everyday life*, London: Allen Lane.

Gray, A., 2003. *Research practice for cultural studies: ethnographic methods and lived cultures*, London: Sage.

Hall, S. (1990), 'Cultural identity and diaspora', In Jonathan Rutherford, ed. *Identity: community, culture, difference*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Hobsbawm, E. J. and Ranger, T. (1983), *The Invention of tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jackson, P. 2002. Commercial cultures: transcending the cultural and the economic. *Progress in Human Geography*, 26(1), pp.3–18.

Kapferer, J-N. 2004. The New Strategic Brand Management: *Creating and Sustaining Brand Equity Long Term*. London: Kogan Page.

Klein, C., 2005. *Cool Shops Milan*, New York: teNeues.

Mick, D.G. et al., 2004. Pursuing the Meaning of Meaning in the Commercial World: An International Review of Marketing and Consumer Research Founded on Semiotics. *Semiotica*, 152(1/4), pp.1-74.

Muscau, F. 2008. The city boutique. Milan and the spaces of fashion. In J. Potvin, ed. *The Places and Spaces of Fashion*, 1800-2007. New York: Routledge, pp. 139–151.

Nayer, M. 2011. 'An Interview with Missoni Matriarch, Senora Rosita Missoni.' *Huffington Post*. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/melanie-nayer/rosita-missoni-hotelmissoni_b_829045.html#s246608 (accessed December 7, 2018).

Pettinger, L. 2004. 'Brand Culture and Branded Workers: Service Work and Aesthetic Labour in Fashion Retail.' *Consumption Markets & Culture* 7(2): 165–184.

Pyke, F. Becattini, G. & Sengenberger, W., 1990. Industrial districts and inter-firm co-operation in Italy, Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies.

Spinelli, P. 2004. L'immagine del Made-in-Italy presso il pubblico straniero. Brandforum.it. Available at: http://www.brandforum.it/papers/67/l-immagine-delmade-in-italy-presso-il-pubblicostraniero (accessed December 7, 2018).

Thornton, S., 1995. *Club cultures: music, media and subcultural capital*, Cambridge: Polity.

Tungate, M. 2005. *Fashion brands: branding style from Armani to Zara*, London: Kogan Page.

Vita, E.D. 2005. Brand Italia. *Management Today*, (August), p.30.

Warhurst, C. and D. Nickson. 2001. *Looking Good, Sounding Right? Style Counselling in the New Economy*. London: Industrial Society.

Warhurst, C. and D. Nickson. 2007. 'Employee Experience of Aesthetic Labour in Retail and Hospitality.' *Work, Employment & Society* 21(1): 103–120.

Warhurst, C., D. Nickson, A. Witz, and A. M. Cullen. 2000. 'Aesthetic Labour in Interactive Service Work: Some Case Study Evidence from the 'New' Glasgow.' *The Service Industries Journal* 20(3): 1–18.

White, N., 2000. Reconstructing Italian Fashion: America and the *Development of the Italian Fashion Industry*, Oxford: Berg.

Witz, A., C. Warhurst and D. Nickson. 2003. 'The Labour of Aesthetics and the Aesthetics of Organization.' *Organization* 10(1): 33–54.

93 MADE IN SCOTLAND: COUNTRY OF ORIGIN BRANDING IN THE SCOTTISH TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Author
Christina Stewart
Robert Gordon University, Scotland

c.stewart16@rgu.ac.uk

Keywords
global brand management
brand identity
country of origin
premium branding
Scottish textiles

Abstract

The Scottish textile industry continues to contribute significantly to the national economy, turning over £1bn annually and generating 8,200 domestic jobs. With exports now worth over £360m, industry leaders recognise that 'Made in Scotland' is a prized asset that brand managers must protect and elevate on a global scale. Globalisation has fuelled growth in consumer demand for deeper levels of transparency of provenance. The significance of country of origin (COO) rises as premium Scottish textile firms expand their global presence and the market place becomes more competitive. In response, premium Scottish textile brand identities utilise a range of COO cues to differentiate and generate competitive advantage. While Scotland is believed to possess an 'aura of excellence' that brands must strive to maintain, few studies examine Scottish COO beyond the confines of government reports.

Academics have largely developed COO understanding from a brand image perspective, yet this area of research remains underdeveloped in relation to specific product categories and brand identity. In response, this research contextualises the brand identity concept in conjunction with COO, providing insight into the strategic incorporation of COO in the premium Scottish textile industry. The inductive qualitative research strategy adopted aligns with the interpretivist paradigm guiding this research. Semi-structured interviews with leading Scottish textile executives reveal the strategic use of COO. Typically embedded within the wider brand narrative, COO acts as a valuable point of difference. Findings reveal that benefits of COO branding include brand differentiation, brand protection, symbolic and emotional associations, increased purchase intent and ultimately, competitive advantage. Based on primary findings a model has been created to illustrate the benefits of COO associations in contemporary multi-dimensional brand stories.

Introduction

Recent studies report increasing consumer demand for deeper levels of transparency of provenance driven by increased globalisation and nationalist discourse (Yildiz, Heitz-Spahn and Belaud, 2018; Han and Guo, 2018; Fisher and Zeugner-Roth, 2017). As discrimination against foreign-made products rises country of origin (COO) becomes increasingly important to both consumers and firms alike (Melewar and Karaosmanglu, 2006; Moser, Schaefers and Meise, 2012). Despite lively academic debate surrounding COO and vast theoretical development from a brand image perceptive (e.g. Balabanis and Diamantopoulos, 2011; Yasin, Noor and Mohamad, 2007; Srikantanyoo and Gnoth, 2002; Baker and Ballington, 2002), this area of research is underdeveloped in relation to brand identity and specific product categories.

The Scottish textile industry's rising contribution to Scotland's economy (BBC, 2018) and innovative brand development (Walpole, 2018) establishes Scottish textile brands as a topic of interest. Scottish COO is fundamentally embedded within the identities of many internationally recognised Scottish brand categories (e.g. textile, shortbread, whisky, smoked salmon) however few studies examine Scotland as COO out-with government reports (Hamilton, 2010; Lyne et al. 2009). Reference is generally made as part of a wider study (e.g. Baker and Ballington, 2002; Dinnie, 2004; Thakor and Kohli, 1996), consequently failing to address the significance of Scotland as COO.

COO is an influential image variable that directly impacts consumers' beliefs, attitudes (Erickson, Johansson and Chao, 1984; Balabanis and Diamantopolos, 2001) and consumer buying processes (Yasin, Noor and Mohamad, 2007). Indeed, extrinsic COO cues are believed to significantly influence consumer evaluations of hedonic, high involvement products such as premium Scottish textiles (Srikatanyoo and Gnoth, 2002; Erickson, Johansson and Chao, 1984). This study therefore analyses the role and value of COO in premium Scottish premium textile brand identities.

Theoretical background

The premium Scottish textile brand sector

The definition of a 'premium' brand is debatable (Atwal and Williams, 2008) and terminology is inconsistent. Although 'luxury' and 'premium' are often used interchangeably it is recognised that these terms apply to different levels of luxuriousness (Vigneron and Johnson, 2004) and are 'fundamentally different' (Kapferer and Bastien 2009: p. 313). Despite the idiosyncratic nature of premium/luxury (e.g. what may be viewed as luxury by one individual may not be viewed as a luxury to another) (Phau and Prendergast, 2000; Janssen et al., 2014), brand management literature concurs that premium and luxury brands can be conceptualised according to their high quality, uniqueness, beauty, aspirational qualities, symbolic nature and rarity (Nueno and Quelch, 1998; Fiona and Moore, 2009; Hamiede 2011). The Scottish textile industry has an affinity with culture, taste and style, and benefits from rich heritage underpinning and traditional craftmanship. Harris Tweed has been described as 'the champagne of fabrics' (Scotland, 2014) while Scottish cashmere is argued to be one of the world's finest fabrics (Conway 1998). Yet, price points and product availability remain within reach of many customers and products deliver high levels of functionality, subsequently 'premium' is deemed an appropriate categorisation of Scottish textile brands to guide this study.

Brand identity

Brand identity is a recent, yet established, concept in brand management (Kapferer, 2012) that is 'central to a brand's strategic vision… (providing) direction, purpose and meaning for the brand' (Aaker 1996, p. 68). Brand identity originates from the organisation (Nandan, 2005) therefore preceding brand image and is sent via a number of coded messages (Kapferer, 2012). Brand identity is regularly defined as an identifier, differentiating the brand from competitors and adding value to the product/service (Kuenzel and Halliday, 2008; Kapferer, 2008). Aaker (1996, p. 68), a leading brand theorist, provides the following definition, 'Brand identity is a unique set of brand associations that the brand strategist aspires to create and maintain. These associations represent what the brand stands for and imply a promise to customers from the organization members'. It is of growing importance that a brand's identity has a consistent common vision and goal that acts clearly as a differentiator and creates a 'solid and coherent entity' (Kapferer, 2012, p. 172), especially in highly competitive environments such as the premium textile and fashion sector (Bruce-Gardyne, 2012; McColl and Moore, 2011). Brand associations are boundless and may be product-related or extrinsic to the product itself, with tangible and intangible top-of-mind identifiers (Keller, 1993) forming the backbone of the brand and adding value (Chernatony and McDonald, 1992). Of particular relevance to this study is the inclusion of COO signifiers leading to associations with functional, emotional and self-expressive benefits (Aaker, 1996). COO arguably provides symbolic meaning, acting as an 'ambassador of cultural excellence' (Kapferer, 2012 p. 461). This stance is shared by Fionda and Moore (2009) and Insch and McBride (2004) however Samiee (2005) rejects claims that COO is a significant signifier influencing consumer evaluations of superiority, thus highlighting COO's questionable importance in the identities of premium Scottish textile brands.

Country of origin

Since Schooler's (1965) pioneering study of COO from a consumer behaviour perspective, COO image and its varying effects on consumer perceptions has become a prevalent theme throughout branding literature (Al-Sulaiti and Backer 1998; Balabanis and Diamantopolos 2001; Parameswaren and Pisharodi 1994; Srikantanyoo and Gnoth 2002). Today, COO image effect is defined as 'the impact that generalisations and perceptions about a country have on a person's evaluations of the country's products and/or brand' (Jaffe and Nebenzahl, 2001 p. 41). COO is widely accredited as an influential image variable that directly impacts consumers' beliefs, attitudes (Erickson, Johansson and Chao 1984; Srikantanyoo and Gnoth 2002; Balabanis and Diamantopolos 2001) and consumer buying processes (Yasin, Noor and Mohamad 2007). In particular, extrinsic COO cues are believed to significantly influence consumer evaluations of hedonic, high involvement products such as premium Scottish textiles (Srikatanyoo and Gnoth 2002; Erickson, Johansson and Chao 1984). Wall et al. (1991 cited in Jaffe and Nebenzahl 2001) provides texture to this view, finding that COO affects "product quality assessments more than price and brand information". Moreover, Srikatanyoo and Gnoth (2002) find COO as the most important factor, strengthening or weakening the brand, potentially lowering any perceived risk and contributing toward sustainable competitive advantage (Baker and Ballington, 2002; Parameswaren and Pisharodi 1994). However, context must be considered. Lin and Sternquist, (1994) reveal that consumer perceptions of garment quality are significantly effected by COO however more developed countries, such as Scotland, were found to rely less on COO cues due to greater purchasing experience and access to information.

There is widespread agreement that COO preferences exist (Veale and Quester, 2009; Lotz and Hu, 2001; Yasin, Noor and Mohamad, 2007) with nationalistic discourse, nostalgia, local culture and environmentalism driving a home-country bias (Al-Sulaiti and Baker, 1998; Steenkamp and De Jong, 2010; Yildiz, Heitz Spahn and Belaud, 2018). Unsurprisingly Scotland as COO acts more notably as competitive advantage when Scottish consumers possess high levels of ethnocentricism as COO can be used to 'express patriotic sentiment' (Jaffe and Nebenzahl 2001 p. 76) and is viewed as more morally acceptable (Huddleston, Good and Stoel, 2001). Biased consumer evaluations are recognised as leading to positive or negative COO stereotypes (Lotz and Hu, 2001). Importantly, Srikatanyoo and Gnoth (2002) find that COO perceptions are upgradable, unfavourable perceptions can become favourable, specifically though brand management strategies.

There is a consensus throughout the literature that COO image effect is explained by the halo or summary construct. The summary construct is a dynamic process in which consumers form country images based on their ongoing experience with a country's products (Jaffe and Nebenzahl, 2001; Han, 1989). As a result of exposure, secondary brand associations from cognitive, affective and conative consumer responses are generated (Balabanis and Diamantopolos, 2001, Pereira, Hsu and Kundu, 2005). In contrast the halo effect refers to a cognitive process whereby product or brand perceptions are formed based on the transferrable qualities the consumer associates with a certain country (Piron, 2000; Hui and Zhou, 2003) and involves consumers processing the COO as a heuristic device (Jia et al., 2010). Jaffe and Nebenzahl (2001) and Han (1989) maintain that the halo construct operates when consumers have no prior experience or knowledge of products made in a particular country, instead product or brand evaluations are based on the attributes associated with the country itself. Attributes can be founded on, but not limited to, the country's culture, economic climate, history, traditions and political or social development (Jaffe and Nebenzahl, 2001; Pereira, Hsu and Kundu, 2005).

Scotland as country of origin

Limited academic research examines Scotland as COO (Hamilton, 2010; Combes et al., 2001; Baker and Ballinton, 2002), even less so in relation to the Scottish textile industry. Additionally, results are generally outdated, lack depth or fail to reflect the present situation (Baker and Ballington, 2002; Combes et al., 2001). Despite this, the limited research available presents a uniform opinion that Scotland achieves positive provenance (Baker and Ballington, 2002; Hamilton, 2010) with consumer perceptions emphasising 'history and tradition' (Baker and Ballington, 2002 p. 164). Furthermore, government literature 'Luxury Scotland' documents Scotland's affinity with luxury sectors and draws attention to the country's ability to cater to 'increasingly sophisticated tastes' (Scotland, 2014).

Methodology

A constructivist position is adopted, supporting the school of thought that COO perceptions are continually revised as customers gain experience with the country. In agreement, an interpretivist mono-methods qualitative research approach comprising of in-depth semi-structured interviews was undertaken with business executives. The Scottish Textile & Leather Association's Map of Textile Attractions (STLA, 2014) was used as the primary sample frame from which five leading premium Scottish textile firms were selected (Ritchie et al., 2014): Johnstons of Elgin; Knockando Woolmill; Harris Tweed Hebrides; Lochcarron of Scotland and one which requests to remain anonymous (A1). The selection criteria for this cross-section of Scottish textile companies were based on their premium positioning, varying differential characteristics including size, location, age and scale of manufacturing and 'Scottishness'.

In line with critical case sampling, a purposive sampling approach was used to select participants for interview based on their influential decision-making role within Scottish textile companies (Patton 2001; Coyne 1997). By interviewing brand managers the likelihood of obtaining rich and valuable information heightened due to their proximity and direct influence over the company's brand identity strategy (Ritchie et al. 2014).

In line with the inductive approach of this study, data analysis is 'geared toward theory construction' (Lapan, Quartaroli and Riemer, 2011 p. 42) to address current gaps in understanding. Initially, open line-by-line coding was undertaken followed by axial coding and memos to highlight salient themes (Lapan, Quartaroli and Riemer, 2011) making data more manageable and meaningful (Denscombe, 2010). Secondly, selective coding was undertaken to compare and contrast selected situations in the coded data (Carson et al., 2001) in pursuit of answering: What is the role and value of Scottish COO in the brand identities of premium Scottish textile brands?

Findings

Scotland's associations

First it is important to establish the associations brand executives hold with Scotland to determine and understand the image of Scotland with which they resonate as the brand's COO identity is subsequently rooted in these perceptions (Madharvaram, Badrinarayanan and McDonald 2005). Brand strategist associations can be categorised as follows: product associations; natural environment associations; industrial, historical and cultural association and personality associations.

Unsurprisingly, considering the sample frame, favourable product associations are prevalent. This study wholly confirm Hughes' (1995) earlier findings that Scotland signifies quality and authenticity. Such product associations express judgements of excellence, credibility and superiority (Yoo, Donthu and Lee, 2000; Aaker and Biel, 1993) synonymous with premium/luxury brand taxonomy (Fionda and Moore, 2009; Keller, 2009) reinforcing that Scotland's image can be categorised as premium/luxury (Fionda and Moore, 2009; Keller, 2009). Brand executives also express natural environment associations that portray Scotland's image as desirable and idealised. This mirrors Scotland's dominating image in government and tourist literature and visuals (Scarles, 2004; Visit Scotland, 2018). Associations such as 'idyllic', 'rural' and 'countryside' indicate positive provenance and relate to the traditional and romantic notion of Scotland. These landscape associations confirm Combes et al's (2001, p. 12) findings that landscape has 'a strong degree of relevance to contemporary Scottish identity' and supports Daniel's claim (1993 cited in Combes et al., 2001 p. 5) that national identity if born from "landscapes".

On first examination contrasting associations such as 'very traditional' and 'technology' present a somewhat contradictory picture. However, Scotland's association with 'progressive' supports Baker and Ballington's (2002, p. 164) earlier findings that Scotland has a 'modern lifestyle which marries tradition with contemporary values'. This finding is echoed by Johnstons of Elgin's CEO, Simone Cotton, stating that it is beneficial for the sector to 'take traditional elements in a modern context'.

Participants' personification of Scotland emotionalises the country leading to benefits such as increased consumer confidence (Rosenbaum-Elliott, Percy and Pervan 2011) and heightened symbolic value (De Chernatony 2009; Kapferer 2008). Scottish associations of reliability, pride, skilled, fairness and honesty fall in line with Aaker's (1996) brand personality dimensions 'competence' and 'sincerity', indicating Scotland's genuine and authentic capability. This supports earlier findings by O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy (2000), Blain, Levy and Ritchie (2005) and Hills and Fladmark (1994) that suggest Scotland's personality is rooted in integrity and honesty.

The dominance of favourable associations (Keller 1993; Till Baack and Waterman 2011) strongly suggests that positive provenance is achieved by Scotland in the minds of brand executives. Additionally, participants recognise the 'aura of excellence' (Norval 2013) surrounding Scottish industry, here they are indirectly describing the halo effect taking place, with Dawn Robson-Bell, Design and Sales Director, Lochcarron of Scotland stating confirming that *'we do rely strongly on the whole image of Scotland.'*

Characteristics of premium Scottish textile brands

Premium Scottish textile brands were asked to 'summarise their brand in a few words or a couple of phrases' to reveal their brand essence. To shed light on the role of COO it is of particular importance to understand the brand essence on which associations are built. Seven divergent, yet closely interrelated, characteristics emerged. Although all characteristics are considered important in the positioning and differentiation strategy of premium Scottish textile brands (Kuenzel and Halliday, 2008), it should be noted that individual brands place differing levels of importance on each characteristic. The following thematic groupings arose: premium/luxury positioning, high quality, design, authenticity, Scottish country of origin, global reputation, heritage, and niche.

An inconsistent and somewhat confused approach to brand positioning is evident, mirroring literature review findings that premium and luxury are not clearly differentiated. Lochcarron of Scotland explains, 'I would say we are a premium brand. Luxury, perhaps we are aspiring' while A1 states 'I would say it's a premium brand of luxury knitwear'. From this it can be posited that the 'premium' Scottish textile brand sector does not fall under a singular categorisation of premium or luxury, instead it adheres to a spectrum of premium ranging to luxury. All participants recognised high quality product and classic design as central to their identity, core credentials of premium/luxury brands (Fionda and Moore 2009).

Authenticity is achieved through a prevalent portal of upholding time-honoured manufacturing techniques and skills in their brand identities (Beverland, 2005). This resonates with the traditional sense of 'authentic' rooted in brand heritage (Pedersen, 2013), and the countrywear category that many participants resonate with. Scottish textile brands impart unique historical and cultural references through storytelling which appeals to consumers' increasing desire for authentic brand experiences (Beverland and Farrelly, 2010). All participants referenced traditional manufacturing techniques such as spinning yarn, weaving fabrics and knitting as part of their extended brand identity, which are academically found to 'clarify, enrich, and differentiate' the brand (Aaker 1996 p. 78).

Unlike De Chernatony and Riley's 1998 study where COO fell under 'brand heritage' as part of the brand's value system, this study identified COO as a meaningful core brand dimension. Anne Macleod, Brand Development Director, Harris Tweed Hebrides, states 'Harris Tweed can only be manufactured in the Outer Hebrides of Scotland, so Scotland and our geography is absolutely intrinsic to the brand' while Johnstons of Elgin claims Scotland 'has always been one of the central pillars' and Lochcarron of Scotland states 'we absolutely embed (Scottish) country of origin and geography of origin into our brand'. These statements confirm Grace and O'Cass' (2002) earlier findings that COO is interpreted as a significant and meaningful brand characteristic. Scottish COO can therefore be categorised as an independent defining characteristic of the premium Scottish textile brand sector.

Heritage encompasses the history and tradition which are built into the premium Scottish textile brands' DNA. The centrality of the sector's heritage is exemplified by Knockando Woollen Mill manager Terry Cleaver;

> We are promoting heritage of this place… it's being going since 1770, so for us we are basically custodians of that weaving history… and particularly with the modern mill we've got… a very short pithy statement of the brand, and we're selling the heritage of the weavers and the agricultural importance and very much those traditions based on education.

History and tradition closely relate to the sector's COO (Baker and Ballington, 2002) highlighting the congruence between the sector's characteristics and Scotland's image. Furthermore, heritage attributes significantly contribute towards the sector's premium/luxury positioning (Fionda and Moore, 2009) and is an integral component of the sectors 'global reputation' (McMeekin, 2001). Participants recognise both the domestic market and international market as key to the success of Scottish textile brands and are pivotal contributor to their brand essences. While recognising their global appeal, Scottish textile brands also define themselves as 'niche' and 'specialists'. This agrees with publication Scotland the Cutting Edge's (2007) observation that Scottish textiles has been 'going through a period of continuous change in recent years, moving into a niche market-orientated sector operating in a global market'.

Communication of Scottish COO

The communication mechanisms employed to communicate Scottish COO are pivotal to understanding its role. Visual identity, 'Made in' label, brand literature, brand story, promotional events and partnerships emerged as salient COO communication strategies.

First, it should be noted that despite the prevalent documentation of brand name in COO brand literature (Thakor, 1996; Lim and O'Cass, 2001; Wall, Liefeld and Heslop, 1991), none of the participants implicitly recognised brand name as a method of communicating COO. It is suggested that brand name as a fundamental informational cue has been overlooked owing to its assumed evident nature. Although absent from interviews, COO branding literature (e.g. Thakor, 1996; Lim and O'Cass, 2001; Wall, Liefeld and Heslop, 1991), confirm that brand name acts as an informational cue identifying and communicating Scottish COO through both pronunciation (Thackor, 1996) and the inclusion of origin name (e.g. Lochcarron of Scotland).

Participants emphasised Scottish COO communication through visual aesthetics such as colour, tartan and estate tweed design. This study differs from previous studies (e.g. Cho, 1998; Kotler and Gertner, 2002) in that it draws attention to COO communicated through specific product attributes distinctive to the Scottish textile sector. It can be argued that the Scottish textile sector is reasonably unique in that it can communicate COO through product visual identities strongly associated with Scottish national identity, for example tartan and tweed.

COO product 'styling' is recognised as "conscious or unconscious mimicking of popular perceptions" (Thakor, 1996 p. 35) of national design. Scotland's natural environment (e.g. heather, rural landscapes) was acknowledged as an effective way to communicate 'Scottishness' by tapping into consumers pre-existing images of Scotland. By identifying and isolating favourable existing perception of Scotland, premium Scottish textile brands enhance the brands' positive provenance (Kotler and Gertner, 2002).

Contrary to the prevailing notion that 'made-in' labels are "nowhere near as salient" as price and product descriptions (Thakor, 1996 p. 30) all participants identified 'made-in' labels as the principal extrinsic cue. A consensus exists among participants that benefits arise when 'made in Scotland' is explicitly stated. Hence Johnstons of Elgin state 'It goes on all the hang tags… We talk about it on our website. We talk about it on our literature. It is always there within the brand story right up front' while A1 states 'We put 'Made in Scotland' on the front page, we've got 'Made in Scotland' on every page!'.

Premium Scottish textile brands engage in a diverse range of strategic alliances that actively contribute towards the sector's affinity with Scotland (Wigley and Provelengiou, 2011). The creation of synergistic partnerships (Wassmer and Dussauge, 2011; Wigley and Provelengiou, 2011) leverages the transfer of brand associations to add value to one another (James, 2006; Keller, 2003). Specifically, Harris Tweed Hebrides' creates effective symbolic alliances as they 'improve and enhance signals of product quality' (James, 2006 p. 15) by strategically linking the brand to high profile quality events such as the Commonwealth Games and the Ryder Cup.

Captivating brand stories encourage consumers to enter the emotional realm and activate symbolic meaning of the brand. All participants extensively communicate COO as part of their larger brand story while also imbedding elements of history, heritage and manufacturing processes. Johnstons of Elgin emphasises the aspirational and emotional benefits of creating a supporting network of differentiating characteristics (e.g. COO, royal warrant, family history, manufacturing techniques) which act together to form an overall multi-dimensional brand identity. Participants stress COO as a component of their story but recognise that it is no more important than any other component and that instead it is the combined effect that adds value to the brand.

The value of Scottish COO in premium Scottish textile brand identities

Through effective brand management COO is strategically linked to the identities of premium Scottish textile brands as a means to appeal to consumers' ethnocentric tendencies and tourist and international consumers' desire for traditional Scottish textiles. Differentiation strategies seek to achieve uniqueness, distinguishing the brand from both domestic and foreign competitors (e.g. Italian cashmere), by creating a multi-dimensional brand identity inclusive of Scottish COO. Despite limited product heterogeneity in the premium Scottish textile brand sector (i.e. most produce high quality knitwear, cashmere and/or tartans and tweeds) individual brands differentiate themselves, both on an international and domestic platform, through their unique brand stories in which COO plays a lead role. Harris Tweed Hebrides recognises that global consumers are 'looking for provenance' and believes consumers 'act favourably' towards the incorporation of Scotland in their brand identity. However, Harris Tweed Hebrides goes on to state that 'obviously we have to back that up with good design, good colour, good customer service. Without all of that, you know, Scotland has got value but without all of those additional things that we bring to the mix it's not enough'.

The overarching benefits of Scottish COO from a brand identity perspective are now discussed in turn as follows; symbolic and emotional device, differentiating device, increased purchases intent, brand protection and shorthand device.

Scottish COO acts as a symbolic and emotional device generating added value. Derived from intangible benefits, the creation of symbolic COO is beneficial as it creates competitive advantage by instilling consumer confidence and communicating superior value (Harris and Riley 2000; Wood 2000). Transparency of Scottish provenance not only appeals to 'what the consumer stands for' (Chernatony and Riley, 1998 p. 422), it also signifies core values of 'exclusivity', 'quality', 'durability' and 'expertise', thus adding value to the brand (Chernatony and McDonald, 2008) as captured by Johnstons of Elgin;

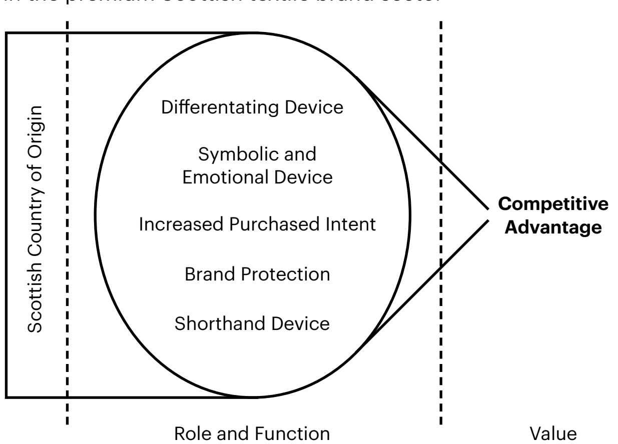
> I want them to believe that because it's a Scottish product it's a quality product and I want them to feel buying a luxury product where you'll pay a lot more than you're buying on the high street is about emotional connection and I want them to feel a positive emotional connection to Scotland because that helps that whole story.

Many participants recognise that consumer awareness of Scottish COO increases purchase intent and 'help(s) with sell through at retail' (A1). This support's Piron's (2000) earlier findings that likelihood of purchase for luxury products increases when favourable COO is present. A1 believes that 'made in Scotland' must be communicated, 'otherwise you know, there's no reason for them to pay a premium price for it'; this shares similarities with Fischer, Oldenkotte and Nuremberg's (2012 p. 1-2) belief that COO 'directly affects the likelihood of purchase (and consumers are) willing to spend more money to obtain them'.

All participants recognise the brand protection given by their Scottish COO. Trademarks in the premium Scottish textile brand sector help protect the equity Scotland and Scottish textiles has built up over time (Florek and Insch, 2008). These trademarks (e.g. Harris Tweed Orb) convey meaning and help to ensure Scotland's integrity (Florek and Insch, 2008). Brands managers differentiated between the superior 'made in Scotland' and the lesser 'designed in Scotland' label and commented on the misuse of 'made in Scotland' labels by 'pirates' (A1) diluting the overall image of Scottish textiles. Brand strategists recognised that the authentic role of Scottish COO in their own brand identities is essential to protect against lower quality textile brands incorrectly claiming Scottish origin.

Scottish COO acts as a shorthand device 'facilitating information processing' (De Chernatony and Riley 1988 p. 426) and enabling fast brand recall and recognition (De Chernatony and Riley 1988; Aaker, 1996). Symbolic Scottish brand imagery and brand names provide COO memory shortcuts enabling faster purchase decisions (De Chernatony and Riley's 1998) when Scotland acts as a risk reducer. It can be postulated that Scottish COO has achieved shorthand status from consumers gaining experience and cognitive knowledge of the brand over a significant period of time (De Chernatony and Riley 1998). Meaningful functional and symbolic attributes associated with COO are pro-actively sought through the brand identities of premium Scottish textile brands. Active offline relationships with consumers (e.g. guided tours) and online communication and memberships (e.g. Friends of the Mill) reinforce Scottish COO in pursuit of competitive advantage.

Figure 1: The Function and value of Scottish COO in the premium Scottish textile brand sector



Conclusion

Scottish COO underpins the sector's branding arguably verifying differentiation and superiority (Hudson and Balmer, 2013). Although COO is utilised to varying degrees, it was consistently integrated, particularly into the overall brand 'story'. Favourable Scottish associations (e.g. traditional, honest, authentic, landscape etc.) suited to the sector are repeatedly used to embed associations of quality and authenticity, thus building positive provenance. It can also be concluded that Scottish COO is an emotional and symbolic shorthand embedded in the brand identities of premium textile brands enabling consumers to 'recognise superior value' (Harris and Riley 2010 p. 43), whilst lowering perceived risk (Hudson and Balmer 2013), increasing purchase intent and offering brand protection, ultimately resulting in competitive advantage.

References

Aaker, D.A., 1996. *Building Strong Brands.* London, UK: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd.

Aaker, D.A. and Biell, A., 2013. *Brand equity & Advertising: Advertising's role in building strong brands.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Psychology Press.

Al-Sulaiti, K.I. and Baker, M,J., 1998. Country of origin effects: a literature review. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, 16(3), pp. 150-199.

Atwal, G. and Williams, A., 2009. Luxury brand marketing - The experience is everything!. *Journal Of Brand Management*, 16(5/6), pp. 338-346.

Baker, M. and Ballington, L., 2002. Country of origin as a source of competitive advantage. *Journal Of Strategic Marketing*, 10(2), pp.157-168.

Balabanis, G. and Diamantopoulos, A., 2011. Gains and Losses from the Misperception of Brand Origin: The Role of Brand Strength and Country- of-Origin Image. *Journal Of International Marketing*, 19(2), pp. 95-116.

Beverland, M.B, 2005. Crafting brand authenticity: the case of luxury wines. *Journal of Management Studies*, 42(5), pp. 1003-1029.

Beverland, M.B. and Farelly, F.J., 2010. The quest for authenticity in consumption: Consumers' purposive choice of authentic cues to shape experienced outcomes. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36(5), pp. 838-856.

Blain, C., Levey, S.E. and Ritchi, J.R., 2005. Destination Branding: Insights and Practices from Destination Management Organizations. *Journal of Travel Research*, 43, pp. 328-338.

Conway, S., 1998. *The History Of... Cashmere: The golden fleece.* [online]. London: The Independent. Available from: http://www.independent.co.uk/ life-style/ the-history-of-cashmere-the-golden-fleece-1196401.html. [Accessed 4 January 2019].

Coyne, I.T., 1997. Sampling in qualitative research. Purposeful and theoretical sampling; merging or clear boundaries. *Journal of advanced nursing*, 26(3), pp. 623-630.

De Chernatony, L., 1999. Brand Management Through Narrowing the Gap Between Brand Identity and Brand Reputation. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 15(1-3), pp. 157-179.

De Chernatony, L., 2009. Towards the holy grail of defining 'brand'. *Marketing theory*, 9(1), pp. 101-105.

De Chernatony, L., Harris, F. and Riley, F.D.O., 2000. Added value: its nature, roles and sustainability. European *Journal of marketing*, 34(1/2), pp. 39-56.

De Chernatony, L. and McDonals, M., 2008. Creating powerful brands. 3rd ed. Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann.

De Chernatony, L. and Riley, F., 1998. Defining A "Brand": Beyond The Literature With Experts' Interpretations. *Journal Of Marketing Management*, 14(4/5), pp. 417-443.

Dinnie, K., 2004. Country-of-origin 1965-2004: a literature review. *Journal of Customer Behaviour* 3(2), pp. 165-213.

Erickson, G., Johnasson, J. and Chao, P., 1984. Image Variables in Multi-Attribute Product Evaluations: Country-of-Origin Effects. *Journal Of Consumer Research*, 11(2), pp. 694-699.

Fionda, A. and Moore, C., 2009. The anatomy of the luxury fashion brand. *Journal Of Brand Management*, 16(5/6), pp. 347-363.

Fischer, N.K., Diamantopoulos, A. and Oldebkotte., 2012. Are Consumers Really Willing to Pay More for a Favorable Country Image? A Study of Country-of-Origin Effects on Willingness to Pay. *Journal of International Marketing*, 20(1), pp. 19-41.

Fischer, P., Zeugner-Roth, P., 2017. Disentangling country-of-origin effects: the interplay of product ethnicity, national identity, and consumer ethnocentrism. Mark. Lett. 28 (2), pp. 189–204.

Fladmark. J. M., 1994. Cultural tourism: papers presented at The Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention 1994. In *Cultural tourism: papers presented at The Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention*, pp. 89-100.

Florek, M. and Insch, A., 2008. The trademark protection of country brands: insights from New Zealand. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 1(3), pp.292-306.

Grace, D. and O'Cass, A., 2002. Brand associations: looking through the eye of the beholder. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 5(2), pp. 96 - 11.

Hamilton, M., 2010. Scottish country of origin: its role and value in the identities of Scottish premium/luxury brands. [online]. Aberdeen: *OpenAIR@RGU.* Available from: http://openair.rgu.ac.uk [Accessed 21 December 2018].

Han, C.M. and Guo, C., 2018. How Consumer Ethnocentrism (CET), Ethnocentric Marketing, and Consumer Individualism Affect Ethnocentric Behavior in China. *Journal of Global Marketing*, pp.1-15.

Hughes, G., 1995. Authenticity in tourism. *Annals of tourism Research*, 22(4), pp. 781-803.

Hudson, B.T. and Balmer, J.M.T., 2013. Corporate heritage brands: Mead's theory of the past. *Corporate communications: An International Journal*, 18(3), pp. 347-361.

Hui, M.K. and Zhou, L., 2003. Country-of-manufacture effects for known brands. *European Journal of Marketing*, 37(1/2), pp. 133-153.

Janssen, C. et al. 2014. The Catch-22 of Responsible Luxury: Effects of Luxury Product Characteristics on Consumers' Perception of Fit with Corporate Social Responsibility. *Journal Of Business Ethics*, 119(1), pp. 45-57.

Kapferer, J., 2012. Abundant rarity: The key to luxury growth. *Business Horizons*, 55(5), pp. 453-462.

Kapferer, J.N., 2008. *New Strategic Brand Management; Creating and Sustaining Brand Equity Long Term.* 4th ed. Kogan Page.

Kapferer, J.N. and Bastien, V., 2009. *The luxury strategy: Break the rules of marketing to build luxury brand.* London: Kogan Page.

Keller, K.L., 2009. Managing the growth tradeoff: Challenges and opportunities in luxury branding. *Journal Of Brand Management*, 16 (5/6), pp. 290-301.

Keller, K.L., 1993. Conceptualizing, Measuring, and Managing Customer-Based Brand Equity. *Journal of Marketing*, 57 (1), pp. 1-22.

Lin, L. and Sternquist, B., 1994. Taiwanese Consumers' Perceptions of Product Information Cues: Country of Origin and Store Prestige. *European Journal of Marketing*, 28(1), pp. 5-18.

Lim, K. and O'Cass, A., 2001. Consumer brand classifications: an assessment of culture-of-origin versus country-of-origin. *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 10(2), pp. 120 - 136.

Lotz, S.L. and Hu. Y.H., 2001. Diluting Negative Country of Origin Stereotypes: A Social Stereotype Approach. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 17(1/2), pp. 105-135.

Lyne, A., 2009. *Product Origin – Scotland": A Review of Industry Practice and Evidence.* [online]. Edinburgh: Scottish Government Social Research. Available from: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/ 276563/0083029.pdf [Accessed 5 November 2018].

McColl, J. and Moore. C., 2011. An exploration of fashion retailer own brand strategies", Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An International Journal, 15(1) pp. 91-107.

Melewar, T.C and Karaosmanoglu , E., 2006. Seven dimensions of corporate identity. A categorisation from the practitioners' perspectives. *European Journal of Marketing*, 40 (7/8), pp. 846-869.

Moser, R., Schaefers, T. and Meise, J.N., 2012. Consumer Preferences for Product Transparency in Emerging Markets – Lessons Learned from India. *Marketing Review*, 29(3), pp. 22-27

Nandan, S., 2005. An exploration of the brand identity-brand image linkage: A communications perspective. *Journal Of Brand Management*, 12(4), pp. 264-278.

Norval, E., 2013. Johnstons of Elgin recruits new boss. [online].The Fashion Business Drapers. Available from: http://www.drapersonline.com/news/-johnstons-of-elgin-recruits-new-boss/5054499.article [Accessed 10 December 2018].

Piron, F., 2000. Consumers' perceptions of the country-of-origin effect on purchasing intentions of (in)conspicuous products. *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 17(4), pp. 308-321.

Samiee, S., Shrimp, T.A. and Sharma, S., 2005. Brand origin recognition accuracy: its antecedents and consumers' cognitive limitations. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 36(4), pp. 379-397.

Scarles, C., 2004. Mediating landscapes The processes and practices of image construction in tourist brochures of Scotland. *Tourist Studies*, 4(1), pp. 43-67.

Schooler, R.D., 1965. Product bias in the Central American common market. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 2(4), pp. 394-397.

Scotland, 2018. *Fashion and Textiles.* [online]. Scotland: Scotland. Available from: http://www.scotland.org/experience-scotland/fashion-and- textiles/ [Accessed 10 December 2018].

Scotland, 2018. *Luxury Scotland.* [online]. Scotland: Scotland. Available from: http://www.scotland.org/features/luxury-scotland/ [Accessed 20 December 2018].

Scotland The Cutting Edge, 2007. *Scotland the cutting edge: A strategy for the textiles industry in Scotland.* [online]. Scotland the Cutting Edge. Available from: http://www.google.co.uk/url? sa=t&rct=-j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0 CEQFjAA&url=http%3A %2F%2Fwww.scottish-enter-prise.com%2F-%2Fmedia%2F-SE %2FResources%2FDocu-ments%2FSectors%2FTe xtiles%2Fscottishtextiles- strat-egy0710.ashx&ei=9G0dVNn-jOuf4yQPT-YKIBg&usg=AFQjC-NFnCW- Crr1OqycioTzc1ixiE_6ZWA&sig2=4OFTf26QjrgZ9C VLIVCefw&bvm=bv.75775273,d.bGQ [Accessed 20 December 2018].

Shaughnessy, J. and Shaughnessy, N., 2000. Rating the nation as a brand: some neglected issues. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 20(1), pp. 56-64.

STLA, 2014. *Map of Textile Attractions.* [online]. Edinburgh: Scottich Textile and Leather Association. Available from: http:// www.visittextilescotland.com/page-map.html [Accessed 2 December 2018].

Textile Scotland, 2018. Scottish Textile Industry Strategy 10 Year Plan [online]. Available from: https://www.textilescotland.com/resources/Pictures/Scottish%20 Textiles%20Industry%20 Strategy.pdf [Accessed 20 December 2018].

Thakor, M.V., 1996. Brand origin: conceptualization and review. *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 13(3), pp. 27-42.

Thakor, M.V. and Kohli, C.S., 1996. *Brand origin: conceptualization and review. Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 13(3), pp. 27-42.

Till, B.D., Baack, D. and Waterman, B., 2011. Strategic brand association maps: developing brand insight. *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 20(2), pp. 92-100.

Vigneron, F. and Johnson, L., 2004. Measuring perceptions of brand luxury. *Journal Of Brand Management*, 11(6), pp. 484-506.

Visit Scotland, 2018. Welcome to VisitScotland. [online]. Edinburgh: Visit Scotland. Available from: http://www.visitscotland.com [Accessed 1 November 2018].

Wall, M., Liefeld, J. and Heslop, L.A., 1991. Impact of country-of-origin cues on consumer judgments in multi-cue situations: a covariance analysis. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 19(2), pp. 105-113.

Wigley, S.M. and Provelengiou, K., 2011. Market-facing strategic alliances in the fashion sector. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An International Journal*, 15(2), pp. 141 - 162.

Wood, L., 2000. Brands and brand equity: definition and management. *Management Decision*, 38(9), pp. 662-669.

Yasin, N.M., Noor, M.N and Mohamad, O., 2007. Does image of country- of-origin matter to brand equity? *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 16(1), pp. 38-48.

Yildiz, H., Heitz-Spahn, S. and Belaud, L., 2018. Do ethnocentric consumers really buy local products?. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 43, pp.139-148.

Yoo, B., Donthu, N. and Lee, S., 2000. An examination of selected marketing mix elements and brand equity. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 28(2), pp. 195-211.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank Dr Morag Hamilton and the Scottish textile brand managers interviewed for their help and efforts completing this research.

147 NAVIGATING THE FASHION-FAITH LANDSCAPE IN MALAYSIA: THE INFLUENCE OF FASHION BLOGGERS ON GENERATION Y MALAY FEMALES' FASHION CONSUMPTION

Authors
Mohd Zaimmudin Mohd Zain
University of Malaysia
Dr. Patsy Perry
Dr. Liz Barnes
The University of Manchester, UK

Corresponding author
mohdzaimmudin.mohdzain@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

Keywords
social media
fashion blogger
modest wear
Malaysia

Abstract

Originating as a hobby to journalise one's daily routine, fashion blogging has evolved to become an important fashion reference source and a medium for fashion engagement. Fashion bloggers have become key influencers and opinion leaders, with the ability to persuade followers to buy or adopt their fashion style.

This study explores the role of the fashion blogger in a non-Western cultural context where religious norms restrict females' ability to engage fully with fashion trends. Modest wear is worn by females who embrace Islam as their faith and must cover the entire body, except for face and palms. Malay female fashion bloggers have a different dress code to Western fashion bloggers, due to religious norms and the cultural context. However, in Malaysia there are more options for modest wear than other Islamic nations (e.g. colour, shape, form and fabric), so bloggers engage with global fashion trends by taking a unique 'mix and match' approach that combines Islamic apparel and Western styles.

Although younger Malay generations show interest in Western fashion styles, they must adhere to Muslim values of appropriate dress. Caught between fashion trends, religious values and the cultural context, they must adhere to the limits on their selection of clothing imposed by their faith in order to be accepted by society. Therefore, they need trustworthy sources for style ideas that minimise the social risk of purchasing something inappropriate.

This study takes a qualitative approach to understand how Malay female Generation Y fashion consumers are influenced by fashion bloggers to balance fashion trends, religious values and cultural context when shopping for fashion. Netnographic data was gathered from the comment threads of two Malay female fashion bloggers over a three month period, alongside interview data from 16 Malay female Generation Y fashion consumers.

Introduction

Social media offer many advantages to many parties. Platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube allow users to search for information quickly and easily (Christodoulides et al. 2013), while Web 2.0 functionality for peer-to-peer exchange of content (Lin et al. 2017) enables users to easily express their opinions or share information with others. Fashion bloggers (or influencers) also use social media to share fashion tips. Famous and influential fashion bloggers are able to connect many fashion fans all around the world and offer fashion information to their followers or other consumers, and at the same time are able to trigger consumer purchase decisions for fashion products (Esteban-Santos et al. 2018).

Nevertheless, consumer behaviour is complex, and socio-demographic factors such as religion, culture or age affect fashion consumption. Certain religions significantly impact the ability of their members to follow fashion, for example, Muslims are restricted in the type of apparel they may choose (O'Cass et al. 2013). Similarly, culture also affects fashion consumption (Almila, 2016), for example in terms of what to wear in order to be accepted by a society. Younger generations may have different fashion tastes compared to their elders, for example by moving from traditional to modern or Western wear. However, they must also conform to Islamic restrictions on dress. Therefore, these consumers are looking for valid sources that can satisfy their needs alongside religious and cultural requirements. Hence, this study explores the role of the fashion blogger in a non-Western cultural context where religious norms restrict females' ability to engage fully with fashion trends, and how they lead fashion consumers to navigate the fashion-faith landscape.

Literature Review

The internet and social media in particular are among the main channels for brand marketing activities (Grewal et al. 2013), due to their functions and features that provide convenience in terms of time, place and accessibility for users (Whiting & Williams, 2013). Fashion products are promoted on social media to reach more consumers, and this has become one of the most important channels for fashion marketing (Esteban-Santos et al. 2018). As social media allow users to exchange content and can be accessed publicly, they provide a means for retailers to learn about consumer behaviour and purchasing decisions (Marian, 2015), for example reading fashion consumers' comments and reviews to better fulfil their expectations.

Fashion consumer behaviour differs according to demographic factors, for example religion and culture, that may lead to different choices in fashion consumption (O'Cass et al. 2013). For instance, Muslim females adopt different styles to Western fashion consumers due to the dress restrictions that they must follow, emphasising modesty or covering of the body, and avoiding transparent materials or tight apparel, to name a few. However, studies on Muslim fashion consumers are sparse (Farrag & Hassan, 2015). Muslim fashion trends are driven by both dress restrictions and consumer desires for the latest trends. As such, Muslim fashion consumers seek out relevant sources that can lead them to appropriate apparel choices that satisfy religious and cultural expectations. One of these sources is modest fashion bloggers.

Fashion bloggers have evolved from hobbyists to becoming one of the most important stakeholders in the fashion industry. Starting from posting a daily diary of their personal style where they present the latest fashion trends, updates or other fashion issues, they have become valid sources for fashion inspiration or reference (Rocamora, 2011). Although the number of fashion bloggers is increasing, not all bloggers can be famous or influential (SanMiguel & Sadaba, 2018). They must have certain criteria to be influential or considered as fashion opinion leaders, such as great fashion knowledge, involvement in fashion-related activities and a high number of followers, whereby they have the ability to convince others and influence purchase decisions (Delisle & Parmentier, 2016; De Veirman et al. 2017; Shen et al. 2012). Their creativity in sharing fashion information, including text, videos and images, plus being good storytellers, has enabled them to powerfully influence fashion consumers' purchasing decisions (De Valck & Kretz, 2011) and become endorsers for fashion products.

Established fashion bloggers are increasingly employed as endorsers for fashion brands, with the purpose of promoting their products (Sherman, 2013). Examples include Italian fashion blogger Chiara Ferragni, who endorses brands such as Chanel, Balenciaga and Fendi, as well as US fashion blogger Danielle Bernstein who endorses brands such as Banana Republic, Dior and Balmain. However, despite the increasing number of influential fashion bloggers globally, studies on fashion bloggers mostly focus on Western contexts (Kulmala et al. 2013; Halvorsen et al. 2013; Sadaba & SanMiguel, 2016; Esteban-Santos et al. 2018). Few studies on Islamic fashion bloggers exist, for example Lewis (2015) who identified the role of social media of bringing women into contact with each other for online modest discourse, and how modest bloggers make visible and lend credibility to new forms of modest dress. There is a research gap in exploring how Islamic fashion bloggers can influence Muslim fashion consumers in navigating the faith/fashion landscape by choosing apparel that accords with their beliefs and cultural background.

Methodology

A combination of qualitative techniques was employed to obtain rich data: netnography and semi-structured consumer interviews. Netnography is a qualitative research method of exploring online culture and consumer behaviour through ethnographic techniques that are conducted online, for example by analysing user-generated content such as comment threads on social media platforms (Kozinets 2010; Bartl et al. 2016). Semi-structured interviews permit researchers to gain more insights from relevant respondents who are willing to express their feelings, experience or opinions by answering the questions asked (Rowley, 2012). This mix of qualitative techniques can provide richer data and obtain deeper insights, as seen in previous studies including Ertimur & Gilly (2012), Weijo et al. (2014) and Kozinets et al. (2016).

Table 1: Selection criteria of fashion bloggers

Criterion	Blogger A	Blogger B
Active on social media	Share posts and interacts almost everyday	Share posts and interacts almost everyday
Posting relevant posts (fashion products)	Fashion products, food, work, family, events	Fashion products, beauty and cosmetics, food, work, family, events
Have many followers and engage with other users	The most active social media platform is Instagram, where she has almost 600,000 followers	The most active social media platform is Instagram, where she has almost 100,000 followers
Rich in data (comment threads on social media)	Uses multiple social media platforms – Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest and Blogspot	Using multiple social media platforms – Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest and Blogspot

Ertimur et al. (2012) explored consumer-generated ads through a netnography of a website and interviews with 14 respondents. Weijo et al. (2014) undertook a netnography of an online community websites and conducted 16 semi-structured interviews. Kozinets et al. (2016) employed the same approach to investigate online sharing of food photos, with a social media netnography and 17 semi-structured interviews.

Following Kozinets' (2010) guidance, two famous Malaysian bloggers on Instagram were selected based on four criteria (active on social media, posting relevant posts, number of and engagement with followers, and rich in data), as shown in Table 1. Instagram is one of the most relevant platforms for fashion engagement and promoting fashion products (Phua et al. 2017) and both bloggers had more followers on Instagram compared to their accounts on other social media platforms. The duration for the netnography data collection was 3 months from 1 January until 31 March 2016, and the final dataset comprised of 85 fashion-related posts from both bloggers (50 by Blogger A and 35 by Blogger B).

Next, a semi-structured interview topic guide was developed from the literature review and the netnography analysis. Snowball sampling was used to achieve a final sample of 16 consumer respondents for the semi-structured interviews, by asking previous respondents from the initial pilot study if they knew anyone else who met the sampling criteria, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Consumer respondents selection criteria

i	Female
ii	Generation Y (aged 18-36)
iii	Follow fashion bloggers
iv	Engage in social media platforms

Female consumers were chosen because they are associated with fashion and buy fashion products more than men (Ruane & Wallace, 2013; Cho & Workman, 2011). Generation Y was chosen because its members are more exposed to social media than previous generations (Bolton et al. 2013).

Informed consent was gathered from the interview respondents prior to the interview. The bloggers' and respondents' confidentiality and anonymity were respected by using pseudonyms to replace personal names.

Finally, the data were analysed using template analysis (King, 2012), conducted manually following established procedures in similar previous studies, such as Kulmala et al. (2013), Parrott et al. (2015), Pihl (2014) and DeLassus & Freire (2014). The netnography data were transferred to Microsoft Word and totalled 60 pages (6208 words). The selected comment threads were coded into themes (using different colours of highlighter pens) and narrowed down into subthemes.

Data Analysis and Discussion

Both bloggers actively use Instagram, with the engagement and number of followers far higher here than on their other social media accounts. Three principle themes and six subthemes emerged, as shown in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Selection criteria of fashion bloggers

Themes	Subthemes
1. Malay Bloggers' Influence on Followers	1.1 Malay versus International Fashion Bloggers 1.2 Islamic Fashion Opinion Leaders 1.3 Fashion Legitimisation 1.4 Life Inspiration
2. Effect of Religion in Fashion	2.1 Restrictions in Fashion
3. Malay Fashion Interpretation	3.1 Flexibility in Fashion

1. Malay Bloggers' Influence on Followers

International fashion bloggers have a big role in influencing fashion consumers. However, most consumer respondents tended to follow local fashion bloggers for their fashion reference. This theme is important because it concerns the effects of fashion bloggers on fashion consumers, especially towards adopting the juxtaposition of Islamic and Western trends.

1.1 Malay versus International Fashion Bloggers

Most respondents followed local rather than international fashion bloggers for their different fashion style, as local bloggers emphasise the 'appropriateness' as a Muslim. Respondents feel confident and safe because these fashion bloggers show the correct way of wearing the apparel according to the basic religious values in Islam and are able to satisfy followers' needs for fashion trend information:

Respondent 1: I don't follow the international bloggers because their styles don't fit me as a Muslim. Hence, I will search the other bloggers, particularly local, who I think suitable with my styles as a Muslim.

lym:* I just simply love how you dress up so effortlessly (simple) but still look so classy and modest!!... (referring to a post by a local fashion blogger who is wearing a blue loose top with grey hijab and pants).

However, being of a younger generation, respondents expressed a desire to be fashionable as well as modest. Hence, local fashion bloggers become their fashion inspiration by providing valid information and displaying balanced combinations of Islamic and Western styles:

hdl:* I'm really loving the top (modest wear) with the white jeggings (Western trend) in all honesty! And the heels (western trend), bag (Western trend) and the hijab (modest wear) and the whole combination is on point ok. @srh* @nrl*

1.2 Islamic Fashion Opinion Leaders

Local fashion bloggers become valid fashion sources, confirming the previous Western study by Rocamora (2011) that fashion bloggers are key players in the fashion industry. The bravery of fashion bloggers displaying the combination of modest and modern wear is able to satisfy many parties such as religious values and cultural context, encouraging followers to adopt the same style. Hence, these fashion bloggers have become fashion opinion leaders for current Muslim fashion styles: both modest and modern:

Respondent 11: As a member of Generation Y, I feel so lucky to be exposed to the fashion's world. I prefer leisure style but elegant. For example, I like the concept of 'mix and match' displayed by local fashion bloggers. I always stylise a simple robe, but I like to match it with branded handbags (luxury) same like what fashion bloggers display. @srh* @nrl*'

hdl:* I'm really loving the top (modest wear) with the white jeggings (Western trend) in all honesty! And the heels (western trend), bag (Western trend) and the hijab (modest wear) and the whole combination is on point ok @srh* @nrl*.

1.3 Fashion Legitimisation

Most consumer respondents agreed that Malay female fashion bloggers are able to create new fashion trends to be followed or be a trend setter among Malay fashion consumers, particularly the combination between Islamic and Western style. This style is accepted by followers to fulfil their youthful desire as a Muslim (to be fashionable and respected). Respondents also believe that local fashion bloggers have the power to change fashion trends among Malay females, as they understand the needs and wants of the local consumers, who may be a little afraid to start a new trend:

Respondent 7: Fashion bloggers help me a lot. If they do not exist, we don't have trendsetter, so we don't know how to do 'mix and match' (Islamic and Western). Without them, styles are boring and people are afraid to try new things. So when fashion bloggers wear something, we can wear it too, so thanks to them. I really like their styles, follow what they wear, ideas even though not 100% similar. I will search for something similar [...].

yzm:* Wow... that shining top (Western trend) looks good with that hijab (modest wear). I have never thought of that. You are a brilliant fashion trend setter@v*.

1.4 Life Inspiration

Malay fashion bloggers are not only becoming an inspiration for fashion styles but also a life inspiration, particularly showing the improvement of women's life in Malay society by having a career. Their openness in sharing their lifestyle or life journey has become an eye-opener and motivation for other Malay women who would like to develop a career:

Respondent 14: A part of being beautiful and cute, they also inspire my life. Being a blogger, I know they are busy. But at the same time, they involve in business, have a family but still have time to update and share the stories, activities and lifestyle on their blogs. So amazing! This has inspired me to be successful like them.

fgx:* ''You are my inspiration, V* (referring to a local female fashion blogger). You have inspired the world, you have inspired all the young adults and you have inspired me to keep going in terms of business relation. [...] thank you for being an insta-addict :p (i.e. frequently updating the content). It keeps me motivated when I feel like giving up [...].

2. Effects of Religion in Fashion

Findings confirm that religious values affect fashion purchase decisions (O'Cass et al. 2013). This theme is important because it concerns the challenges and guidelines for Malay female consumers in choosing the correct apparel according to religious values.

2.1 Restrictions in Fashion
Despite the existence of dress restrictions, most respondents support the introduction of new fashion trends among Malay fashion consumers by fashion bloggers (juxtaposition between Islamic and Western styles). This suggests that the younger generation of Malay fashion consumers have shifted from pure modesty to a combination of modesty and fashion-consciousness, to improve their style whilst still conforming to societal expectations. It is important to note that religion does not prohibit Muslims from seeking and trying other trends, as long as they know how to balance them with modesty:

Respondent 4: Ok, now I am in my early 20's; I really emphasise on the way of wearing clothes, has to be edgy, chic and latest trend (Western), but I match them with modest wear. I am not afraid to wear a funky style at my age.

Respondent 14: My fashion style is more to body covering (Islamic way) such as shawl, cardigan, pants, hijab, and natural classic such as Bohemian (Western) style and experimental. Experimental means, I want to try something weird but fun.

fts:* I am always amazed when you look so good, so stunning in your culottes plus bright hijab (Islamic). Just as simple as that. You win... @v*.

3. Malay Fashion Interpretation
Malay culture also affects fashion choices. This theme emphasises how local society (cultural context) influences fashion product selection among Malay female consumers and adaptation of dress as females move away from traditional societal roles and enter the workplace. One sub theme that emerged is flexibility.

3.1 Flexibility in Fashion
Respondents liked to explore new fashion trends. Despite dress restrictions, their choice of apparel is more flexible than in many other Muslim countries, as in Malaysia there are more options for modest wear than other Islamic nations (e.g. colour, shape, form, and fabric). Hence, they can choose from pure modesty to a combination with other trends (juxtaposition of Islamic and Western) and still be accepted by local society. Additionally, Malay women nowadays are more modern, contemporary and their traditional role in society has evolved as more find paid work and develop careers, with a greater focus on their lifestyles compared to Malay women from previous eras. Therefore, their appearance also changes to fit this new environment and is applied in various contexts, including daily wear and workwear:

Respondent 11: I am able to choose the styles or trends to match my jobs [...] because I consider the correct apparels which satisfy all parties as a motivation and to earn a high level of confidence.

Respondent 2: I emphasise a lot on fashion styles. As a 28 years old employee in a big company; my appearance needs to be elegant and convincing. [...]. What I mean by elegant is to look good and modern, especially during working hours. I like striking colour because it can attract people to focus on me when I talk to them.

Conclusion

The role of the fashion blogger in a non-Western cultural context where religious norms restrict females' ability to engage fully with fashion trends is that of an intermediary figure that leads fashion consumers in their navigation of the fashion-faith landscape. Current fashion styles among Malay fashion consumers are changing from pure modesty to adopting Western styles to enhance their appearance and fit the current society. Nevertheless, the clash of fashion ideas between Islamic and Western remains, due to the dress restrictions practiced in Islam. Therefore, consumers are looking for valid fashion sources to provide them with fashion inspiration that satisfies other requirements too, in particular religious and cultural values.

This study is among the first to study Malay fashion bloggers and consumers. It extends the developing literature on the influence of fashion bloggers as valid fashion sources (e.g. Rocamora, 2011; Esteban-Santos et al. 2018), by showing that fashion bloggers are a key trusted source for the latest Muslim styles and act as an intermediary to reconcile the discord between Islamic and Western styles, thus leading consumers through the faith/fashion landscape. It also contributes to the emerging literature on the modest fashion blogosphere (Lewis, 2015) by uncovering the perspective of Muslim females who want to balance fashion desire with modesty. As young and fashionable Muslims who want to follow the latest trends, Malay consumers have broken with tradition to a certain extent. Instead of rejecting Western or non-Islamic trends, they carefully select apparel that conforms to religious and cultural requirements of dress, and mix them with modest wear. Moreover, this study also reveals that not only do fashion bloggers become a fashion inspiration or reference, but also an overall life inspiration by sharing their life journey openly. Their journey is very different from previous Malay women in terms of their career, and encourages other females to move away from their traditional societal role and improve their life accordingly.

A limitation of this study is the small sample of consumers that may not be generalised to the entire Malay female population. Respondents were recruited from particular regions or states in Malaysia, and therefore might have different religious spectra that may not be generalised to the whole population.

Further research could be conducted on male fashion consumers as their number is also increasing and they also put emphasis on their appearance. A gender comparison between male and female fashion consumers could obtain a deeper insight into fashion consumer behaviour in Malaysia. Future studies could also be extended to the comparison of different generational cohorts, as they may have different tastes or religious perspectives on fashion.

References

Bartl, M., Kannan, V.J. & Stockinger, H. (2016), A review and analysis of literature on netnography research. *International Journal of Technology Management*, 11(2), 165-196.

Bolton, R.N., Parasuraman, A., Hoefnagels, A., Migchels, N., Kabadayi, S., Gruber, T., Loureiro, Y.K. & Solnet, D. (2013), Understanding Generation Y and their use of social media: A review and research agenda. *Journal of Service Management*, 24(3), 245-267.

Cho, S. & Workman, J.E. (2011), Gender, fashion innovativeness and opinion leadership, and need for touch: Effects on multi-channel choice and touch/non-touch channel preference in clothing shopping. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 15(3), 363-382.

Christodoulides, G., Michaelidou, N. and Siamagka, N.T. (2013), A typology of internet users based on comparative affective states: evidence from eight countries. *European Journal of Marketing*, 47(1/2), 153-173.

De Valck, K. & Kretz, G. (2011), Pixelize me: Digital Storytelling and the creation of archetypal myths through explicit and implicit self-brand association in fashion and luxury blog. In Belk, R.W. (ed.) *Research in Consumer Behavior (Volume 12)* Emerald Group Publishing Ltd, 313-329.

De Lassus, C. & Freire, N.A. (2014), Access to the luxury brand myth in pop-up stores: A netnographic and semiotic analysis. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 21(1), 61-68.

Delisle, M.P. & Parmentier, M.A. (2016), Navigating person-branding in the fashion blogosphere. *Journal of Global Fashion Marketing*, 7(3), 211-224.

De Veirman, M., Cauberghe, V. & Hudders, L. (2017), Marketing through Instagram influencers: the impact of number of followers and product divergence on brand attitude. *International Journal of Advertising*, 36(5), 798-828.

Ertimur, B. & Gilly, M.C. (2012), So whaddya think? Consumers create ads and other consumers critique them. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, 26(3), 115-130.

Esteban-Santos, L., García Medina, I., Carey, L. & Bellido-Pérez, E. (2018), Fashion bloggers: communication tools for the fashion industry. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An International Journal*, 22(3), 420-437.

Farrag, D.A. & Hassan, M. (2015), The influence of religiosity on Egyptian Muslim youths' attitude towards fashion. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 6(1), 95-108.

Geissinger, A. & Laurell, C. (2016), User engagement in social media – an explorative study of Swedish fashion brands. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 20(2), 177-190.

Grewal, D., Roggeveen, A.L., Runyan, R.C., Nordfält, J. and Lira, M.E.V. (2016), Retailing in today's world: Multiple channels and other strategic decisions affecting firm performance. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 34, 261–263

Halvorsen, K., Hoffmann, J., Coste-Manière, I. & Stankeviciute, R. (2013), Can fashion blogs function as a marketing tool to influence consumer behavior? Evidence from Norway. *Journal of Global Fashion Marketing*, 4(3), 211-224.

King, N. (2012), Doing template analysis. In Symon, G. and Cassell, C. (Eds.) *Qualitative Organizational Research*, Sage: London.

Kozinets, R.V. (2010), *Netnography: Doing ethnographic research online*, Sage: London.

Kozinets, R., Patterson, A., & Ashman, R. (2016), Networks of desire: How technology increases our passion to consume. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 43(5), 659-682.

Kulmala, M., Mesiranta, N. & Tuominen, P. (2013), Organic and amplified eWOM in consumer fashion blogs. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 17(1), 20-37.

Lin, X., Li, Y., & Wang, X. (2017), Social commerce research: Definition, research themes and the trends. *International Journal of Information Management*, 37(3), 190-201.

Marian, P. (2015), *Are you ready to create your own social media network?*, WGSN, accessed on 18 October 2015, at http://www.wgsn.com.

Mintel (2017), *Women's wear in Malaysia*, accessed on December 2017, at http://www.euromonitor.com/womenswear-in-malaysia/report

O'Cass, A., Jin Lee, W. & Siahtiri, V. (2013), Can Islam and status consumption live together in the house of fashion clothing? *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 17(4), 440-459.

Phua, J., Jin, S.V. & Kim, J.J. (2017), Gratifications of using Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, or Snapchat to follow brands: The moderating effect of social comparison, trust, tie strength, and network homophily on brand identification, brand engagement, brand commitment, and membership intention. *Telematics and Informatics*, 34(1), 412-424.

Rocamora, A. (2011), Personal fashion blogs: Screens and mirrors in digital self-portrait. *Fashion Theory* 15(4), 407-424.

Rowley, J. (2012), Conducting research interviews. *Management Research Review*, 35(3/4), 260-271.

Ruane, L. & Wallace, E. (2013), Generation Y females online: insights from brand narratives. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 16(3), 315-335.

Parrott, G., Danbury, A. & Kanthavanich, P. (2015), Online behaviour of luxury fashion brand advocates. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 19(4), 360-383.

Pihl, C. (2014), Brands, community and style – exploring linking value in fashion blogging. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 18(1), 3-19.

Sadaba, T. & SanMiguel, P. (2016), Fashion blog's engagement in the customer decision making process. In *Handbook of Research on Global Fashion Management and Merchandising*, IGI Global, 211-230.

SanMiguel, P. & Sádaba, T. (2018), Nice to be a fashion blogger, hard to be influential: An analysis based on personal characteristics, knowledge criteria, and social factors. *Journal of Global Fashion Marketing*, 9(1), 40-58.

Shen, B., Wang, Y., Lo, C.K. & Shum, M. (2012), The impact of ethical fashion on consumer purchase behavior. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An International Journal*, 16(2), 234-245.

Sherman, L. (2013), The most influential personal style bloggers", Fashionista, accessed on 12 August 2015 at <fashionista.com/2013/01/influential-fashion-style-bloggers-2013>

Weijo, H., Hietanen, J. & Matilla, P. (2014), New insights into online consumption communities and netnography. Journal of Business Research, 67(10), 2072-2078.

Whiting, A. & Williams. D. (2013), Why people use social media: a uses and gratifications approach. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 16(4), 362-369.

Workman, J.E. and Freeburg, B.W. (2009), *Dress and Society.* Fairchild: New York.

151 SCOTTISH STYLE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PLACE AMONGST SCOTTISH FASHION INFLUENCERS ON INSTAGRAM

Author
Dr Madeleine Marcella-Hood
Robert Gordon University, Scotland

m.marcella-hood@rgu.ac.uk

Keywords
national identity
Scottish identity
influencers and place
Instagram
Scottish fashion

Abstract

This paper explores the phenomenon of personal style as an expression of national identity by investigating the construction of Scottish identity amongst fashion influencers on Instagram. Instagram is recognised as an example of visual media that has been embraced by the fashion industry and one that lends itself to the communication of place.

The paper adopts a novel photo-interview approach, building on the work of others in the fields of visual analysis and qualitative research. Participant influencers were asked to select and discuss a sample of their own Instagram posts that they felt represented their identity as a Scottish fashion influencer. These posts were subject to further interpretation and new meanings around Scottish identity and fashion were uncovered, including: the use of historic settings and landscapes as a backdrop for outfit posts, expanding the traditional definition of street style; a preference for autumn-winter styles; and a relationship between belonging to a place and personal style.

Scottish identity was important to the participants in this study and something they felt made them stand out within the increasingly crowded realm of fashion influencers online.

Introduction

Scotland is recognised as a small stateless nation with a vast and widely recognised iconography (McCrone, 2017). It is globally renowned for its textiles industry and academic research has tended to focus on this area with particular attention given to tartan and tweed (Fulton, 1991; Hume, 2010; Pittock, 2010; Cheape, 2010; Platman, 2011; Young and Martin, 2017).

It is argued by leading academics in the field of Scottish identity that Scotland is a victim of its own rich heritage whereby the appropriation of a romantic Highland vision of Scotland as stark and remote has made it difficult to establish a more contemporary vision of the nation and its people (McCrone et al, 1995). McCrone et al (1995: 7) argue 'if Scotland is heritage rich, then it could be because it has a past but not a present or a future'. Equally, it has been suggested that Scottish identity is overwhelmingly masculine (McCrone et al, 1995; Martin, 2009), where 'the quintessential image of a Scottish national dress and identity is the kilted highlander' (Cheape, 2010: 17). Scotland's vast iconography, which includes items of material culture such as the kilt, may be distinctive but some believe these images are superficial, outdated and not representative of a modern Scotland (Nairn, 1981; Trevor-Roper, 1983; McCrone et al, 1995; McArthur, 2003).

Research into Scottish fashion is an underdeveloped field and this paper explores the contemporary expressions of Scottish identity conveyed by personal style influencers who are recognised as having revolutionised the fashion industry. The wave of fashion bloggers that emerged during the mid 2000s has attracted the attention of academics in the developing field of fashion studies (e.g. Allen, 2009; Pham, 2011; Rocamora, 2011b; Chittenden, 2013; Findlay, 2015; Titton, 2015). The definition of a blogger has since evolved and these are now typically termed 'influencers' who focus their attention on visual platforms such as Instagram (Abidin, 2016: 86). Not only do large numbers of posts on the medium relate to fashion but engagement levels on these posts tend to be much higher than that of other media, such as Facebook and Twitter (Rogers, 2017).

Fashion bloggers and influencers are heralded as having 'extended the fashion map beyond traditional fashion capitals' (de Perthuis, 2015: 524; Rocamora, 2011a). Although physically situated in a geographic location, the digital and global nature of an influencer's audience allows them to appear placeless. However, there are also many who choose to reveal and promote their national identity and physical location online.

During the campaign leading up to the Scottish Independence Referendum in 2014, there was much discussion of Scottish identity. The current research took place amidst conversations about the possibility of a second Independence Referendum following the UK's vote to leave the European Union. Indeed, in the wake of the *Brexit* outcome, which saw every constituency in Scotland vote to remain in the EU and an overall UK-wide outcome to leave, McCrone (2017) argues that Scottish identity took on a new form as European and thus the adoption of a Scottish identity in a potentially global arena might take on a new dimension.

The aim of this study was to explore the construction of Scottish identity and place amongst fashion and style influencers on Instagram. It is argued that their experiences provide valuable insights into contemporary Scotland.

Theoretical perspectives on Scottish fashion and style

Research into Scottish fashion focuses on the production of Scottish textiles (Grierson et al, 1985; Butt, 1987; Cheape and Anita, 2005; Faiers, 2008; McKeen, 2009; Rae, 2016), especially tartan and tweed (Fulton, 1991; Hume, 2010; Pittock, 2010; Cheape, 2010; Platman, 2011; Young and Martin, 2017). Tartan, in particular, is regarded as inextricably linked with Scottish identity and Cheape (2010: 16) refers to this as 'a touch stone of Scottishness'.

Although regarded as quintessentially Scottish, tartan is recognised as a by-product of the romanticised writing of Scottish history that took place in the latter half of the 18th/early 19th centuries by writers such as Sir Walter Scott (Fulton, 1991). Tartan and kilts have a more widespread place in Scottish history from this point on, propagated by their perceived historical importance (McCrone et al, 1995). Although the popularity of tartan and kilts is only observable from the beginning of the 19th century, the history of tartan predates this and can be traced back to the 17th century in the Scottish Highlands, where it has been described as a 'Highland response' to the Renaissance (Young and Martin, 2017, p. 17; Cheape, 2010).

Pittock (2010) presents a less cynical view of tartan as more than an invented tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Trevor-Roper, 2010). He argues that, although tartan stems from the Highlands and was later appropriated in Scotland more widely, it is symbolic of Scottish pride and therefore a genuine part of Scottish history. Given the fact that research into Scottish fashion is so heavily focused on tartan, its significance cannot be disregarded.

The kilt and tartan are strongly interlinked but often regarded separately in the literature. Young and Martin (2017: 56) argue that the kilt is highly visible today as a signifier of Scottish identity and cite 'the tartan army', where the kilt arouses a 'warrior spirit' and 'the school girl look', where the kilt was brought to the fore as a mainstream fashion trend in the 1990s through films like *Clueless* (1995) (Butt, 2010; Young and Martin, 2017). Of course the kilt is also associated with Scottish celebrations and formal occasions, such as weddings (Fulton, 1991). The influence of tartan is evident across a range of subcultures from the 1970s onwards, where Punk, Grunge and Hipster movements all appropriated the cloth in new and diverse ways (Percival, 2010; Young and Martin, 2017).

Young and Martin (2017: 54) maintain that 'tartan is a lot more than misty glens, bagpipes, haggis and shortbread – it can be rebellious, masculine and cool'. They observe tartan and its influence in contemporary fashion, notably amongst luxury fashion designers, with Vivienne Westwood, Alexander McQueen, Jean Paul Gaultier and Burberry as just a few they name 'tartan visionaries' (ibid: 92). As one of the oldest couture houses and luxury fashion brands, Chanel's long-standing relationship with the Scottish textiles industries (tartan, cashmere and Fair Isle) is perhaps particularly illustrative of their excellence (ibid).

Platman (2011) tells the story of *Harris Tweed: from Land to Street* through personal anecdotes and

introductions to those who work in the industry. Her book consists primarily of photographs, most of which depict the Island's iconic landscape. Harris Tweed is one of the strongest examples of a brand that is physically and not just symbolically entrenched in place. Where other fashion brands, such as Burberry, focus strongly on heritage and place in their marketing (Straker and Wrigley, 2016), Harris Tweed by its very definition is rooted to place; the orb trademark can only be used where the tweed has been sourced, spun and woven on the Island. Guy Hills describes Harris Tweed as 'timeless' and 'the very pinnacle of heritage' (Platman, 2011: 123). The visual nature of Platman's work, as well as telling the tale of the iconic textile, demonstrates the extent to which the Scottish landscape and the people who live there are a meaningful part of Scotland's fashion story.

Crane et al (2004: 67) explore Scottish dress, ethnicity and self-identity through a study of Americans with varying degrees of Scottish descent, arguing that 'items of Scottish material culture are... dramatic, easily recognised, and market accessible'. Their study focuses on dress, which can be used to 'self-symbolise', i.e. to signify a national identity or heritage and/ or align with a group (ibid: 68). They found the participants in their study differed in the value they placed on their Scottish ancestry and in the extent to which they felt complete in their Scottish identity. Clothing was found to be most important to those who were exploring their Scottish roots for the first time and wanted to communicate their Scottish identity in a more explicit manner: 'once a respondent has constructed and feels complete in his or her ethnic identity, symbols are likely to become less important' (ibid: 79).

In summary, the area of Scottish identity has attracted scholarly attention for some time, where renewed interest might be attributed to a dynamic political landscape. However, research into Scottish fashion and style remains an underdeveloped field, with tartan and tweed remaining the focus of academic studies. Perhaps, as McCrone et al (1995) argue is the case with Scottish heritage more generally, tartan and tweed are such dominant signifiers of Scottish fashion, they eclipse any further conceptualisations of Scottish style that might exist.

This study sought to explore Scottish identity and style in a new context from the perspectives of those who actively communicate their personal style and identify outwardly as Scottish or as physically placed in Scotland.

Research approach

The study was qualitative and consisted of interviews with 14 Scottish fashion influencers. Participants were chosen based on the criteria that they operate publicly on Instagram and identify explicitly as Scottish or Scotland-based in their Instagram biography. In addition, participants conveyed a strong fashion element of their identity where the focus was on their own personal style. All participants had a fashion blog and although this was not a sampling requirement, it suggests a level of commitment and professionalism in their approach. It is not possible to search for users on Instagram based on profile keywords and so a combination of purposive and snowball sampling was used to identify research participants (Browne, 2007). The participants in this study were all female, which is typical of the Scottish fashion influencer community. Equally, it has been argued that Scottish identity is overwhelmingly masculine (McCrone et al, 1995; Martin, 2009) and so these women might be regarded as particularly significant in shaping contemporary ideas of Scotland and its people.

Upon agreeing to take part in the interviews, participants were asked to provide a sample of posts they felt were representative of their identity as a Scottish fashion influencer. This is a novel approach that builds on the work of others in the field of visual analysis. Photo elicitation (Collier, 1957) and evolving methods like photo voice (Wang and Burris, 1997; Wang and Redwood-Jones, 2001) are recognised for their ability to provoke multi-layer responses from participants who engage more emotionally with a subject (Croghan et al, 2008). Indeed photo elicitation, which traditionally involved showing photographs to participants to prompt a response, and photo voice, where participants are asked to take their own photographs in response to an issue, are seen as particularly valuable when exploring issues of identity (Vila, 2013) and facilitating 'conversations in place' (Anderson, 2004: 254; Leddy-Owen, 2013; Baxter et al, 2015; Hood and Reid, 2018).

The approach that was adopted for the current study differs in that participants were asked to curate a set of their own Instagram posts (consisting of image and text) that already exist and had been shared independently prior to the research being conducted. It is believed that asking participants to curate their own imagery avoided issues of researcher bias in selecting a sample; where ideas about what constitutes Scottish identity and style might have been imposed on the data as a result of the common narratives and iconography surrounding Scotland that have already been discussed. The adoption of this 'naturalistic' approach enabled new meanings around contemporary Scottish identity and style to be uncovered (Van House, 2009: 1077). The fact that participants chose these posts themselves also enabled insights into participants' online behaviour, their awareness of and motivations surrounding the construction of their online self. Reflecting on their identity in this way evoked strong memories and the expression of greater self-awareness by participants, enabling them to gain new insights into their own beliefs about Scottish identity.

Participants could select as few or as many images as they wished and between four and 12 images per participant were collected, resulting in 77 Instagram posts, which were then subject to further analysis. This was informed by Barthian semiotics (1957) and Panofskian iconology (1955) whereby the images were analysed for their denoted and connoted meanings; interview data and the written caption that accompanies an image allowed for contextual understanding to be extracted.

The posts that were curated by participant influencers and brought together as a set in this study are regarded as illustrative of contemporary Scottish identity and fashion as expressed through personal style. The following discussion highlights some of the key themes that were uncovered.

Scottish street style

Rocamora and O'Neill (2008) define street style as a type of photography that depicts everyday personal style against an urban backdrop. Rocamora (2011a: 102) argues that fashion bloggers have brought this aesthetic to the fore and further established street style as a stronghold of contemporary fashion, bringing the city to life through the real people who live there. Instagram lends itself well to the aesthetic whereby the medium is recognised for the immediacy through which individuals can document their everyday style outdoors and in the moment (Song, 2016; MacDowell and de Souza e Silva, 2018).

The participants who took part in this research were found to convey their personal style outdoors in a slight variant of the traditional definition of street style. Although participants were all city dwellers (two lived in London, one in Perth, Australia and the rest in three of Scotland's four main cities) they tended to opt for more rural and historic settings as a backdrop to their outfit posts. In these posts the participants themselves and their clothing were key signifiers but the backdrop had often been chosen quite carefully. Figure 1 shows a street-style post of Eday (20) near her home in Edinburgh.

Figure 1: Eday's Edinburgh street style

Eday's style identity was strongly centred on her passion for Scottish brands. Although she was born in Birmingham and had spent most of her life there, she was living in Edinburgh at the time of interview. Her affinity with what she saw as the Scottish political mind-set made her feel more Scottish and attached to her city, which she regarded as culturally vibrant.

Figure 2: Iona's Scottish street style

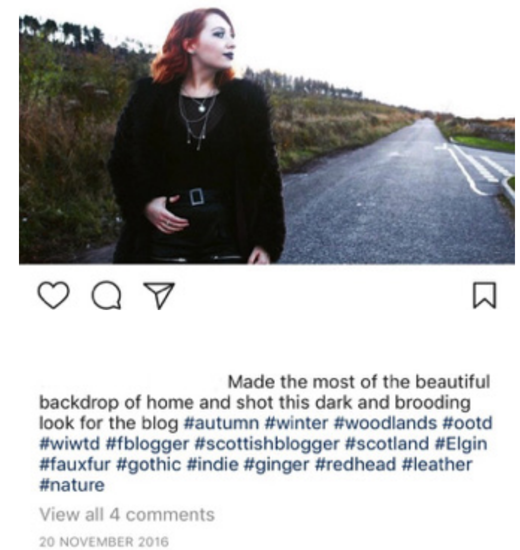


Figure 2 shows another example of street style where Iona (23) is denoted outside her family home in the North-East-of-Scotland countryside. Iona was living in London at the time of interview but regarded herself as Scottish. She associated Scotland with connotations of home and family and observed that her Scottish identity had become more important as she grew older and something she had become more conscious of whilst living in London. In the caption, Iona reveals her intention behind her backdrop, implying that a certain type of setting was required for this particular style and one that could not be accessed within her everyday London surroundings.

Throughout the interviews participants highlighted the importance of the setting for their imagery. Generally they preferred to showcase their style outdoors and opted for historic (Figure 1) or natural (Figure 2) settings. Figure 3 illustrates the Scottish street-style aesthetic further.

Figure 3: Scottish street style

Participants' preference for historic built environments or natural settings suggests the traditional Highland vision of Scotland as stark and people-less is still strong in contemporary Scottish style (McCrone et al, 1995; McCrone, 2017).

The autumn aesthetic

Craik (2009: 413) maintains that fashion communicates 'the zeitgeist of a place'. During the interviews, participants distinguished between what they regarded as stereotypes and more authentic signifiers of Scottish identity and style. Notably, participants did not reflect strongly on traditional textiles such as tartan and tweed as part of their personal style. Those who mentioned these recognised their value but did not see these as sufficient in representing contemporary Scottish fashion, which they felt was more diverse.

Figure 4: Tiree wearing tartan

Tiree (19) was the only participant who provided a post denoting tartan as part of her own style. During the interview she revealed that she chose the post because it showed a garment (the tartan scarf) that was gifted to her from a Scottish designer with whom she had worked as an intern. This suggests that, to the participant, the tartan element of the image is not as significant in connoting Scottishness as the individual designer and memory of working with her. Figure 4 conveys street style but in the more traditional sense where the influencer is pictured in Edinburgh city centre, which also happens to be where she was born and brought up. It illustrates another key theme around Scottish fashion where participants expressed a strong preference for autumn-winter styles.

Throughout the interviews, participants reflected on a familiarity with the 'dreich' Scottish weather and a subsequent inclination towards warmer clothing; in particular scarves, boots and coats were mentioned. The interviews took place in the summer months and participants spoke of feeling drawn towards autumn-winter styles earlier in the season. The sample included two Scottish influencers living in London and one Scottish influencer living in Perth, Australia and they also observed a preference for autumn-winter fashion and spoke about layering their clothing. In all cases, they felt this was linked with their sense of self as 'Scottish', where even London was regarded as warmer, and as somewhere that people tended towards a summer wardrobe in a manner to which a Scottish person could not quite relate.

Only one participant, who was born and brought up in Greece but was living in Scotland and characterised her online self as predominantly Scottish, expressed with 'sadness' a recognition that she could not embrace summer fashion. The findings suggest, therefore, that those who live in seasonal zones of the world might feel familiarity and positivity towards seasonal styles in this way. Figure 5 illustrates this theme further from the perspectives of the participant influencers:

Figure 5: Autumn-winter style

The autumn-winter aesthetic is evident not only in the clothes themselves but also through the tonality of the image set. A number of the participants reflected on autumn in particular as an influence for them. One expressed a fondness for autumn that she felt had derived from having an October birthday. Another spoke of a brand collaboration that took place in autumn each year, where she would visit the Scottish countryside solely to be photographed in their clothing. A third example involved an influencer who applied a warm filter to all her imagery and 'played around with the seasons', using these to help showcase Aberdeen, where she was living, in new and creative ways for her followers.

The tension between a Scottish and London style identity

The participants in this study were passionate about their Scottish identity and felt 'proud to be Scottish'. Perhaps this is not surprising given they all identified as Scottish or Scotland-based in an online world where they might choose to appear placeless. Participants felt that their Scottish identity was an attractive feature and something that made them distinctive in an increasingly crowded infosphere online.

Participants recognised London as the epicentre for UK fashion and one participant even reflected on what she regarded as the lack of a fashion industry in Scotland, where she felt it was the job of style influencers to help build this. Participants drew on comparisons between Scotland and London throughout the interviews. London was recognised as somewhere that offered significant opportunities for those who pursued a career as a fashion influencer. Two participants were living in London at the time of interview and categorised themselves on Instagram as 'Scottish girl[s] in London'. One participant, who was living in Glasgow and had the highest follower numbers (in excess of 50k), recognised the need to move to London in order to fully realise her career as a fashion influencer.

Although London was regarded as advantageous from a career perspective, none of the participants felt that London was somewhere that they belonged long term and they all recognised their home as being in Scotland. This idea of London as almost the antithesis of Scotland resonates with the Highland vision of Scotland as a place of tranquillity and escape. The popularity of this ideal dates back to Queen Victoria's acquisition of the Balmoral estate in 1852. A subsequent 'Balmoral effect' (Fulton, 1991: 42) is recognised as significant in shaping perceptions of Scotland predominantly through literary and artistic impressions (McCrone et al, 1995; Crawford, 2009; Martin, 2009; Brown, 2010).

Throughout the interviews, participants spoke about Scotland as a place for escape. This was firstly because it was regarded as peaceful, in contrast to big cities like London (Fulton, 1991; McCrone et al, 1995; McCrone, 2017). One participant who had experience of living in London observed: 'as soon as you get off the train in Edinburgh, you just feel like you're in Scotland and it's like you can breathe better than you can in London'. Secondly, Scotland was seen as a place in which it is possible to escape city life even whilst living in a city. Most participants recognised the ease with which they could escape to the countryside and pursue outdoor activities as an advantage of living in Scotland. This idea is illustrated in a number of the sample posts, many of which show people-less landscapes and natural elements as either a backdrop or focal point of the image.

Gunna (24), who was living in London at the time of interview, reflected on her fashion in London and in Scotland. She discussed Figures 6 and 7 as illustrative of her personal style and how this differed depending on her place. Figure 6 shows an example of her Scottish style, which she described as 'more classic casual' than in London, where her style was more 'girly and playful'. This is illustrated in the garments themselves, with jeans and trainers signifying a dressed-down and practical, yet fashionable, look. Gunna's pose appears natural and this adds to the casual look she described as her 'Edinburgh style'.

Figure 6: Gunna's Scottish style

The caption speaks strongly of her love for her picturesque hometown of Edinburgh with a light-hearted reference to the rain, reminding the audience that her feet are planted firmly on the ground and a jacket is always required. Her reference to 'finding the cutest little streets' suggests the post was unplanned and, perhaps therefore, reflective of a more authentic personal style. It also suggests that the discovery of a 'cute little street' such as this is, in itself, worthy of sharing with her followers.

Figure 7 illustrates Gunna's 'London style' and is indicative of a different aesthetic in both clothing and photography. Here, the garment appears as the focal point, overshadowing the white and nondescript background and, indeed, the participant herself. In looking down she draws attention to the garment and her 'girly' London style is connoted through the floral pattern of the dress and her youthful pose. In contrast with the summer style that is depicted in this photo, the caption suggests the weather was not summery. This emphasises further the self-confidence she associated with London, where – even in bad weather – she was comfortable wearing a dress with bare legs. When reflecting on the story behind this image, Gunna revealed that she chose it because it was a dress that her mother had bought her when they were in Scotland and this was the reason she considered it privately as part of her 'Scottish identity'.

Participants varied in how they felt about their style in London versus their style in Scotland. Some were more confident in London, where they felt that fashion was more diverse and they as individuals were more anonymous. Others felt more comfortable 'at home' in Scotland, where they were able to 'be themselves' and make more authentic fashion choices.

Figure 7: Gunna's London style

Overall, it appeared that participants felt able to express their most fashionable identity in London, embracing more conspicuous and outrageous trends; they also felt braver in baring their legs (as is illustrated in Gunna's sample posts). However, where participants were inclined towards more anti-fashion styles, they saw Scotland as more accepting of these; for example, one participant spoke of baring her tattoos. Others reflected on a more general anti-establishment attitude and defiance that they associated with their Scottish identity and felt was reflected in their style. One participant observed: 'I think, as Scots, we don't really let other people tell us what to do… we're not one to be told, like, sit down and shut up'. This defiant attitude is reminiscent of other Scottish cultural icons, such as Robert Burns whose poetry was characterised as bold and daring (Crawford, 2014).

Conclusion and implications for future research

This paper has addressed a gap in the literature by exploring new meanings around contemporary Scottish fashion and identity through a study of Scottish fashion influencers on Instagram. Although there is a growing interest in Scottish identity, some of which is motivated by a recently vibrant political landscape, research into Scottish fashion has continued to focus on traditional textiles. Although these are undoubtedly iconic and important to Scotland's fashion heritage and future, it is argued that these textiles are not sufficient in conveying contemporary Scottish style.

Participant influencers were passionate about their Scottish identity and felt this was something that made them distinctive online. By choosing to identify openly as Scottish or as physically placed within Scotland, it is argued that these fashion influencers are styling perceptions about what it means to be Scottish today. The findings illustrate the interaction between past and present Scotland, where participants tended to draw on historic settings and rural outlooks as a backdrop for their outfit posts, reinventing the traditional definition of street-style. This, alongside their distinction between Scotland and London, perhaps reaffirms the Highland vision of Scotland as a romantic place for escape but conveys this idea in a contemporary manner. Participants' overwhelming preference for autumn-winter styles was most strongly shaped by the feelings of comfort and familiarity they associated with their Scottish roots.

The themes and ideas uncovered in this study help pave the way for future research into Scottish fashion and identity, as well as studies of national identity and fashion within other geographic contexts.

References

Abidin, C. (2016), Visibility labour: engaging with influencers' fashion brands and #OOTD advertorial campaigns on Instagram. *Media International Australia*, 161(1), 86-100.

Allen, C. (2009), Style surfing: changing parameters of fashion communication – where have they gone? In: 1st Global conference: *Fashion exploring critical issues*, 25-27th September 2009. Mansfield College: Oxford.

Anderson, J. (2004), Talking whilst walking: a geographical archaeology of knowledge. *Area, 36*(3), 254-261.

Barthes, R. (1957a), *Image/ music/ text.* Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Baxter, G. Cooper, K. Gray, D. et al (2015), The use of photo elicitation to explore the role of the main street in Kirkwall in sustaining cultural identity, community, and a sense of place. *Aberdeen Business School Working Paper Series*, 8(1).

Brown, I. (2010a), *From tartan to tartanry: Scottish culture, history and myth. Edinburgh:* Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Brown, I. (2010b), Myth, political caricature and monstering the tartan. In Brown, I. *From tartan to tartanry: Scottish culture, history and myth. 93-114. Edinburgh:* Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Browne, K. (2014), Snowball sampling: using social networks to research non-heterosexual women. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 11(1), 47-60.

Butt, J. (1987), *Scottish textile history.* Edinburgh: Merkat Press.

Butt, R. (2010), Looking at tartanry in film: history, identity and spectacle. In Brown, I. *From tartan to tartanry: Scottish culture, history and myth.* 13-31. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Cheape, H. and Anita Q. (2005), Historical and analytical research of dyes in early Scottish tartans. *Scientific analysis of ancient and historic textiles: informing preservation, display and interpretation: postprints, first annual conference*, 13-15th July 2004. London: Archetype Publications.

Cheape, H. (2010), Gheibhte breacain charnaid ('Scarlet tartans would be got…'): the reinvention of tradition. In Brown, I. *From tartan to tartanry: Scottish culture, history and myth.* 13-31. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Chittenden, T. (2010), Digital dressing up: modelling female teen identity in the discursive spaces of the fashion blogosphere. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 13(4), 505-520.

Collier, J. Jr. (1957). Photography in anthropology: a report on two experiments. *American Anthropologist*, 59(5), 843-859.

Craik, J. (2009), Is Australian fashion and dress distinctively Australian? *Fashion Theory: the Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 13(4), 409-422.

Crane, T. C., Hamilton, J. A. and Wilson, L. E. (2004), Scottish dress, ethnicity and self-identity. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 8(1), 66-83.

Crawford, R. (2007), *Scottish books.* London: Penguin Books.

Crawford, R. (2014), *Bannockburns: Scottish independence and literary imagination.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Croghan, R. Griffin, C., Hunter, J. et al (2008), Young people's construction of self: notes on the use and analysis of the photo-elicitation methods. *International Journal of Social Methodology*, 11(1), 345-356.

De Perthius, K. (2016), People in fashionable clothes: street style blogs and the ontology of the fashion photograph. *Fashion Theory: the Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 20(5), 523-543.

Faiers, J. (2008), *Tartan.* Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Findlay, R. (2015), The short, passionate, and close-knit history of personal style blogs. *Fashion Theory: the Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 19(2), 157-178.

Fulton, A. (1991), *Scotland and her tartans.* London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Grierson, S., Duff, D. G. and Sinclair, R. S. (1985), The colour and fastness of natural dyes of the Scottish Highlands. *Coloration Technology*, 101(7-8), 220-228.

Hood, C. and Reid, P. (2018), Social media as a vehicle for user engagement with local history: a case study in the North East of Scotland. *Journal of Documentation*, 74(4), 741-762.

Hobsbawm. E. and Ranger, T. (1983), *The invention of tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hume, I. M. (2010), Tartanry into tartan: heritage, tourism and material culture. In Brown, I. *From tartan to tartanry: Scottish culture, history and myth.* 13-31. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Leddy-Owen, C. (2013), 'I had a hard time actually trying to capture the essence of Englishness': participant photography and the racialised construction of place and belonging in a South London suburb. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 15(7), 747-768.

MacDowell, J. L. and de Souza e Silva, P. (2018), 'I'd Double Tap That!!': street art, graffiti, and Instagram research, *Media, Culture and Society*, 40(1), 3-22.

Martin, M. (2009), *The mighty Scot. Nation, gender and the nineteenth century mystique of Scottish masculinity.* New York: State University of New York Press.

McArthur, C. (2003), *Brigadoon, Braveheart and the Scots: distortions of Scotland in Hollywood and cinema.* London: I. B. Tauris & Co.

McCrone, D., Morris, A. and Kiely, R. (1995), *Scotland the brand.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McCrone, D. (2017), *The new sociology of Scotland.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

McKeen, C. (2009), *Dundee Renaissance to Enlightenment.* Dundee: Dundee University Press.

Nairn, T. (1981), *The break up of Britain.* 2nd Ed. London: New Left Books.

Panofsky, E. (1955), *Meaning in visual arts.* New York: Doubleday Anchor Books.

Percival, J. M. (2010), Rock, pop and tartan. In Brown, I. *From tartan to tartanry: Scottish culture, history and myth.* 13-31. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Pham, M. T. (2011), Blog Ambition: Fashion, Feelings, and the Political Economy of the Digital Raced Body. *Camera Obscura*, 76(26), 1-37.

Pittock, M. G. H. (2010), Plaiding the invention of Scotland. In: Brown, I. *From tartan to tartanry: Scottish culture, history and myth.* 32-47. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Platman, L. (2011), *Harris Tweed: from land to street.* London: Frances Lincoln Limited.

Rae, J. (2016), Warm covers: a *Scottish textile story.* Bristol: Sansom and Company.

Rocamora, A. and O'Neill, A. (2008), Fashioning the street: images of the street in the fashion media. In Shinkle, E. *Fashion as photograph.* 185-199. London: I.B. Taurus & Co.

Rocamora, A. (2011a), Hypertextuality and remediation in the fashion media. *Journalism Practice*, 6(1), 92-106.

Rocamora, A. (2011b), Personal fashion blogs: screens and mirrors in digital self-portraits. *Fashion Theory: the Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 15(4), 407-424.

Rogers, S. (2017), Instagram gives celebrities and brands up to 400% more engagement than Facebook. Venture Beat [Online]. Available at: https://venturebeat.com/2017/05/19/Instagram-gives-brands-and-celebrities-up-to-400-more-engagement-than-facebook-according-to-socialbakers/. [Accessed: 18th April 2018].

Song, A. (2016). *Capture your style.* Abrams: New York.

Straker, K. and Wrigley, C. (2016), Emotionally engaging customers in the digital age: the case of Burberry love. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 20(3), 276-299.

Titton, M. (2015), Fashionable personae: self-identity and enactments of fashion narratives in fashion blogs. *Fashion Theory: the Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 19(2), 201-220.

Trevor-Roper, H. (2003), The invention of tradition: the Highland tradition of Scotland. In Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. *The invention of tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van House, N. A. (2009), Collocated photo sharing, story-telling and the performance of self. *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies*, 67, 1073-1086.

Vila, P. (2013), The importance of photo interviewing as a research method in the study of identity construction processes: an illustration from the US/ Mexico border. *Visual Anthropology*, 26(1), 51-68.

Wang, C. and Burris, M. A. (1997), Photovoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Health Education and Behaviour*, 24(3), 369-387.

Wang, C. and Redwood-Jones, Y. (2001), Photovoice ethics: Perspectives from flint photovoice. *Health Education and Behaviour*, 28(5), 560-572.

Young, C. and Martin, A. (2017), *Tartan and tweed.* London: Frances Lincoln Limited.

172 DESIGNERS, PRODUCERS, AND USERS: MINORITY WOMEN'S THREE IDENTITIES IN THEIR COSTUME CULTURE

Authors
Li Xin
He Yang
Beijing Institute of Fashion Technology, China

Corresponding author
75487609@qq.com

Keywords
indigenous Chinese dress
multiple identities
minority costume
Miao costume
traditional garment construction

Abstract

Different from the modern fashion design industry where the roles of designer, producer and user are distinct, in traditional minority societies of China, the minority women have a triplet of identities: as designers, they are people of uneven talents who must design within limited space by following the given styles of their costume; as producers, they are amateurs who not only have to participate in daily chores but also make lots of costume; as users, they are women of various ages and appearances who do not have the perfect figures of models.

This paper focuses on the style and design detail of minority costume, and analyses the roles played by the minority women from the perspectives of design, production and use by the methods of sample measurement, field investigation and comprehensive comparison.

First, the features of minority costume in its style, structure and decoration are summarised through sample analysis. Taking the pattern as a primary example, the paper illustrates how the minority women innovate on the basis of traditional constraints so that the costume expresses individuality while adhering to the styles of the minority groups to which they belong. Second, based on fieldwork, the methods and procedures of making costume by the minority women are interpreted and analysed, noting how they accomplish the production successfully and swiftly, with the same or similar costume to mark different social identities. This establishes their identities as producers so that they are recognised by their ethnic groups. Third, by analysing the way the minority people wear and match their costume, the impact between the users and the resultant costumes are discussed. From these three aspects of the exposition, a conclusion is drawn that the triplet of identities is relevant to the modern fashion industry, as it dissolves the separation of the three identities, involves more people in the design and production processes, and allows the design work to benefit both production and use.

Introduction

A special phrase to describe the minorities of China is 'Big mixed-up and small inhabit', which is the main reason that there are differences in each branch within the minorities in China. Torii Ryuzo, a well-known ethnologist from Japan, differentiated the Miao branches by their costume characteristics at the beginning of the 20th century. This means even with two different branches from the same minority thousands miles apart, the costume will be similar; costume is also the main way to identify the different branches within the same minority.

Costume is a significant element of people's daily life throughout history and development in China. Costume has to be useable for everyday wear, and for ceremonial wear. Different from the system of 'male for farm work and female for weaving' of Han, minority women must take care of everything from farming to weaving. However, as the society is becoming more developed, the minority is also open and adapting to modern clothing, but traditional costume is still kept for ceremonies. Still, the costume is made and sewn by the hands of a minority of creative women. One thing the costumes have in common is that small pieces decorated by embroidery, patchwork or batik can be used as a single pattern on parts of the costume or merged as a large piece of cloth. Women tend to rework these clothes, patching with different styles to adapt the clothes to the required look. Thus, women have been participating from cloth making through to wearing, as designer, producer and user.

Methodology

In order to depict the triplet identity of the minority women, the following methodology has been employed.

Sample measurement:
Taking the minorities costumes in the Ethnic Costume Museum of Beijing Institute of Fashion Technology (BIFT) as a study sample for collecting the data of the minorities costumes, 64 items in total, including Miao, Yao, Yi, Jinuo, Wa, Hani, Li, Gejia and so on. Making column diagrams of the patterns, and structural drawing of the costumes with which to analyse and compare the design idea or production process through to the finished garments.

Field investigation:
This is the best way to approach minority women and obtain first-hand information. Through a five-year field investigation from 2014 to 2018 in Guizhou, Guangxi, Xinjiang, Yunnan, Sichuan and other minority areas, questions concerning the cutting and dressing methods of the costumes have been explored, which supplement or overturn the existing opinions in the sample measurement. Via several individual interviews with the local minority women who are non-professional designers or craftswomen, and the records of the original process of wax painting, embroidery, cutting, sewing, and dressing a comprehensive understanding of the costume and the interrelated circumstances was established. The investigation method is based on *The Investigation Report of Miao* (by Torii Ryuzo, a Japanese ethnologist, 1903) and *Peasant Life in China: A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley* (by Fei Xiaotong, a Chinese anthropologist, 1939), as well as some local adjustments according to the actual situation.

Comprehensive comparison:
The combination of the costume style, the minority women's lives, marriage, family status, local customs and social situation, explain how the costumes fulfill the function as the dialect to achieve the differentiation, identity, and continuity.

These three main methods will run through the following sections.

Designers: create from limitation

Creating thousands of different elements from a very limited number of patterns is what women from different minorities do well. Minorities, living in remote regions, differentiate themselves with limited materials. The symbols of each ethnic group are unchanging, and yet do not limit the imagination and possibilities of creative re-working.

For example the Miao group, located in the northwest in Guizhou province, due to the unchangeable geographical conditions, deep in a valley without a river, silver is no longer affordable or used as decoration, but batik is. In figures 1 and 2, three different branches of Miao from the same area wear large Updos on their heads, and wear batik and embroidery decorated tops and skirts. These are one of the major similarities among women's costumes.

It is hard to differentiate these three sets of costumes without detailed observation. First, the styles are all short at the front and long at the back. Second, indigo blue is largely used and mixed with red and yellow. Third, batik is commonly used in the making technique, in addition embroideries and cotton prints are often seen on costumes.

Figure 1: The costume of three different branches of Miao from same area. Marked as A, B, C from left to right, recorded in Xiaotianba Village, Guizhou Province, 1998-2005

a b c

Figure 2: The front view of the three branches of Miao costumes

Personal collection, 1950s

Ethnic Costume Museum of BIFT collections, 1950s-1960s

Ethnic Costume Museum of BIFT collections, 1950s-1960s

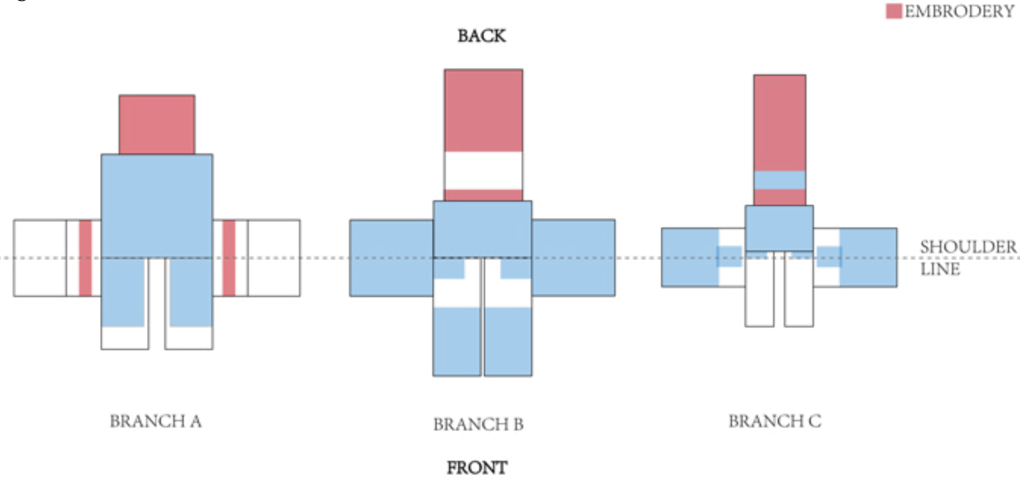
An experiment demonstrates how similar these costumes can be: marking blue as the batik area and red as the embroideries, and separating them as front pieces and back pieces, it can be seen that even though these three branches of the same ethnic group have similar decoration at a glance, the cloth layout is never the same (see Figure 3, 4, 5 and 6). The rules of how cloths shall be merged or placed has to be strictly followed because of ancestral symbolic meaning. These are the creative limitations and rules that must be obeyed. That's why when two people meet for the first time from different branches, they can tell if the other one is from the same region by distinguishing the differences in the cloth placement.

Figure 3: Photographs of costumes of branches A
(Front/back, marked blue as batik and red as embroideries)

Figure 4: Photographs of costumes of branches B
(Front/back, marked blue as batik and red as embroideries)

Figure 5: Photographs of costumes of branches C
(Front/back, marked blue as batik and red as embroideries,)

Figure 6: Analytic drawing of decoration layout of three branches of Miao costumes



From the result of the field investigation, women are creating new patterns on a piece of squared cloth instead of drawing batik or embroideries onto ready-made clothes. The small square shaped cloth limits their creation. Usually a piece of squared cloth is measured as 0.3 to 0.4 metre. In these limited 0.09 to 0.16 square metre spaces, women have to make good use of the tiny space either to create the best decoration, or to create the most memorable. It is fair to say, no matter what the pattern is like, it represents who you are as a designer. In the minority societies, women's handicraft abilities are seen as one of the criteria for marriage.

Zooming into the details, the patterns tend to be very 'crowded', there is no space left. It is hard to imagine how these women, who have been living in the villages without education or professional training, can create these complex patterns. From field observation, women define the basic 'coordinate grid' with their nails, and then fill in the pattern based on the 'coordinate grid' with liquid wax (see Figures 7, 8, 9 and 10). In this way, the 'coordinate grid' plays a role as a definer - to keep the pattern looking 'clean and tidy', which makes it easier for beginners and more experienced makers alike.

Figure 7: Using nails to define the 'coordinate grid' by a Miao woman of branches A
(Recorded in Xiongjing Village, Guizhou Province, 2015)

Figure 8: The column picture of the 'coordinate grid' of branch A

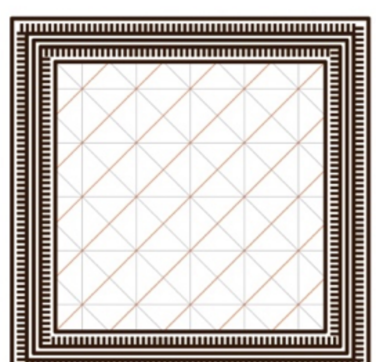


Figure 9: Photo of the wax painting process of branch A
(Recorded in Xiongjing Village, Guizhou Province, 2015)

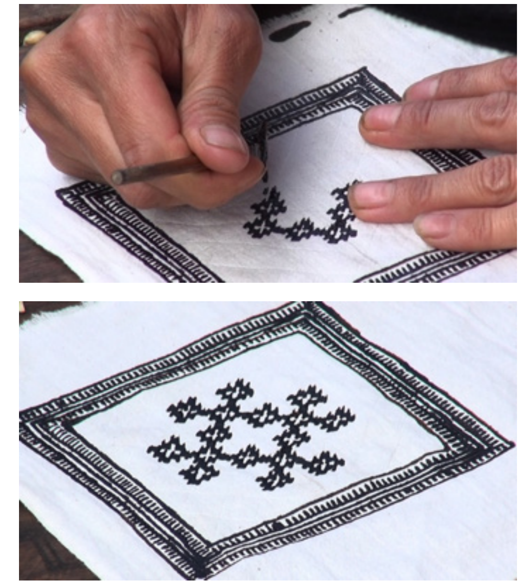
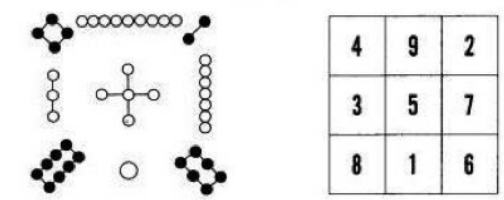


Figure 8: Photo of finished pattern and the column picture Top: recorded in Xiongjing Village, Guizhou Province, 2015 / Bottom: made by Li Xin)

This grid system is called 'the rules of thirds'- 'MI Character grid', and the 'magic square', and is also used in Chinese architecture. According to LEI Guiyuan's (1992:131-133), 'SI FANG BA WEI' (looks like the 'Luo Shu' of China, as shown in Figure 11) is the key to it, east, south, west and north, and northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest. This matrix has been used since Han Dynasty (202 BC-220 AC); most of the patterns on bronze mirrors or eaves tiles shows the characteristics of this Chinese Pattern. This is the life of Chinese Pattern, and is the reason to keep the Chinese Pattern alive.

Figure 11: The picture of 'Luo Shu' and the 'magic square'



No matter how complex the pattern looks like, it is based on the structure like the Chinese characters '十', '米' or '井' (see Figure 12). Based on these rules, even the women who have no education can accomplish the work completely. After mastering the skill, patterns can be changed or reworked as other designs. It is easy to find completely different patterns on two costumes that otherwise appear the same. 'We always draw what we want to draw, freely' said one of the minority women.

Figure 11: The picture of the pattern on the back, and the column picture, on three branches of Miao costumes
(Marked the '十', '✕' or '井' structures in green, by Li Xin)

Producers: fast to implement

After completing the patterns on the squared cloths, the next step is to use these cloths to construct the costumes. After marriage women take care of making clothes for the whole family; they are all different sizes, ages and gender, but all need to wear the same clothing style of the particular branch they belong to.

Moat of the minority traditional costumes are made directly from several pieces of rectangular cloths. Hand-made cloth is woven into a rectangle. The minority women use these rectangular cloths to construct the costumes, with little or even no cutting. The entire making process is time-consuming, from planting cotton or hemp, twisting the threads, spinning through to dyeing and that is why the women incorporate the entire pieces of cloth into the clothing.

Based on square or rectangular pieces, there are many different construction methods for each ethnic group and branch. The principle is shown in Figure 13, four rectangular pieces of cloth are arranged in four directions of up, down, left and right. The producers can use one side of every four pieces to create a new quadrilateral and make it as a neckline. As long as the producers fine-tune the sizes, proportions, and joins of the pieces, a diverse variety of collar structures and styles can be produced.

Figure 13: The principle arrangements of four rectangular pieces

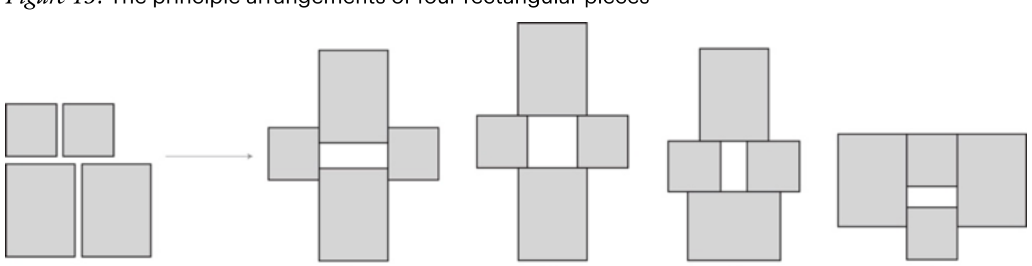


Figure 14: The Guanshou costume and collar detail picture of Gejia

(Ethnic Costume Museum of BIFT collections, 1940s)

Figure 15: The flat view (left) and front view (right) structural drawing of Gejia Guanshou costume

(Red imaginary line: fold line; red and blue full line: sewing line)

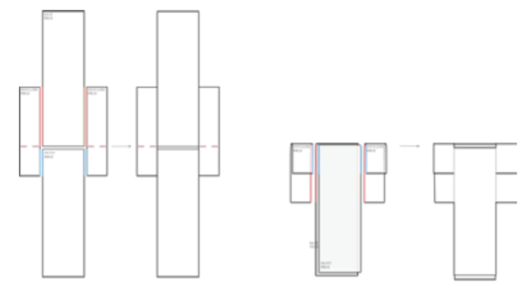


Figure 16: Women in Guanshou costume

(Recorded in Matang Village, Guizhou Province, 2014)

However, the same method can also lead to a different result. The Guanshou Costume of Blue Trousers Yao (a very small population branch of Yao, located in Libo County, Guizhou Province) can be seen as another comparable example, as shown in Figures 17, 18 and 19. It also consists of four rectangular pieces, but the front piece is 22cm wide and the back piece is 34cm wide. Since the front piece is narrower than the back one, when they are combined with two shoulder pieces, the flat rectangular shoulder piece overlaps forwards and inwards. The best part of this structure is that is froms the neckline and the perfect arc of the shoulder at the same time, which means a transformation from two dimensions to three dimensions. It is noteworthy that the seaming points on the left and right sides of the front piece are located 3cm below the front neckline, while the stop points on the sides of the back piece are placed 9cm above the bottom margin of the back piece, so that two small angles are formed between the front piece, back piece and the two shoulder pieces. The function of these angles is to complement and balance the width disparity of the front and back pieces effectively, and create a curious shape of the neckline for the Guanshou Costume made by only four rectangular pieces.

Figure 17: The flat view structural drawing of Blue Trousers Yao Guanshou costume

(Red imaginary line: fold line; red and blue full line: sewing line)

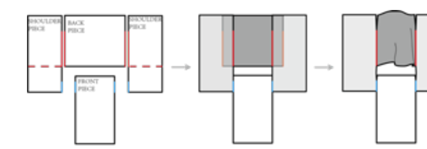


Figure 18: The front view structural drawing of Blue Trousers Yao Guanshou costume

(Red imaginary line: fold line; red and blue full line: sewing line)

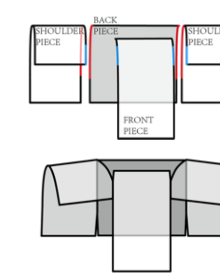
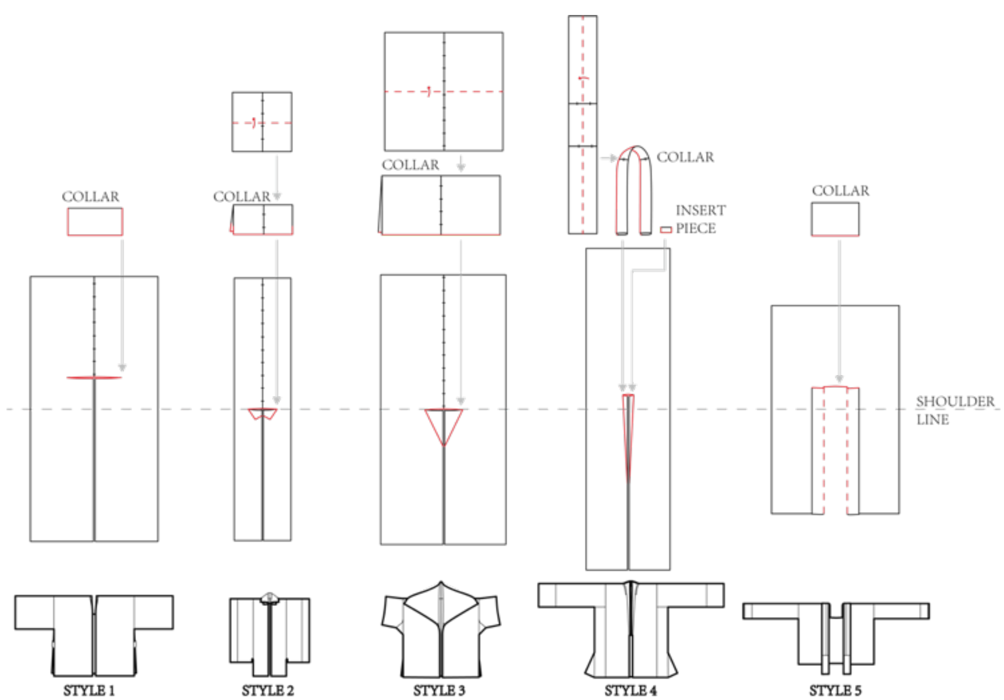


Figure 19: Woman in blue trousers Yao Guanshou costume (Recorded in Yaolu Village, Guizhou Province, 2018)

These subtle differences in the construction process leads to a contrast between the Guanshou Costume of Gejia and Blue Trousers Yao. Although making clothes with square or rectangular pieces is easy, and simple to do, the minorities have the ability to distinguish the costume styles and ethnic groups by these nuances. They can also play a role in identification and distinction within the branches of one ethnic group. 'One Cutting' is a way of making collars mastered by Miao women from many different branches. The fundamental principles are uncomplicated as shown in Figure 20: stitch the two narrow cloths together to create the back centreline of the costume, fold the cloths lengthwise and broadwise successively, then cut along the crease, and sew a small rectangular insert piece at the cut to form a three-dimensional collar.

Figure 20: Five different 'one cutting' garments of Miao (Red dashed line: fold line; red full line: sewing line)



Most branches of Miao women use this way to make the collar, and the variations are unlimited. Due to the cutting positions, depths, seams, and the sizes and proportions of the collar pieces, various styles of collar and costume emerge so that the distinction among different branches within the Miao ethnic group is realised. What's more, as long as the proportion of the cloths is adjusted, the men's and women's style, or the youth's and elder's style in one branch can easily be distinguished (see Figures 21 and 22).

Figure 21: Photograph of Yaque Miao costumes

(Shorter for women and longer for men, Ethnic Costume Museum of BIFT collections, 1950s)

Figure 22: Back view of Flowery Miao women's clothes

(Longer for old and shorter for youth, recorded in Dongguan Village, Guizhou Province, 2015)

Although there is no expressed stipulation on 'how to make and how to wear', when the minority women take on the work of making clothes, they are also the founders and maintainers of traditional etiquette and social ethics.

Users: from designer to stylist

After stitching the finished decorative pieces onto the clothes, the process of making costumes is finished, but the final style of the costume is further developed as it is worn on the body. Using the rectangular-shaped cloths to make the minority costume utilises less cloth cutting or even no cutting, and it also achieves the result of the tri-dimensional style for women's bodies. Within a relatively loose and flexible style, the minority costumes are not only good-looking but also comfortable to wear, and they can be adjusted to fit a range of sizes.

During the process of dressing, the minority women complete the final style by crossing, wrapping, binding, folding, overlapping and adding accessories to realise the division of groups and marital status.

'Overlapping' is a common dress custom in Chinese minorities, it happens in the Hani, Yi, and Yao groups, but is most typical in the costume culture of Miao. Wearing a lot of costumes together is a symbol of family wealth and feminine craftsmanship, especially in festival time. An example of this is the dress custom of 'ad Hmaob' (a branch of White Miao, located in Xianmu Village, Dafang County, Guizhou Province). Women wear more than a dozen homemade batik skirts during the Tiaohua festival. On their wedding day, the bride puts on as many as 35 skirts as the dowry, to form an exaggerated shape on their hips, this is something to be proud of, and seen as attractive. After marriage, women have to sew a piece of dark coloured cloth on the edge of their skirts to indicate their marital status (see Figures 23 and 24).

Figure 23: Woman in white Miao costume
(From A Picture Album of China's Miao Costumes and Ornaments)

Figure 24: White Miao Skirts
(Above: for unmarried woman / Below: for married women, recorded in Xianmu Village, Guizhou Province, 2015)

In the culture of another branch, called 'Small Flower Miao', located in Shuicheng, Guizhou, the women always wear a number of 'Huabei', a kind of colourful shawl with delicate patterns on every layer to express their beauty and ingenuity in the festival. If a boy is attracted by the beauty of the girl, he will take the huabei away to show his love. Thus the woman, who 'loses' the most shawls is the most popular (see Figure 25 and 26).

Figure 25: The small Flowery Miao shawl
(Ethnic Costume Museum of BIFT collections, 1930s)

Figure 26: Small Flowery Miao women at festival time
(From Miao Zhuang & Guizhou's Hidden Civilization)

This demonstrates that the minority women, as the users of costumes, can change their appearances and enhance personal charm in the local social circumstance through their costume. Even though it takes a great deal of time from the design to the production, and entails a lot of energy to bear the weight of the clothes, in their minds the hard work is worthwhile, for the reason that it can help minority women to earn the sense of identity in their groups, and bring them a better marriage and future life.

Conclusion

Within the minority tribes costume is as much a means of identification and differentiation as language. For the minority women, making clothes is one of the must-have skills from the past to the present: the outstanding design, craftsmanship and dressing style are about elevating the value of women in order to achieve a good marriage and life, which symbolises hard work (goodness), intelligence (excellence) and wealth (beauty) in their culture.

Any minority woman can learn these uncomplicated methods of costume making in a very short time, and then extend their skills to the next level. With imagination and practice they can reach a higher level, and can easily switch between their triple identities.

It's the wisdom and wealth inherited from ancestors, which is not only effective and teachable, but also contains clemency and mercy. Zhu Xi, a Neo-Confucianist in Song Dynasty (960 AC-1279 AC), said 'When you eat your food, you should remember that is not easy to grow it; remember that every material of your clothing is difficult to produce.' So 'be sparing' is an idea that reflects on Chinese costume design. It is easy to identify with, it means saving on costs and materials, responding to different seasons, and embodies 'loving'. It reflects on minority costume as well, that is simple, easy-to-make and generally usable. And it has important implications for modern fashion design and the various designs that are being developed in the context of current sustainable development.

References

Fei, X. (2012), Peasant Life in China: *A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley.* Beijing, China: Peking University Press.

Gombrich, E. H. (2015), *The sense of order: A study in the psychology of decorative art.* Nanning, China: Guangxi Fine Arts Publishing House.

Needham, J. (1999), *Science and civilization in China.* Nanchang, China: Jiangxi People’s Publishing House.

Ledderose, L. (2012), *Ten Thousand Things - Modularization and large-scale production in Chinese art.* Beijing, China: SDX Joint Publishing Company.

Shen, C. (2002), *Material Cultural History: Research of Ancient Chinese Costume. In The Whole Collection of Shen Congwen*, Vol.32. Taiyuan, China: Beiyue Literature &Art Publishing House.

Samuel, R. C. (2014), *Among the Tribes in South-west China.* Guiyang, China: Guizhou University Press.

The Cultural Palace of Nationalities. (1985), *Chinese Miao Costumes.* Beijing, China: The Ethnic Publishing House.

Torii, R. (2014), *The Investigation Report of Miao.* Guiyang, China: Guizhou University Press.

Wu, S. (2000), *A Picture Album of China’s Miao Costumes and Ornaments.* Guiyang, China: Guizhou People’s Publishing House.

Yang, C. & Lin, W. (1992), *Lei Guiyuan’s theory of pattern art.* Hangzhou, China: China Academy of Art Press.

Yanagi, S. (1989), *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty.* Tokyo, Japan: Kodansha International.

Zeng, X. (1992), *Miao Zhuang.* Beijing, China: People’s Fine Arts Publishing House.

Zeng, X. (1999), *Guizhou’s Hidden Civilization.* Beijing, China: People’s Fine Arts Publishing House.

Zhang, J. (1996), On Square Patterns Culture of Ancient China and Origins of Bagua. *Folk Culture Forum*, 1996 (2), 31-41.

Acknowledgments

This research was funded by Beijing Institute of Fashion Technology--Doctoral Project: Rescue Inheritance and Design Innovation of Chinese Traditional Costume Culture (NHFZ20180119), and QIPAI Research and Protection on Intangible Cultural Heritage Fund (201705), and Beijing Institute of Fashion Technology--Special Fund: The Construction of High-level Teacher (BIFTTD201804).

Diagrams/drawings

by Li Xin with the exception of Fig 11.

SELF IDENTITY AND SUBCULTURES

Several authors investigated fashion from a more personal perspective, looking at influences which shape a sense of identity, including a sensitive and nuanced discussion of the role of social media in the visibility of the LGBTQ community in India. This section also includes papers addressing subcultures, looking at diverse themes such as the adoption of *Thrasher's* t-shirt by 'fashionistas'; and the phenomenal success of skateboarding brand *Supreme*.

No 10 Constantin-Felix von Maltzahn
Totem on the timeline: consumer tribes, subcultures and the space in between

No 26 Neha Dimri, Parag Goswami
Invisible to visible: social media and its role in establishing identity of LGBTQ in India

No 47 Kirsty Smith
Blood, sweat and tears: how did skateboarding's Thrasher T-shirt become the fashionista's 'off duty' look?

No 55 Nicolas Adam Cambridge
Supreme: Super-mutant or Keystone Species of a Sartorial Ecology?

No 120 Anthony Kent, Iryna Kuksa, Tom Fisher, Michael Skinner
Personalisation and identity in fashion

No 164 Courtney Nicole Chrimes, Rosy Boardman, Helen McCormick, Gianpaolo Vignali
The dress and the self: how dress styles express identities

No 171 Evelina Galli Poghosyan
'Biofeedback' in developing fashion identity

10 TOTEM ON THE TIMELINE: CONSUMER TRIBES, SUBCULTURES AND THE SPACE IN BETWEEN

Author
Constantin-Felix von Maltzahn
Amsterdam Fashion Institute

c.f.freiherr.von.maltzahn@hva.nl

Keywords
neo-tribes
subcultures of consumption
involvement
agency
sociality

Abstract

Contemporary consumption is often understood as a collective pursuit, thereby emphasising the value of goods as a basis for socialisation rather than certain functional attributes. As a result, symbolic properties often take precedence over material ones and value becomes defined collectively and in a contextual fashion. One concept that seeks to address this transformation from a scholarly perspective is that of communities of consumption, which are community-type settings whose basis of sociality are shared interests, hobbies as well as brand or product preferences. Typically, communities of consumption are subdivided into subcultures of consumption and neo-tribes/consumer tribes. Despite similarities in their conceptual genesis, scholars seem to agree that sociality (i.e. the way members of consumer collectives relate to one another) is subject to different mechanics.

This paper argues that sociality is not actually the result of inherently different conceptual positions but instead produced by varying degrees of consumer involvement and agency. Understanding communities of consumption as a product of an internal state (i.e. involvement) and an external application (i.e. agency) allows us to assess differences in sociality as a function of belonging. Since belonging is rarely static and instead changes in response to differences in mental/imaginary engagement and practical expressions thereof, this study proposes an alternative model that defines communities of consumption along a continuum of involvement. In turn, this perspective enables us to account for the protean and inherently unstable nature of consumer collectives as well as the changes that naturally occur over time when it comes to individually perceived significance of certain pursuits or interests in the life- and experience-worlds of consumers.

Introduction

In a contemporary consumption context, the concept of community is often viewed through the lens of marketplace cultures (Canniford, 2011a; Canniford and Shankar, 2011; Joy and Li, 2012; Närvänen, 2014; Rokka, 2010; Schouten and McAlexander, 1995) or consumer tribes (e.g. Canniford, 2011b; Cova and Cova, 2002; Goulding et al., 2013; Mitchell and Imrie, 2011; Taute and Sierra, 2014). In both cases, the main conceptual framework is centred around an understanding of sociality that substitutes the modernist idea of permanent and enduring sites of identification (e.g. nuclear family, workplace, church) with dynamic, temporary formations of people that 'favour appearance and "form"' (Maffesoli, 1996: 98). Due to their 'polygamous' and transient nature, community in these contexts is defined in terms of heterogeneity (Chalmers Thomas et al., 2013) and fluidity (Bauman, 2000).

Conceptually, consumer tribes can be considered a riff on subcultures (Gelder, 2007; Hebdige, 1979; Polhemus, 1994; Polhemus, 1996). Subcultures, too, are community-type settings whose basis of sociality are shared interests or common causes. What distinguishes subcultures from neo-tribes are primarily two factors. First, in the majority of cases subcultures are defined by a more homogenous classification system for markers of identity (Hebdige, 1979), in that social bonds are typically less protean and instead defined by a singular point of view or a set of shared values that make them more enduring as sites of identification (Muggleton, 2000). Second, because subcultures are claimed to be bound by rather uniform and coherent social markers, they are also assumed to dominate people's lives to a greater extent. In a marketplace context, this concept has been extended to the idea of 'subcultures of consumption' (Goulding and Saren, 2016; Schouten and McAlexander, 1995), which Canniford (2011b: 593) describes as a combination of 'enduring social structures, strong interpersonal bonds, ritualised modes of expression and unique sets of beliefs that often preclude other social affiliations.' Due to the fact that consumption-oriented subcultures, too, are assumed to take on a more prevalent role in people's lives, thereby excluding some of the more perfunctory, 'flirtatious' bonds characteristic of neo-tribes, several authors (Bennett, 1999;

Hesmondhalgh, 2005; O'Reilly, 2012) have pointed out that subcultures of consumption and neo-tribes are defined by different types of sociality.

This paper seeks to develop an alternative approach by proposing a conceptual model of consumer communities (based on the basic tenets of neo-tribes and subcultures) that is defined along a continuum. At one end we find the tribal concept in its most literal form, which is highly relevant in all sorts of consumption contexts, but can be problematic in its almost exclusive understanding of sociality (and, by extension, identity) as being continuously in flux. At the other end we find a more enduring and less pluriform type of cultural identification that can be considered a variation on the theme of subcultures of consumption. Rather than trying to decouple neo-tribes and subcultures as diametrically opposed positions, however, this paper argues that they are variations of the same category, defined by largely similar drivers of social identification that can be distinguished by different degrees of consumer involvement.

Communities of consumption

For centuries the primary sources of cultural identification were families and ideologies, and maybe working environments. Nowadays, citizens (in the western world, that is) have become more emancipated, which prompted modes of socialisation to become more open, diverse and flexible. It is not necessarily the case that we find orientation by only one or two primary cultural reference points. Just like we build our identities from a range of possible options, our social behaviour is dependent on different contexts and life-worlds. In recent years, scholars have suggested different approaches to account for this transformation. One idea that has emerged in response to the changing nature of affective relationships between users and products is that of community-based consumer behaviour or, from a more conceptual point of view, communities of consumption (Canniford and Shankar, 2011; Kozinets, 2001; McAlexander et al., 2002). In the literature, these are typically subdivided into two separate concepts; (i) subcultures of consumption (Chaney and Goulding, 2016; Goulding and Saren, 2016; Schouten and McAlexander, 1995) and (ii) neo-tribes (Cova, 1997; Cova and Cova, 2002; Maffesoli, 1996).

Subcultures of consumption

Subcultures are understood as one of the key manifestations of 'alternative forms of socialisation' of the 20th century (Yinger, 1960). Following Hebdige (1979), one of the primary features of subcultures is the subversion of normalcy. In other words, the prevalent value systems within the community differ from those of the social majority or a received, unquestioned world-view. As a result, members of a subculture are assumed to take an 'antagonistic' stance towards accepted social standards, or at least adopt a critical attitude towards them (Gelder, 2007). In a consumption context, this concept has been extended to subcultures of consumption (Chaney and Goulding, 2016; Goulding and Saren, 2016; Martin et al., 2006; Schouten and McAlexander, 1995), the basis of which Schouten and McAlexander (ibid.: 48) describe as 'unifying consumption patterns [that] are governed by a unique ethos or set of common values'. Canniford (2011b) further distinguishes three defining features of subcultures; cohesion, dedication and resistance. Cohesion refers to the fact that subcultures are assumed to be governed by 'enduring social orders, strong interpersonal bonds, ritualised modes of expression and unique sets of beliefs that often preclude other social affiliations, thus impacting powerfully on the identity of subcultural members' (ibid.: 59). In this context, culturally defined accolades, hierarchy and authority reinforce existing social structures within a subculture. Dedication is to do with what Thornton (1995) refers to as 'subcultural capital', i.e. members showing their commitment through inside knowledge or regalia. *Dedication* manifests itself in a process of enduring acculturation, whereby repeated acts of belonging help reinforce the idea of membership as part of one's social identity. *Resistance*, finally, goes back to aspects that can be found in subcultures more in general such as the punk movement, i.e. subcultures of consumption, too, are assumed to display traits of counterculture, anti-establishment ideology, resistance to authority or liberation from social institutions (see also Schouten and McAlexander, 1995).

While useful to an extent, some of these distinctions are problematic in the sense that they have been debunked both theoretically (Elliot and Davies, 2006) and empirically (Kates, 2002). Goulding, Shankar and Canniford (2013), for instance, argue that dedication is an attribute common to basically all forms of consumption communities and that actual social cohesion is

an unlikely feature of community in a postmodern context (see also Firat and Venkatesh, 1995). Also the ideological underpinnings typically ascribed to subcultures (Bennett, 1999; Hebdige, 1979) are not quite as strong in a contemporary consumption context as previously assumed. The notion that subcultures tend to encompass an entire world-view comprised of value systems, political views, a certain taste in music, an identifiable style and sometimes even a distinct type of slang or argot has received some criticism (Elliot and Davies, 2006), because in reality the boundaries of subcultures (within and outside of a consumption context) are often not quite as clear-cut as frequently theorised.

Neo-Tribes

A contemporary reprise of the traditional ethnic tribe, in his book *The Time of the Tribes* Maffesoli (1996) defines neo-tribes as small agglomerations of people whose meeting grounds are shared tastes or interests (e.g. hobbies, sports, clothing, music). Seen thus, they can be viewed as taste or interest communities in the sense of affinity-based networks. The process of socialisation in this context is realised through the sum of multiple temporary identifications that are based on, for example, 'wearing particular types of dress, exhibiting group-specific styles of adornment and espousing the shared values and ideals of collectivity' (ibid.: xi-ii). Across these temporary identifications the community setting creates a sense of belonging, or simply 'having something in common'. Importantly, though, this sense of affinity as well as the social links shared between members is typically limited to said passions and interests and does not extend beyond the immediate collective social context provided by goods and services. In contrast to subcultures of consumption, which are theorised to comprise a world-view that defines and dominates people's lives, neo-tribes are temporary affiliations of people that ebb and flow both in terms of duration and intensity (Cova and Cova, 2002).

Canniford (2011a, 2011b) singles out four characteristics pertinent to tribal socialisation; multiplicity, playfulness, transience and entrepreneurialism. *Multiplicity* refers to the fact that neo-tribes rarely have a dominant role in people's lives, but, instead, due to their protean nature, allow users to slip in and out of different facets of identity. Intimately connected to that, *playfulness* refers to the fact that people's engagement with tribes is not serious or tied to moral responsibility and value systems but can be cursory and somewhat frivolous. *Transience* relates to what Canniford (2011b: 595) identifies as 'a playful acceptance of rapidly changing, contradictory, and ambivalent meanings', in that meaning is continuously in flux, socially (re) negotiated and thus inherently unstable. *Entrepreneurialism*, finally, is related to the fact that members of neo-tribes are assumed to take an active, enterprising stance when it comes to their favourite brands and products, i.e. they might tinker and toy with them, 'mod' them and create sometimes whimsical, sometimes idiosyncratic meanings or physical extensions (Cova and Dalli, 2008; Cova and White, 2010; Kozinets, 2001).

What these different attributes point towards is that neo-tribalism is conceptually produced by a social context that views identity as fragmented and multifarious, polyvalent and inherently unstable, which marks a common theme in most of postmodern social theory (Allan, 1997; Allan and Turner, 2000; Firat and Dholakia, 2006; Firat et al., 1995; Harvey, 1989; Huyssen, 1984; Huyssen, 1988; Jameson, 1998). However, just as subcultures of consumption have been criticised for an overreliance on somewhat static social markers, several authors (Bennett, 1999; Hesmondhalgh, 2005; O'Reilly, 2012) have commented that, although useful, the tribal concept suffers from an overemphasis on social context as continuously in flux and permanently fragmented or, more to the point, 'never not' fragmented, which raises questions concerning the extent to which the overarching concept of tribalism (i.e. belonging to [imagined] communities of likeminded people) could potentially relate to more permanent sites of identification, as well (O'Reilly, 2012).

The involvement construct

Above we have seen that both subcultures of consumption and neo-tribes can be considered useful conceptual positions which, each in their own way, account for the fact 'that consumption activities, product categories, or even brands (...) serve as the basis for interaction and social cohesion' (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995: 43). At the same time, it has been argued that either one of them is compromised by certain assumptions that might seem rather definitive on paper, but create problems when reimagined in a space of actual consumption-based sociality. Rather than assessing subcultures of consumption and neo-tribes as diametrically opposed concepts, this paper argues that they can be envisaged as largely similar theoretical positions along a continuum, whereby differences between them can be explained by relative degrees of involvement (and, by extension, agency). Belonging to one or more consumer communities is therefore underpinned by the assumption i) that any kind of social reality is actively created and recreated through individual, collective or collectively-negotiated efforts, and ii) that belonging is precipitated by a relative degree of emotional and symbolic involvement (Chalmers Thomas et al., 2013; Von Maltzahn, 2013; Barthels and Von Maltzahn, 2015).

Zaichkowsky (1985: 342) defines involvement as 'a person's perceived relevance of the object based on inherent needs, values, and interests', which is short-hand for the degree to which certain brands, products or product groups constitute engaging and focal activities for people (O'Cass and Julian, 2001), while Richins et al. (1992: 143) further establish that *enduring* involvement is 'an individual difference variable representing the general, long-run concern with a product that a consumer brings to a situation.' As such, the concept describes how consumers connect personal needs, aspirations and value systems to goods as stimulus objects. Perez Cabañero (2006) further specifies that involvement is connected to an assessment of the importance of the stimulus, which produces certain types of behaviour and agency. As a result, the concept mediates between self-image and product image and constitutes a relational factor for predicting purchase motivation (Evrard and Aurier, 1996).

Consumer involvement can be classified according to four different dimensions (Zaichkowsky, 1985; Laurent and Kapferer, 1985). *Product knowledge* refers to the extent to which consumers gather information about products, evaluate purchases and show high levels of interest in the actual product. As a rule, the more knowledge consumers are eager to obtain about a certain brand or product, the higher their involvement and connection will be. *Alternative evaluation* refers to the extent to which consumers search for competing alternatives in the same market segment. The more consumers are involved with a product, the more likely they are to compare different brands and products prior to the buying act and make them subject to post-purchase evaluation. *Perception of brand differences* refers to the extent to which consumers actually perceive differences between brands and turn them into dependent variables of the purchase decision-making process. Greater scrutiny and stronger beliefs in specific brands within a given product group typically equal a higher level of involvement. *Brand preference* refers to the likelihood and degree to which consumers are committed to one or more brands in particular or buy a larger number of goods from one and the same label. Generally speaking, the higher the level of involvement, the stronger the level of brand patronage will be.

Collective manifestations of belonging

In a scholarly context surf cultures have been identified as exhibiting tribal bonds (Canniford and Shankar, 2007; Moutinho et al., 2007), and so have coffee connoisseurs (Kozinets, 2002; Torres Quintão et al., 2017), the running community (Chalmers Thomas et al., 2013) and clubbing culture (Goulding and Shankar, 2011; Goulding et al., 2013). Examples from a fashion context include sneakerheads, denim lovers and brand-centric outdoor communities (Barthels and Von Maltzahn, 2015). Subcultures of consumption, on the other hand, have been studied in the context of Harley-Davidson owners (Hopkins, 1999; Schouten and McAlexander, 1995) as well as various music communities (Chaney and Goulding, 2016; Goodlad and Bibby, 2007; Healey and Fraser, 2017; Podoshen et al., 2014; Ulusoy, 2016). In each of these cases, more traditional demographic markers of socialisation (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, religion, marital status, education etc.) are replaced with a focus on shared passion.

What connects people and provides a basis for social identification is not where they come from, what or whom they believe in or what they do for a living, but what they are excited about or the degree to which they are both emotionally and materially invested in a certain type of product or brand.

By way of example, it would be unlikely for the global community of sneakerheads to be composed primarily of heterosexual, married, university-educated Caucasian males with a medium to high disposable income (i.e. a type of 'demographic bracketing' that is commonly espoused by traditional marketing textbooks). In fact, a much more likely scenario is that sneakerheads actually come from all walks of life; they might be 18 or 80 years old; they might have very different educational and professional backgrounds (e.g. blue-collar worker, stay-at-home mom, high-ranking manager); they might be bi-, trans-, homo- or heterosexual; they could be married, single, divorced or live in a patchwork family; they might have children or not; and they may be religious believers, agnostics or atheists. The underlying assumption behind consumer communities is that those aspects hardly matter[1] when the basis of socialisation is shared excitement around new product announcements, legendary shoe models, exclusive 'drops' or limited-edition sneakers.

Across both physical and mediated contexts, the basis for socialisation and belonging is people jointly exercising their passion. Cohesion and recognition within the community is established through implicit markers of identification in the form of (i) 'inside knowledge' (i.e. in the sneaker context this could be product knowledge and history as well as knowledge about the latest releases, specific product features as well as collectively negotiated know-how about how to get your hands on new product drops or how to tell real from fake products etc.); (ii) shared rituals (e.g. how to properly take care of sneakers, how to wear them or how to display them in your home); (iii) a shared language, which typically is some form of slang or vernacular using acronyms, terminology or even some kind of argot achieved through deliberately 'butchered' or acontextual terms, where certain words or expressions take on their own, collectively negotiated meaning within a community; and (iv) iconic/totemic products (e.g. knowledge about, and possession of, legendary product releases such as an original pair of 1985 Nike Air Jordan 1, Louis Vuitton's 2009 'Don' and 'Jasper' sneakers in collaboration with Kanye West or adidas' 2013 release of JS Wings 2.0 'Black Flag' in collaboration with fashion designer Jeremy Scott and rap musician A$AP Rocky).

Across these shared markers of identification, belonging is implicitly established via in- and out-groups: the more knowledge members possess of the culture; the more they are 'in the know'; the more they engage in, and publicly display, shared rituals (for instance, on YouTube, Instagram or Facebook); the more (ideally highly coveted) products they own; the more they are able to 'speak the language' (...), the more they will be viewed by others as part of the community but also develop a sense of self around being part of the community. As a result, belonging can be seen as a function of repeated engagement with the culture, where emotional proximity with both material objects and, by extension, members is usually concentric with the level of individual personal involvement (Von Maltzahn, 2013).

Engagement on a continuum of involvement

The notion of individual involvement helps explain the contextual nature of both neo-tribes and subcultures of consumption, in that belonging is typically understood as a function of engagement with some form of cultural capital (i.e. inside knowledge, shared rituals, shared language, iconic products). This is to say that belonging is not actually predicated on possession of specific items but rather develops through engagement with a culture and its implicit, ritualised and collectively negotiated behavioural and symbolic codes. As a result, communities of consumption are commonly defined by extended periods of social learning (Goulding et al., 2013), whereby the very process of learning itself is turned into a variable of involvement in the sense that increased specificity of knowledge is precipitated by more

1. Gender may be an exception, to a degree. While consumer communities are often described as not being gender-specific, this author's research did not always support that notion. In certain cases, gender does not matter at all, while in others devoted, female-centric collectives emerge as a result of often male-dominated areas such as the community of denim lovers or the hi-fi community. Schouten and McAlexander (1995) identified similar dynamics in the Harley-Davidson community.

engagement with a culture, more exposure to collective markers of belonging, and therefore a higher degree of contextual knowledge.

Due to the fact that inside knowledge is contextual, specific to contingent social environments and often involves highly stylised patterns of socio-symbolic identification (Brownlie et al., 2007; Schouten and McAlexander, 1995), it is for people within the community precisely the sense of continuous (re-)enactment of collectively codified markers that defines belonging in the first place. Still, while involvement is not only a precondition for, but actually a driver of, belonging, it is not necessarily experienced the same way by all members of the community. In fact, part of what makes consumer communities such a fertile ground for study is the fact that it is not essential to establish convergence within a culture for individual members to extract meaning. As Chalmers Thomas et al. (2013: 1012) explain:

> [A consumer community] avoids the need to assess the degree of convergence across the minds of individuals, since community is comprised of those who feel and experience a sense of individual and collective belonging. (…) Belonging is, therefore, defined by each individual in reference to the dynamics of the community. Specifically, an individual's sense of belonging is reinforced (or diminished) through engagement with the community and its practices.

What this points towards is that inasmuch as communities of consumption are diverse in composition and architecture, they are also heterogeneous in the way belonging is experienced by different members. As suggested above, the idiosyncratic nature of communities of consumption is only appreciated over time, because it is reiterated and re-enacted by members over and over across different culture-specific contexts (e.g. websites, forums, Facebook groups, specialised shops, trade fairs etc.). Meaning unfolds and produces manifestations of belonging through enacting identity in the form of engagement with collectively negotiated social markers. Being part of a consumer community, therefore, is best viewed not as an act but as a process (or 'journey', for want of a better term), where members acquire knowledge of a culture and its rituals exclusively through engaging with it, thereby advancing over time from the status of innocent (and largely ignorant) neophyte users to adept and established members. The result is that the more members engage with a culture, and community-specific practices, the more these practices tend to take on meaning, and the higher the likelihood that their identity will be defined by them to some degree.

From this perspective, we can think of belonging as a function of involvement along a continuum, where different users maintain different types of bonds (i.e. agency and experiential significance) based on the fact that they extract meaning from community-specific practices in different ways. Schouten and McAlexander (1995: 48) have tried to account for the diversity within communities of consumption with a 'simple, concentric social structure' composed of (i) hard-core members (ii), soft-core members and (iii) more peripheral affiliations. Critically, though, their model was developed to account for hierarchical differences and a certain social order within the community. While a hierarchical framing may have been an attempt at accurately capturing the dynamics at play in the community of Harley-Davidson owners that their study sought to explore at the time, it ignores the basic fact that most consumer communities are best accounted for in terms of what unites them rather than what separates them. Also, a later study by Martin et al. (2006) found that most of these hierarchical differences had but vanished in the decade following the original research. Still, the framework can be useful for explaining commonalities between different types of consumer communities and how sociality is produced within them. Rather than taking hierarchy as a point of departure, however, this paper argues that differences in affiliation, and thus differences in how different types of consumers develop more frivolous/ephemeral ('tribal') or more uniform/enduring ('subcultural') bonds, can be explained as a function of their respective involvement with community proper.

Figure 1: Three levels of community involvement

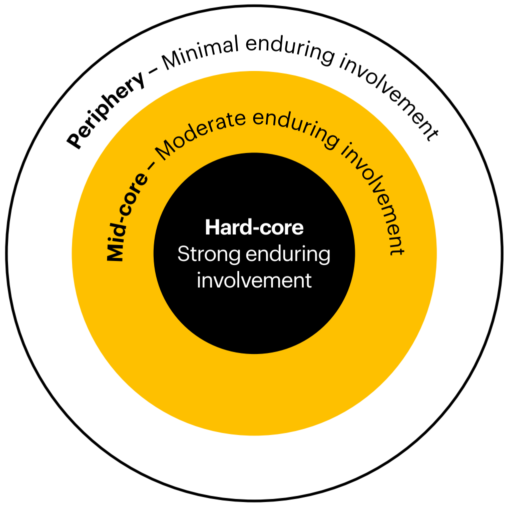


Figure 1 defines three dimensions of community involvement, which each correspond to a relative degree of engagement with, and agency within, a culture as well as their impact on the way individual members will likely experience belonging and extract meaning and/or a sense of self from community-related practices. Importantly, these dimensions are not static but should rather be viewed as fluid, organic and dynamic. At the very heart of the community we find members with the highest degree of involvement who engage with community-related aspects of consumption in a continuous and (quasi-)enduring fashion. In the context of sneakerheads, which this text touched upon earlier, these could be shop owners or people running sneaker-specific websites, Instagram accounts or some other form of publication. In the motorbike or car tuning community, we could think of owners of specialised garages, hobbyist 'grease monkeys' or people who act as moderators/admins on forums. In the context of the whisky community, these could be bar owners or people who started producing their own brand of tipple. In each of these cases it is likely to assume that involvement is produced by high levels of engagement with community-specific practices, maybe even to the extent of having become second nature. Typically, the hard core is comprised of people who are invested in a culture to such an extent that identification with their passion (and, by extension, community-related practices) has taken on a superordinate role in their lives, e.g. individuals who moonlight in some capacity as cultural gatekeepers or who dabble in 'modding' community regalia with high symbolic value. As a result, involvement is strong and enduring to the extent that engagement with community proper is a structural element of their identity and habitus, rather than a fleeting occurrence. It is probably fair to assume that hard-core members can be considered some form of pivot of the community, in that their relationship with manifestations of cultural capital is the most definitive and easily identifiable. Because of the fact that their involvement is (quasi-)enduring, their relationship with a culture, its members and community-specific practices can almost be compared to a lifestyle. Arguably, these may be the most pronounced and obvious manifestations of enactment and belonging (i.e. they 'are' the culture, as it were), since involvement is not purely situational or temporary. At the same time, although culturally significant, members of the hard core can be considered outliers for the most part, as most people neither have the time nor the energy or resources to devote major parts of their life to one specific activity or interest.

The by far bigger share of members can be found in what we could perhaps call the 'mid core'. Members here maintain an ongoing, yet situational and time-bound engagement with a consumer culture, in that they opt in and out of community contexts depending on time and resources. While involvement in this category is significant enough for certain hobbies, brands or passions to constitute focal activities, the relationship of members with a certain culture will be codefined by other, sometimes more, sometimes less engaging, affiliations. An example of this archetype (for want of a better term) would be the passionate hobbyist who exercises his/her passion diligently and in a serious fashion, and who spends time exchanging thoughts with likeminded people on specific forums, Reddit or Facebook groups. These are active members and typically contributors, who devote time and resources to community-related activities. However, more likely than not people in this category are not part of one, but a plurality of cultures. Let's say Person X is invested in the hi-fi community, the espresso community, the barbecuing community and the car-tuning community, each of which is tied to certain commitments in terms of time and resources. It follows naturally that involvement will be less uniform and defined by a wider number of factors. This does not make members a less integral part of a community, but rather showcases how they are malleable and dynamic formations whose social fabric can be composed of multiple different levels of identification.

The third dimension are the fringes or periphery of a community. Members may be passionate about whatever holds the community together, but their involvement in terms of time as well as emotional and economic resources is limited, and likely does not constitute a focal activity in people's lives. Technically, this could be the result of three different things: (i/unlikely) a person might either be interested in such a wide number of activities at a given moment that involvement for each one of them remains fleeting and unfulfilled since each is predicated on what was earlier identified as extended periods of social learning; (ii/likely) a person used to be an integral part of a community and has in the past devoted time and resources to understand and decode community-specific rites, rituals and symbolic markers, but either has moved on to something else or simply is unable to exercise a hobby frequently enough to be an active member of the community, barring isolated and sporadic incidents; (iii/likely) a neophyte is interested in a certain activity or brand but has yet to decode, understand and absorb a community's collective markers of identification that provide the basis for active engagement. In the latter case it could be the starting point for more enduring types of involvement in either the mid or hard core of the community.

As established earlier, it is not possession of consumer goods that defines involvement with a community, but rather engagement with specific symbolic, behavioural and linguistic codes that function as collectively negotiated markers of identity as well as 'barriers' between in- and out-groups. Applied to the three dimensions outlined above, this means that involvement is the highest in the hard core, as a result of their level of engagement with community-specific practices in terms of resources, knowledge, emotional investment and time. This category is the one closest to subcultures of consumption not so much in the sense of value systems, a specific world-view or the fact that other affiliations are more easily excluded, but rather in the way that a certain passion or hobby can constitute a significant and focal activity in a person's life to the extent that it might (but does not have to) dominate it. The mid core is what comes closest to how neo-tribes are typically defined, in that belonging and meaning are extracted from a wider number of cultural reference points and involvement is less uniform, and instead negotiated between a plurality of collective markers. The periphery, finally, does not actually compare to either subcultures of consumption or neo-tribes unless peripheral involvement is framed as simply the starting point of a process of social learning. In fact, barring neophyte status, most people in this category likely engage with community-specific practices rarely or not at all, so they might best be viewed as 'bystanders' who are intrigued but whose sense of involvement is low and probably insufficient to produce a sense of belonging.

Conclusion

In the literature, neo-tribes and subcultures of consumption are usually treated as two different – and largely incompatible – concepts, whereby the former typically is framed as a series of temporary affiliations with different cultural reference points while the latter is based on a more static model of social behaviour which tends to dominate people's lives to a greater extent. Although compelling, this kind of conceptual decoupling is not always productive, in that some of the assumed differences between neo-tribes and subcultures of consumption are not quite as pronounced as is often theorised. In certain instances, it has even been shown that these somewhat monolithic positions are inconsistent with theoretical and empirical evidence. Rather than looking at differences between these positions, the latter part of this paper has attempted to make a case for the fact that they can be viewed as variations of the same theme, united by largely similar attributes and distinguished rather through different levels of involvement than actual conceptual differences. Since both subcultures of consumption and neo-tribes are defined by (extended) periods of social learning, which provides the basis for understanding and appropriately using (sub)cultural capital, their mechanics of sociality are virtually identical, i.e. both types of community fasten on the notion that members extract meaning and experience a sense of belonging based on repeated and continuous engagement with codified and collectively negotiated practices. The magnitude or extent of engagement, as this paper has argued, can be viewed as a function of involvement: the more a person exercises a certain passion; the more s/he is aware of, and knowledgeable about, community-specific, socio-symbolic manifestations of belonging; the more an activity or brand constitutes a focal activity in a person's life, the higher the degree of involvement will be.

Based on the above idea, this paper mapped out a concentric model comprising three dimensions of involvement: hard core (strong enduring involvement), mid core (moderate enduring involvement) and periphery (minimal or no enduring involvement). These three categories are neither static nor specific to certain types of people. Instead, they provide a roadmap for identifying belonging at different levels and according to different degrees of involvement, while the borders between them are fluid and loosely defined as affiliation keeps on changing according to different parameters. Basically every community affiliation, however enduring and significant for individuals in the long run, starts at the periphery level, since newbies by default possess neither the knowledge nor the means to develop and/or maintain stronger bonds. After all, it is precisely the fact that community-specific cultural practices have to be interpreted, learnt and adopted over time that produces, and over time reinforces, involvement and a sense of belonging. While certain members will never extend their affiliation beyond what can be considered perfunctory and peripheral (or even lose interest in a culture within a short period of time and move on to other pursuits), others develop a more enduring and passionate relationship that over time has them inch towards the mid core or hard core of the culture, depending on how strong their involvement is and how much time, energy and resources they devote to exercising their passion. Belonging, therefore, is not defined by possession of goods, or even knowledge of community-specific practices alone, but rather a person's level of engagement with a culture and the degree to which his/her actions constitute a focal activity. This paper seeks to contribute to the theme of *Community: ID* by providing an alternative approach to understanding the mechanics of consumption-based affective relationships. Rather than assessing relative degrees of belonging as a result of different forms of sociality, this analysis suggests that belonging can be understood as a consequence of consumer involvement and the changes that naturally occur in terms of engagement and agency.

References

Allan, K. (1997), The postmodern self: A theoretical consideration. *Quarterly Journal of Ideology*, 20: 1&2: 3-24.

Allan, K. and Turner, J.H. (2000), A formalization of postmodern theory. *Sociological Perspectives*, 43: 3, 363-385.

Arnould, E.J. (2007a), Should consumer citizens escape the market? *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 611: The Politics of Consumption/The Consumption of Politics, May, 2007, 96-111.

Arnould, E.J. (2007b), Can consumers escape the market? *Critical marketing: Defining the field* / ed. by M. Saren, P. Maclaran, C. Goulding, R. Elliot, A. Shankar and M. Catterall, 139-155, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Barthels, K. and Von Maltzahn, C.F. (2015), Co-creation as a process of undoing authenticity. *Critical Studies in Fashion and Beauty*, 6: 2 (December 2015), 163-185.

Bauman, Z. (2000), *Liquid modernity.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bennett, A. (1999), Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, 33: 3, 599-617.

Brownlie, D., Hewer, P.A. and Treanor, S. (2007), Sociality in motion: Exploring logics of tribal consumption among cruisers. *Consumer tribes* / ed. by B. Cova, R.V. Kozinets, and A. Shankar, 109-128, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Canniford, R. (2011a), A typology of consumption communities. *Research in Consumer Behavior*, 13, 57–75.

Canniford, R. (2011b), How to manage consumer tribes. *Journal of Strategic Marketing*, 19: 7, December 2011, 591–606.

Canniford, R. and Shankar, A. (2011), Consumption communities. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 39 / ed. by R. Ahluwalia, T.L. Chartrand and R.K. Ratner, 274-275, Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research.

Celsi, R.L. and Olsen, J.C. (1988), The role of involvement in attention and comprehension processes. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15: 2, 210-224.

Chalmers Thomas, T., Schau, H. and Price, L.L. (2011), Collecting the collectives: Brand communities, subcultures of consumption, and tribes. *Advances in Consumer Research* / ed. by R. Ahluwalia, T.L. Chartrand and R.K. Ratner, 39, 271-274, Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research.

Chalmers Thomas, T., Price, L.L. and Jensen Schau, H. (2013), When differences unite: Resource dependence in heterogeneous consumption communities. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39, February 2013, 1010-1033.

Chaney, D. and Goulding, C. (2016), Dress, transformation, and conformity in the heavy rock subculture. *Journal of Business Research*, 69, 155–165.

Cova, B. (1997), Community and consumption: Towards a definition of the 'linking value' of products and services. *European Journal of Marketing*, 31: 3/4, 297–316.

Cova, B. and Cova, V. (2002), Tribal marketing: The tribalisation of society and its impact on the conduct of marketing. European Journal of Marketing, 36: 5/6, 595–620.

Cova, B., Kozinets, R.V. and Shankar, A. (2007), Tribes, Inc.: The new world of tribalism. *Consumer tribes* / ed. by B. Cova, R.V. Kozinets, and A. Shankar, 3-26, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Cova, B. and Dalli, D. (2008), From communal resistance to tribal value creation. Conference proceedings, 1st International Conference on Consumption and Consumer Resistance, November 28, 2008, Créteil, France.

Cova, B. and White, T. (2010), Counter-brand and alter-brand communities: the impact of Web 2.0 on tribal marketing approaches. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 26: 3-4, 256-270.

Cova, B. and Paranque, B. (2016), Tensions between value capture and value slippage: The case of brand communities. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences*, Online version of record before inclusion in an issue.

Elliott, R. and Davies, A. (2005), Symbolic brands and authenticity of identity performance, *Brand culture* / ed. by J. Schroeder and M. Salzer-Morling, 138-152, London [etc.]: Routledge.

Evrard, Y. and Aurier, P. (1996), Identification and validation of the components of the person-object relationship. *Journal of Business Research*, 37, 127-134.

Firat, A.F., Dholakia, N. and Venkatsh, A. (1995), Marketing in a postmodern world. *European Journal of Marketing*, 29: 1, 40–56.

Firat, A.F. and Venkatesh, A. (1995), Liberatory postmodernism and the reenchantment of consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22: 3, 239-267.

Firat, A.F. and Dholakia, N. (2006), Theoretical and philosophical implications of postmodern debates: Some challenges to modern marketing. *Marketing Theory*, 6: 2, 123-162.

Gelder, K. (2007), *Subcultures: Cultural histories and social practice.* London [etc.]: Routledge.

Goodlad, L.M.E. and Bibby, M. (2007), Goth: *Undead subculture* / ed. by. L.M.E. Goodlad and M. Bibby, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Goulding, C. and Shankar, A. (2011), Club culture, neotribalism and ritualized behaviour. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38: 4, 1435–1453.

Goulding, C., Shankar, A. and Canniford, R. (2013), Learning to be tribal: Facilitating the formation of consumer tribes. *European Journal of Marketing*, 47: 5/6, 813-832.

Goulding, C., and Saren, M. (2016), Transformation, transcendence, and temporality in theatrical consumption. *Journal of Business Research*, 69, 216–223.

Harvey, D. (1989), *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.* Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell.

Healey, K. and Fraser, L. (2017), A common darkness: Style and spirituality in Goth subculture. *Journal of Popular Music Studies*, 29: 3, 1-14.

Hebdige, D. (1979), *Subculture: The meaning of style.* London [etc.]: Routledge.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2005), Subcultures, scenes or tribes? None of the above. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8: 1, March 2005, 21-40.

Hopkins, H.D. (1999), Using history for strategic problem-solving: The Harley-Davidson effect. *Business Horizons*, 42: 2, 52-60.

Huyssen, A. (1984), Mapping the postmodern. *New German Critique*, 33: Modernity and Postmodernity (Autumn 1984), 5-52.

Huyssen, A. (1988), *After the great divide: Modernism, mass culture, postmodernism.* Basingstoke [etc.]: Macmillan.

Jameson, F. (1998), *The cultural turn: Selected writings on the postmodern*, 1983-1998. London and New York: Verso.

Jensen Schau, H., Muniz, A. and Arnould, E. (2009), How brand community practices create value. *Journal of Marketing*, 73 (September 2009), 30–51.

Joy, A. and Li, E. (2012), Studying consumption behaviour through multiple lenses: An overview of Consumer Culture Theory. *Journal of Business Anthropology*, 1: 1, 141-173.

Kates, S.M. (2002), The protean quality of subcultural consumption: An ethnographic account of gay consumers. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29 (December 2002), 383-399.

Kim, H.S. (2005), Consumer profiles of apparel product involvement and values. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 9: 2, 207-220.

Kozinets, R.V. (2001), Utopian enterprise: Articulating the meanings of Star Trek's culture of consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28, June 2001, 67-88.

Laurent, G. and Kapferer, J.N. (1985), Measuring consumer involvement profiles. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 22: 1, February, 1985, 41-53.

Maffesoli, M. (1996), *The time of the tribes: The decline of individualism in mass society.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Martin, D.M., Schouten, J.W. and McAlexander, J.H. (2006), Claiming the throttle: Multiple femininities in a hyper-masculine subculture. *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 9: 3, 171-205.

McAlexander, J.H., Schouten, J.W. and Koenig, H.F. (2002), Building brand community. *Journal of Marketing*, 66: 1, 38-54.

Mitchell, C. and Imrie, B.C. (2011), Consumer tribes: membership, consumption and building loyalty. *Asia Pacific Journal of Marketing and Logistics*, 23: 1, 39-56.

Moutinho, L., Dionisio, P. and Leal, C. (2007), Surf tribal behaviour: A sports marketing application. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, 25: 7, 668–90.

Muggleton, D. (2000), *Inside subculture: The postmodern meaning of style.* Oxford and New York: Berg.

Närvänen, E. (2014), Studying marketplace cultures and communities using practice theories: Methodological challenges. Conference proceedings, 3rd Nordic Conference on Consumer Research, May 21-22, 2014, Vaasa, Finland.

O'Cass, A. and Julian, C.C. (2001), Fashion clothing consumption: Studying the effects of materialistic values, self-image/product-image congruency relationships, gender and age on fashion clothing involvement. Conference proceedings, ANZMAC Conference: Bridging Theory and Practice / ed. by S. Chetty and B. Collins. Massey, Auckland: Massey University Press.

O'Reilly, D. (2012), Maffesoli and consumer tribes: Developing the theoretical links. *Marketing Theory*, 12: 3, 341–347.

Perez Cabañero, C. (2006), Consumer involvement in goods and service purchases. *ESIC Market*, 127, 73-91.

Podoshen, J.S., Venkatesh, V. and Jin, Z. (2014), Theoretical reflections on dystopian consumer culture: Black metal. *Marketing Theory*, 14: 2, 207-227.

Polhemus, T. (1994), *Streetstyle: From sidewalk to catwalk.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Polhemus, T. (1996), *Style surfing: What to wear in the 3rd millennium.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Richins, M.L., Bloch, P.H. and McQuarrie, E.F. (1992), How enduring and situational involvement combine to create involvement responses. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 1: 2, 143-153.

Rokka, J. (2010), Exploring the cultural logic of translocal marketplace cultures: Essays on new methods and empirical insights. Aalto University School of Economics, Working paper.

Schouten, J.W. and McAlexander, J.H. (1995), Subcultures of Consumption: An Ethnography of the New Bikers. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22, 43-61.

Taute, H.A. and Sierra, J. (2014), Brand tribalism: An anthropological perspective. *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 23: 1, 2–15.

Thornton, S. (1995), *Club cultures: music, media and subcultural capital.* Wesleyan University Press.

Torres Quintão, R., Pereira Zamith Brito, E. and Belk, R.W. (2017), Connoisseurship consumption community and its dynamics. *Review of Business Management*, 19: 63, 48-64.

Ulusoy, E. (2016), Subcultural escapades via music consumption: Identity transformations and extraordinary experiences in Dionysian music subcultures. *Journal of Business Research*, 69, 244-254.

Von Maltzahn, C.F. (2013), Dutch identity in fashion: The co-evolution between brands and consumers. Doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam, 144 pages.

Yinger, J.M. (1960), Contraculture and Subculture. *American Sociological Review*, 25: 5, 625-635.

Zaichkowsky, J.l. (1985), Measuring the involvement construct. *The Journal of Consumer Research*, 12: 3, December 1985, 341

26 INVISIBLE TO VISIBLE: SOCIAL MEDIA AND ITS ROLE IN ESTABLISHING IDENTITY OF LGBTQ IN INDIA

Authors
Neha Dimri
Parag Goswami
Pearl Academy, India

Corresponding author
neha.dimri@pearlacademy.com

Keywords
LGBTQ in India
social media and LGBTQ
gender identity
transition to visibility

Abstract
'The rigid and the fluid balance each other': historically, the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Trans Queer (LGBTQ) community has always existed in India, and it has been mentioned in many ancient and mythological scriptures. However, due to the current socio-political milieu it has remained obscure and looked upon with cynicism. Recent years have witnessed a massive dissemination of social media in India, which has allowed the notoriously concealed subject of Indian LGBTQ a major moment of transition from invisibility to visibility.

The World Wide Web has created a unique support system for the community by allowing people to connect in order to engage in a process of dialogue in the form of online activism, that translates into Pride marches and protests. Additionally, it allows the community to question the archaic judicial system, to reject the religious dictums and challenge the draconian social boundaries by standing up against moral policing. Over a period, we have observed innumerable coming out stories and acceptance, of rejecting apprehensions and becoming more ambitious by celebrating one's sexuality with pride.

There is a gradual shift where heterosexual Indians are being acquainted with their LGBTQ and non-binary friends, family members, neighbours, and colleagues, where the minority community co-exists with the heteronormative society. This research paper, along with an accompanying photo series, documents and highlights the positive changes and acceptance brought in due to the advent of social media in India LGBTQ.

The LGBTQ community has become increasingly vocal about their sense of winning over apprehensions. The community is forging ahead with the intent to fulfill their ambitions, which is to create a level ground for everyone to play in unison.

Introduction
Human sexuality is complex phenomenon and a topic of debate in modern times. India is a land of cultural and religious diversity as it has been a melting pot for centuries. However, British colonisation, and the strong political and religious view of the leaders in the 20th and 21st centuries converted sexuality and homosexuality into an aspect of perverse human nature in India (Bhandari, et al., 1991).

The multidimensional nature of sexuality, which distinguishes between desire, behaviour and identity, is slowly gaining acceptance in Indian society. The frequent same-sex feelings and behaviour in men and women, across cultures and among almost all non-human primate species has been widely documented and scientifically proven (Rao & Jacob, 2012) (Sadock, Sadock and Ruiz 2009). Homosexuality has an ancient history that is traceable amongst primeval records in all major civilizations. This aspect of human behaviour has been existent in Indian culture for centuries. However, the framework to understand and interpret these experiences as gay and lesbian is relatively modern (Joseph, 1996).

Both society and technology are changing, and the present dynamic relationship between society and technology is leading to drastic evolution in the way the latter is used to communicate. As per the World Bank report in 2017, 45.7% of the human population has an active internet connection, i.e. approximately 3.5 billion people have a digital presence. (Bank, 2017). The advent of social networking platforms (SNPs) has led to active online communication between many minority groups in order to support each other. Research has shown that internet use assists operators with similar background and interests in bonding and forming associations. It has also been found that internet use can assist users from dissimilar background in bridging differences. Research has also brought into the limelight the problems being faced by LGBT adolescents. Internet forums designated for LGBT adolescents help them to cope with the special challenges at the turning point in their life concerning their identity, and helps decrease the risk of detrimental outcomes, such as depression or even suicide. (Cerni & Talmud, 2015). In recent years, we have witnessed a massive increase in the use of social media in India, which has allowed the notoriously concealed subject of Indian LGBTQ a major moment of transition from invisibility to visibility.

The research related to LGBTQ community has been sparse and there is very limited data available to understand the demographic and physiographic of the community (Nagarajan, 2014). This paper is an attempt to understand and assess how in recent years members of the LGBTQ community in India are using online SNPs to communicate and connect with each other. Using social media to make their status visible and voice heard. Social media has provided people with non-binary gender identity a platform to express themselves without apprehension, as confirmed by the respondents in India - that the use of digital platforms allows them to illustrate their identity through clothing and appearance.

Figure 1: Ardhanarishvara, 6th century; Government Museum, Jhalawar, Rajasthan, India.

Review of literature: homosexuality in India: beyond the gender binary

History, mythology, religion, British invasion and post-independence

The idea of defining humans based on physical and psychological traits, especially their sexual orientation, is a relatively modern concept, being just over a hundred years old. In fact, many historians suggest that the very concept of homosexuals - or indeed heterosexuals - is a 19th century European invention. (Bhandari, et al., 1991) (Pattanaik, 2014).

Historically there are innumerable references in ancient Indian civilization about the existence and acceptance of homosexuality. Kamasutra[2], one of the ancient texts written by Vatsayayan[3] in 2nd-3rd century CE contains an entire chapter on *Auparishtaka*[4], homosexual sex (Bhandari, et al., 1991). Other Ancient texts such as *Manu Smriti*[5], *Upanishads*[6] and *Puranas*[7] too have mentioned homosexuality (Chowdhury, 1996). The presence of homosexual iconography in Hinduism is widely documented in ancient scriptures, temple art and performing art as depicted in Fig.1 of *Ardhanarishvara* from 6th century. (Pattanaik, 2014).

Cultural and religious background has a profound influence on the present-day sexual behaviour pattern of individuals. According to Kinsey et al., (1948) (1953) these cultural and religious factors are often the primary source for validation and rationalisation of gender identity and sexual preference in present times. Factually, most religions were tolerant or indifferent towards homosexuality. However, research reveals instances of the selective use of religious ethics and percepts to justify personal acrimony or prejudice and create intolerance against homosexuality (Boswell, 1981).

2. Kama sutra - The most prolific and celebrated text written in India on Hindu erotology.
3. Vātsyāyana is the name of an ancient Indian philosopher, known for writing the Kama Sutra, the most famous book in the world on human sexuality. He lived in India during the second or third century CE, probably in Pataliputra
4. Auparishtaka- Sanskrit word for Mouth Congress.
5. Manu Smriti is an ancient Hindu legal text.
6. Upanishads are ancient Sanskrit texts that contain some of the central philosophical concepts and ideas of Hinduism.
7. Puranas are Hindu religious text, which has narrative stories about Lord Bramha.

According to Leela Gandhi (2002), the *'catalogue of sexual irregularities'* was an established feature of ancient India. Same sex eroticism was tolerated in Indian culture for centuries. (Pattanaik, 2014). However, homosexuality was declared a crime in the Indian Penal Code, which was enacted in 1861 by the erstwhile British rulers who found this to be objectionable. Section 377, originally drafted by Lord Macaulay in the early 1830's reads: 'OF UNNATURAL OFFENCE: Whoever voluntarily has carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any man, woman or animal, shall be punished by imprisonment for life or imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years and shall be liable to fine'. Fortunately, in a historic judgment, on 6th September 2018 the Supreme Court of India stepped in to strike down section 377 that had criminalised homosexuality as an unnatural offence[8] (Malhotra, 2018) (Kirby & Thakur, 2018).

Homosexuality became a concealed subject in post-independence India, as the Gandhian philosophy became the cornerstone for every individual. Gandhi, writing about his life and sexuality in his autobiography, advocated celibacy. He also included remarks that extended to homosexuality.

> The reader should know that even persons of note have been known to approve of what is commonly known as sexual perversion. He may be shocked at the statement. But if it somehow or other gains the stamp of respectability, it will be the rage amongst boys and girls to satisfy their urge amongst members of their own sex.
>
> (TENDULKAR , 1951)

Gandhi offered these writings when he was himself avowedly celibate. Famously, he even adopted a practice by the 1940s, of sleeping with a young female relative in openly accessible living quarters, to demonstrate his mastery over the sexual passion that he decried.

Section 377 was abolished after the abstract was submitted. It was a historic decision by Supreme Court of India headed by Chief Justice of India Dipak Misra. It was announced on 6 September 2018. https://www.sci.gov.in/supremecourt/2016/14961/14961_2016_Judgement_06-Sep-2018.pdf

Perversion of homosexuality in India.

The occurrence of homosexuality has been under medical scrutiny for a long time as it has perplexed scientists from an evolutionary perspective. However, research confirms that homosexuality is indeed very common in the human population (Bailey & Zuk, 2009)

In the post-industrial society, the medical profession has played a central role in relating homosexuality with deviance and travesty (Bhandari, et al., 1991). Members of the LGBT community in India constantly experience violence, rejection and discrimination in spheres such as education, employment, healthcare and access to social services. (Badgett, 2014)

There is a lack of Indian psychiatric literature systematically investigating issues related to homosexuality. Data on prevalence, emotional problems faced, support groups and clinical services available are sparse. Research into these issues is crucial for increasing our understanding of the local and regional context related to sexual behavior, orientation and identity in India. (Rao & Jacob, 2012)

In the 21st century, many countries and cultures have accepted homosexuality as a normal variant of human sexuality rather than a debauchery, crime or mental disorder. (Sadock , Sadock , & Ruiz, 2009) The American Psychiatric Association, in 1973, and the World Health Organisation, in 1992, officially accepted its normal variant status. Many countries have since decriminalised homosexual behavior including India in 2018 and some have recognised same-sex civil unions and marriage (Rao & Jacob, 2012).

Gender identity and related issues with homosexuality in 21st century urban India.

In the Indian context, sexual orientation and gender identity are entwined, and not necessarily a distinct concept (Badgett, 2014). Despite having a long history of homosexual existence in India, it is assumed as a recent and western phenomenon (Bhandari, et al., 1991). Despite the supportive response of 30% of Indian respondent in WVS, some of the prejudices embedded in social response and triviality related to homosexuality still exists in 21st century India. The matter further is compounded as the idea of sexual identity itself is an ambiguous one, even amongst the general gay population (Joseph, 1996). The recent event of the Transgender Bill in India[9] has highlighted the complexity of the issue of sexual identification, as per Supreme Court order the 'self- identification' should be protected as a fundamental right. However, the present bill advocates state authority to determine the sexual identity of the person without any medical or legal process (Hindu, 2018).

India, with a current population of over 1.3 billion has no confirmed data to measure the actual population of LGBTQ. While conducting the research the latest official census data published by the government of India available is from 2011, which confirms the total population of LGBTQ at 4.88 lakhs, which is an under-reported figure (Nagarajan, 2014) (Roy, 2011). Other data presented by the Naz Foundation in the petition against section 377 stated that 7-8% of the total population of India is of LGBTQ (Malhotra, 2018).

From 1990 to 2014, the share of Indian respondents in the World Value Survey (WVS) who believed 'homosexuality is never justifiable' fell from 89% to 24% i.e. from an overwhelming majority to a clear minority. With 30% of Indian respondents broadly supportive of homosexuality in 2014, 70% remain in the range from somewhat opposed to completely opposed (WVS, 2014).

9 Transgender Bill in India is still being debated. The Lower House (Lok Sabha) of Parliament had passed the bill in December 2018, which has caused a massive public uproar in the LGBTQ community. At present, the Bill has been withheld in Upper House (Rajya Sabha).

The mainstream social response in India is still in opposition to sexual minorities in India, forcing many members of LGBTQ to remain closeted (Nunez, 2017). The impact of striking off section 377 from the Indian constitution is yet to be documented. However, it is a massive boost for many members to come out and accept their preferred sexual identity as it is not a crime to be gay in India. Also, the majority of respondents of the primary research accepted that in the last five years, the Indian gay community has moved into, and flourished, on what has probably been the most accepting space they could ever have hoped to find – the internet. They are forming NGOs, online communities, WhatsApp groups, calling up helplines and meeting regularly to evolve strategies for their cause (Hindu, 2018).

Social media and its role in making LGBTQ visible in India

In India there are 460 million internet users, it is estimated that there will be around 358.2 million social network users by 2021. A substantial increase from 2016, when this figure stood at about 216.5 million. Facebook is the most popular social networking site in the country. There were about 195 million Facebook users in India as of 2016, placing India as the country with the largest Facebook user base in the world. Other popular networks include WhatsApp, Instagram, and Skype (Statista, 2018). Research has shown that minority groups like LGBTQ are using online SNPs like Facebook to communicate and create support groups (Cerni & Talmud, 2015).

Subjugation due to homophobia in India has helped give rise to a whole universe of online options that help the LGBTQ community to connect. Unlike other groups who may be minorities within society, homosexuals do not necessarily have queer parents or family as a primary support system, which can lead to extreme isolation in the worst cases (Nunez, 2017). Primary observational study of the online profile of LGBTQ respondents have confirmed that they use Facebook to meet and interact with queer people, and also use it as an avenue to express their fears and desires. In the absence of family support, online groups and social media have offered accessible alternatives to form a community outside of family. Primary research had revealed online platforms like *Gaysi*[10] and *Gaylaxy*[11], and publishers like *Queer Ink*[12] have helped create spaces for LGBTQ people to interact, share and collaborate. Numerous digital influencer from the LGBTQ community are working towards creating awareness and a digital eco system to support each other. Alexander Balakrishnan in Fig. 2 is a popular Indian blogger who covers wide range of online content on the young urban gay community in New Delhi.

Figure 2: Alexander Balakrishana is a popular Indian gay blogger

Many online SNPs are providing support beyond the virtual world, for example Facebook provides Gay Housing Resource Assistance. It provides LGBTQ people who moved out from their families with other LGBTQ roommates. The norm in India is that many people live with their families until they get married. However, if that is not the trajectory you are on because you are LGBTQ, it can be really challenging to convince your family to let you go out and live on your own or live with roommates (Nunez, 2017).

10. http://gaysifamily.com/ - Gaysi Family was started in 2011 as a blog to provide a voice and a safe space to people from the South Asian Subcontinent that identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender or Queer.
11. http://www.gaylaxymag.com/ Online WhatsApp support group for LGBTQ in India.
12. http://queer-ink.com/category/q-india/documents/: Online LGBTQ support group working in this field from past two decades.

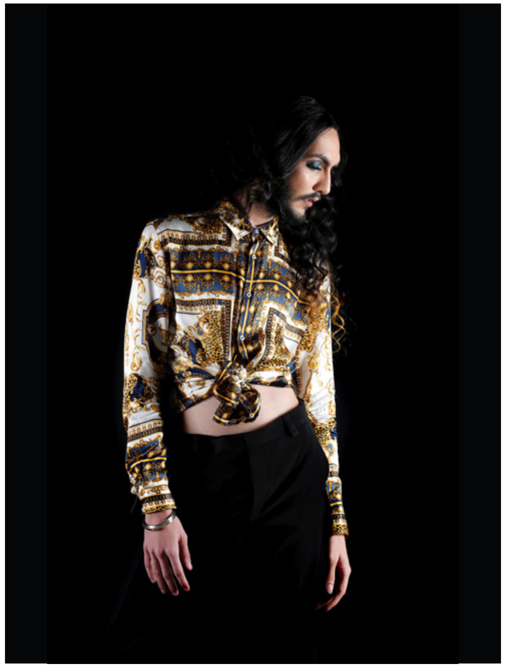
Sartorial expression of gender on social media in India

Before the 19th century, gender distinctions in dress were not nearly as marked as they have become since. (Laver, 1938) One of the main reasons for the sharp divergence in the way men and women dressed is attributed to the fall of European aristocracy and the corresponding ascendancy of the bourgeoisie. The gender differences in European clothing were strongly demarcated. These European sartorial conventions later appeared in the colonised countries like India. Prior to the British invasion, the clothing in Indian sub-continent was draped and unstitched for both men and women. The differences were subtle, and the sartorial demarcation was not as evident as it was in European raiment (Tarlo, 1996).

The imperialist view of Indian male dressing was graceful, pretty and effeminate, the same as their female counterpart. Later, during the colonised period in India, male members of society adapted the European way of dressing, as it was deemed fit for redefining their stand as equal, creating a stark contrast between male and female dressing in Indian society. (Tarlo, 1996) While this sartorial transition of binary identity was made, the third gender went unrecognised. The present day Indian sartorial conventions are a crossover of British influence over existing Indian costume. (Bhandari, et al., 1991)

Figure 3: The adapted masculine identity of the model

Figure 4: The factual effeminate self of the model



Since homosexuality was a crime in India until September 2018, the sartorial evolution of the community in India has not evolved organically. Often, large sections of homosexuals hide their gender identity by adopting the identity given to their biological sex, as shown in Fig. 3. Here the subject conceals the actual identity with the socially accepted masculine identity assigned at birth, and Fig. 4 depicts the actual gender preference of the same person.

Gender identity in the queer community is very diverse and, often, misrepresented in mainstream media. Indian cinema has frequently shown overly effeminate gay men, which has created a homogenized identity for the entire gay community in India (Bhandari, et al., 1991). The stereotype has oversimplified and standardized the diverse nature of LGBTQ identity. However, these conventions are being challenged, for instance the Indian fashion industry has been active in bringing out diverse issues of the LGBTQ community, and providing a medium to express their identity.

The advent of social media allowed queer fashion to experiment, and explore dominant conceptions of gender. It offers space to rethink heteronormatively, and for some the possibility to live, at least temporarily in space and time, outside of its bounds. The majority of respondents confirmed that it is easier for them to express their sartorial preference on SNPs compared to the physical world.

Methodology

The methodology used to evaluate the hypothesis was multi-faceted. Considering the complexity of the topic, and the dearth of secondary data on the LGBTQ community in India, a multi-pronged research approach was employed. Several studies on the subject by various authors were consulted to formulate the guidelines for the present research. Personal interviews with a random stratified sample-set were undertaken to ascertain the common issues faced, and the different ways online SNPs are used to communicate and formulate support groups by LGBTQ. Additionally, a control group was interviewed to assess how SNPs are used to express their sartorial identity. The conclusions were drawn by analysing data collected through all the above means.

A draft questionnaire was made, attempting to capture details such as age, profession, sexual orientation, discrimination faced, coming out stories, clothing preference and usage of online SNPs. The questionnaire comprised multiple-choice questions where demographic and psychographic segmentation was carried out. A pilot run was conducted on a focus group to ascertain validity of the data captured. The observations from the pilot run were incorporated as amendments to the questionnaire to reach the final version of the questionnaire.

Along with the survey and in-depth interviews, empirical data was collected through online and offline controlled group observations. Active social media users from the LGBTQ community were randomly identified. With their consent, their online social media profiles were followed for a period of 2 weeks, and an observational form was maintained to capture the data. The information revealed was further analysed to assess how the respondents are using social media to communicate and create visibility for the members of LGBTQ community in India.

Analysis and findings

Demographic details of the sample set

The questionnaire was distributed to random stratified sample set through the snowball method of data collection. 117 participants responded to the electronic survey. The findings of the survey revealed that most of the respondents were between the ages of 25 and 45 years. The majority of respondents were students (44.1%) or young working professionals (47.1%) living in urban cities.

Gender identity and related experiences

52.9% of the respondents identified themselves as gay, 14.7% did not want to label themselves to any specific category and only 5.9% of the participants were lesbian. The data collected confirms that the lesbian women are more apprehensive to express their gender identity compared to gay men. Additionally, the survey results revealed that many lesbian and bisexual women are overlooked due to their sartorial preference, which is similar to cisgender women. Fig. 5 shows a 22-year-old lesbian model who has similar clothing preference as cisgender female.

Figure 5: Sartorial preference of 22-year-old lesbian woman

One of the objectives of the survey was to assess the extent of discrimination faced by the LGBTQ community. 67.6% of the member confirmed that they were subjected to some form of discrimination at some point in their lives. The respondents were also asked to confirm their experience of establishing their gender identity and if they encountered confusion at any point. To this 58.8% confirmed that they have never experienced any kind of confusion regarding their gender identity whereas 41.2% reported otherwise. This goes out to prove that despite the effort of many NGOs and private support groups a major section of the queer population finds it difficult to establish their gender identity.

Social media as a means to express gender identity through clothing

All the respondents had access to the internet and had an online profile on various SNPs. All 117 respondents confirmed that they use social media to communicate with other members of the LGBTQ community. 93.7% respondents have used online dating applications to meet suitable partners. 67.6% participants confirmed that it is easier to express their gender identity on online forums like Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp. 97% of the respondents believe that the acceptance of LGBTQ has increased in the past five years, and that social media plays a critical role in connecting the community and providing visibility.

Responses from in-depth interviews revealed that most of the participants felt that the acceptance of LGBTQ has improved in Indian society. Observation was made that the construction of online identity through fashion and clothing has a wide spectrum and diverse manifestations among members of the LGBTQ community. In a few of the cases, the projection of gender identity on SNP was entirely different to the one expressed in real life, as shown in Figure 6 where the model has documented different sartorial expressions and the contrast of his gender identity.

Most of the respondents confirmed that they find social media a safe space to express their true self, as they have encountered reservations expressed by their family members and workplace colleagues.

Further observation of the focus group revealed that the content shared was on a wide range of topics relating to the LGBTQ community. Both visual and textual content are shared on a regular basis with suitable hashtags and appropriate messages. All the participating members of the group confirmed that they have participated in Pride marches and posted pictures of their participation on social media, making it an essential instrument to express the invisible aspect of their identity.

Figure 6: Identity: The construction

Conclusion

The LGBTQ community has always existed in India and will continue to flourish and fight for their civil rights. There was always a strong sense of connection within the community, through common meeting grounds, however the invasion of social media completely changed the landscape of how people could connect. (Bhandari et al., 1991; Johnson, 2015). The research conducted proves that digital communication has paved the way for the LGBTQ community to freely and safely transmit their viewpoint, thus creating a positive impact and giving them visibility that was long overdue. 'Social media constitute an arena of public communication where norms are shaped and rules get contested' (Dijck, 2013).

The results from both primary and secondary sources have confirmed that the general acceptance of LGBTQ has improved in past five years, social media had played a crucial role in connecting, and giving discernibility to the Indian LGBTQ community, but still a large part of the community are closeted due to social oppression. SNPs have also provided a safe space for sartorial expression in a heteronormative society. Additionally, it emerged that there is a wide spectrum of gender expression within the community, which is highlighted on social media. By striking off section 377 and making homosexuality legal in India, the government has given a lot of faith and confidence to the LGBTQ community. However, there are many areas which require immediate legal and social attention, which will make the community truly visible.

References

Kinsey, A., Gebhard, P., & Pomeroy, W. (1948). *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Indiana: Saunders.

Badgett, M. L. (2014, October 1). *The Economic Cost of stigma and the Exclusion of LGBT People: A CaseStudy of India.* Retrieved from www.worldbank.org: https://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/SAR/economic-costs-homophobia-lgbt-exlusion-india.pdf

Bailey, N., & Zuk, W. M. (2009). Same-sex sexual behaviour and evolution. *Trends in Ecology and evolution,* 429-436.

Bank, W. (2017). *Individuals using the Internet (% of population).* Retrieved from www.dataworldbank.org: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IT.NET.USER.ZS

Baumgardner, J. (2011). *Fashion Philosophy for everyone.* West Sussex: Blackwell publishing.

Bhandari, A., Jain, J. P., Bhardwaje, J., Lalitha, S. A., Sahni, P. S., SCN, S., & Gautam, S. (1991). *Less Than Gay: A Citizens' Report on the Status of Homosexuality in India.* New Delhi: Aids Bhedbhav Virodhi Andolan.

Boswell, J. (1981). *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality Gay people in western Europe from the beginning of Christian era till 15th century.* London and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Cerni, R. T., & Talmud, I. (2015). To Know that you are Not Alone: The Effect of Internet Usage on LGBT Youth's Social Capital. *Communication and Information Technologies Annual (Studies in Media and Communications, Volume 9) Emerald Group Publishing Limited,* 161-182.

Chowdhury, S. R. (1996, February). The best of both worlds? South Asian bisexual speak out. *Indian Currents.*

Davis, F. (1994). Ambivalence of Gender: Boys Will Be Boys, Girls Will Be Girls. In F. Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity* (pp. 31-54). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hamer, D., & Copeland , P. (1994). The science of desire: *The Search For The Gay Gene And The Biology Of Behaviour.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Hindu, T. (2018, December 20). Rights, revised: on the Transgender Persons Bill, 2018. *The Hindu.* Retrieved from www.thehindu.com: https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/rights-revised/article25783926.ece

Joseph, S. (1996). Gay and Lesbian Movement in India. *Economic and Political Weekly,* 2228-2233.

Kinsey, A., Gebhard, P., & Pomeroy, W. (1953). *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Indiana: Saunders.

Kirby, M., & Thakur, R. (2018, December 31). Navtej Johar, a verdict for all times. *The hindu,* p. 9.

Laver, J. (1938). *Taste and Fashion: from the french revolution until today.* London: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Lloyd , B. (April, 2005). How Has the Internet Affected the Way We Communicate Within This New Era? can we use this to our advantage? *New Zealand Association for Cooperative Education* (pp. 31-35). North Palmerston: Reserach Gate.

Loving Well : Homosexuality and Utopian Thought in Post/colonial India. (2002). In Gandhi.Leela, *Queering India: Same-Sex Love and Eroticism in Indian Culture and Society* (pp. 87-99). New York: Routledge.

Malhotra, I. (2018, September 6). *Decisions Supreme Court India.* Retrieved from www.sci.gov.in: https://www.sci.gov.in/supremecourt/2016/14961/14961_2016_Judgement_06-Sep-2018.pdf

Nagarajan, R. (2014, September 4). First Count of Third Gender in Census. *The Times of India,* p. 3.

Nunez, C. (2017, May 15). *DAN SAVAGE: CHALLENGES OF BEING GAY IN INDIA.* Retrieved from www.nationalgeographic.com: https://news.nationalgeographic.com/2017/05/grindr-health-safety-security-lgbt-community-india/

Pattanaik, D. (2014). *SHIKHNADI and other tales they don't tell you.* New Delhi: Zubaan and Penguin Books.

Rao , T. S., & Jacob, K. S. (2012). Homosexuality and India. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry,* 54(1), 1-3.

Roy, S. (2011). Uncounted in India--The Other Side of the cencus . *New America Media-South Asian.*

Sadock , B. J., Sadock , V. A., & Ruiz, P. (2009). *Kaplan and Sadock's Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry.* Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Statista. (2018, Decmber). *Internet usage in India - Statistics & Facts.* Retrieved from The Stastics Portal: https://www.statista.com/topics/2157/internet-usage-in-india/

Tarlo, E. (1996). *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India.* London: Penguin Books.

TENDULKAR , D. G. (1951). *Mahatma, Life Of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi* (Vol. IV). Bombay, Maharastra, India: VITHALBHAI K.JHAVERI & D. G. TENDULKAR The Times of India Press, Fort, Bombay.

Wong, C. M. (2015, october 21). 11 Facebook Groups Every LGBT Person Should Know. Retrieved from www.huffingpost.in: https://www.huffingtonpost.in/entry/lgbt-facebook-groups_us_56266915e4b0bce347024edd?ec_carp=1297816667814093739

WVS. (2014, June 24). *World Values Survey Wave 6: 2010-2014 Online Data Analysis.* Retrieved December 11, 2018, from www.worldvaluessurvey.org: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp

Acknowledgments

We thank Antonio Maurizio Grioli Dean of the School of Fashion, Pearl Academy, Ashish Dhaka, Senior lecturer, and Sonika Khar, Associate Professor, Gagandeep Plaha, Alexander Balakrishnan, Kritika and Surya Pratap Singh as models.

List of Illustration

Figure 1 *Chandra, P* Ardhanarishvara (Image), Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Ardhanarishvara/media/33339/153447 *(2019, February, 17)*
Figure 2 Model's own Gagan Plaha
Figure 3 Author's own
Figure 4 Author's own
Figure 5 Author's own
Figure 6 Author's own Model Surya Pratap Singh

47 BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS: HOW DID SKATEBOARDING'S THRASHER T-SHIRT BECOME THE FASHIONISTA'S 'OFF DUTY' LOOK?

Author
Kirsty Smith
Royal College of Art

kirsty.smith@network.rca.ac.uk

Keywords
skateboarding
Thrasher
identity
conscious appropriation
subculture

Abstract

While the rise of skateboard companies such as Supreme and Palace have usurped the ranks of fashion's hierarchy, there remains conflict and tension within the skateboard community regarding the industry's legitimacy to convey authentic cultural meaning to the images and artefacts pertaining to skateboard lifestyles. Typically characterised as outcasts, lawbreakers and nuisances, skateboarders now signify a visual representation of cool. High fashion brands embody the lifestyle on the pages of fashion magazines, within the frames of fashion films and on international catwalks. The outcome of this has led many of skateboarding's self-identified 'rebels' to negotiate the desires of their community alongside the yearnings of aspirational youths determined to authenticate themselves by appropriating the aesthetic and textual lives of skateboarders.

This paper presents a discussion on one specific case study, the iconic American skateboard magazine, Thrasher. A dominant voice within the skateboarding community, Thrasher magazine is an anti-establishment, subcultural publication (Worley, 2017). It shapes a sense of currency within the skateboard community while hinting at the future. Identifying with Skateboarding's every day practices the magazine emphasises the artistic and visual dissemination of tricks, locations and products, forming a framework of characteristics which examine behaviours, values and social interactions. This paper seeks to describe the history of the magazine's spirit, identifying the stakeholders who advocate the 'Thrasher lifestyle', and hypothesising why the magazine's merchandise became synonymous with the notion of cool. The paper enquires how Thrasher's t-shirt became a focal point of fascination for the fashion obsessed, addressing some of the tensions felt within the skateboard community on the reporting of this 'new trend'.

The study adopted an ethnographic qualitative approach using mixed methods of non-participant observation, focus groups and in-depth interviews. Primary research in the form of interviews with Thrasher's publisher, Tony Vitello and editor at large Mike Burnett provided in-depth knowledge of the history of Thrasher. Secondary research including review and analysis of editorial content, interviews and readers' comments from online publications including *Dazed and Confused*, *GQ style*, *Hypebeast*, and *Vogue* explored the subject and aided the researcher's conclusions. Content analysis was used to look for key themes and patterns within the observations, commentary and interviews (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, Turner 2007).

The paper acknowledges the pressures of current fast fashion journalism but asks if there is a need for discussions around commentary on specific areas of subculture fashion, in this case Thrasher magazine, so as not to alienate those who identify with the appropriated lifestyle.

Introduction

> Individuals who shed blood sweat and tears.
>
> (Burnett, 2018)

Current literature on 'authentic' identity in subcultural media magazines, finds that the main focus of anthropological content is to provide 'insider knowledge' centred around 'participants doing it,' Wheaton and Beal (2003). For the consumers of skateboard media there are two very distinctive genres of content: the first, the authentic voice (Harper, 1989) is articulated through methods of dissemination in the form of articles, advertisements and the 'give away.' Echoing the skateboarding scene, this authentic voice can be envisaged as the print magazine in visual and written form, online video content or as the paraphernalia that comes with the magazine in the shape of stickers, DVDs, beanies or t-shirts. The second voice to gradually appear over the past decade within skateboard magazines is the inauthentic voice (Edwards, 1997). In most cases this voice is characterised by broader advertisements or products. Located within the field of skateboarding, these brands adopt the image of skateboarding, aiming their product at an audience who may find skateboarding interesting but are not always participating in the lifestyle. Such companies are seen to align themselves with customer focused values (Zott, Amit and Massa, 2011) occupying a distinctive place so as to associate themselves with this particular group of people.

Although the majority of the content distributed in these skateboard specific magazines reflects the publication's values through a combination of global and local perspectives, research with focus groups has indicated that while there is an awareness of 'outsider' brands advertising in skateboard magazines, they are often dismissed as having no value, paying little or no attention to the advertisement or product itself. Conversely, the research indicated that these same focus groups identified similar attitudes to non-skateboarders who style themselves in authentic clothing, the former considering the latter to have no value. Yet the members of the focus groups were incredibly vocal, concerning the lack of knowledge reported by journalists reviewing skateboard brands, in particular clothing brands.

Reflecting on the customer focused value of subcultural American skateboard magazine, Thrasher, this paper considers how Thrasher respects its audience via its visual culture, heritage and tradition, echoed in its logo, its t-shirt design and its considered links with those who engage with the skateboard scene. The paper seeks to examine what the Thrasher lifestyle means to those who live it, the 'Individuals who shed blood sweat and tears.' (Burnett, 2018) How the 'Giveaway' Thrasher t-shirt captivated the fashion obsessed and what tensions have been felt within the skateboard community due to the reporting of the rising Thrasher trend by 'outsiders'.

Anti-authority, anti-normal, anti-complacency.

(Burnett, Malakye, 2008)

Thrasher magazine plays a significant cultural role in the dissemination of iconic visual representations of the skateboard community. The viewing and sharing of visual imagery pertaining to skateboarding is a big part of everyday lives for those who work for the magazine. Across the pages of the publication and online, subject specific content and advertising communicates worldwide motivating messages that encourage skateboarders to try new tricks and keep moving forward. The authentic experience of the sponsored and everyday skateboarder is replicated in the visual imagery supported by words that explain what the Thrasher lifestyle is and how it filters out to the global community.

Under the current direction of Tony Vitello and Jake Phelps, Thrasher magazine has continued to stay in print while a multitude of global skateboard magazines have either moved online or folded. With consumers of this specialist media turning to Instagram, YouTube and dedicated sites for their daily digest, Thrasher has not only upheld a constant readership but has managed to preserve a level of communication that has a strong and significant message. As Tony explained in a recent interview, 'The magazine elicits a positive brand feeling, it facilitates a strong consumer-brand connection that seeps from the visual imagery into the merchandise we give away and sell.' (Vitello, 2018) For Tony, Thrasher magazine is both traditional and future focused. It is appreciative of the skateboarder's everyday existence and the kinds of characters that are associated with the lifestyle. One thing he admits is it's not a 'G rated family friendly version of skateboarding that other media sources cover.' (Vitello, 2018). It maintains its rebellious attitude, almost thrives on it, providing skateboarders with a space where they can think, feel, act and say what they want without fear of reprisal.

This same attitude is reflected in the company logo which is branded across the t-shirts it gives away for free as part of the subscription process, and which consumers can also buy on Thrasher's website. While the logo has evolved over time it maintains its roots with the original text created by graphic artist Roger Excoffon. Considered unfashionable for many years, it wasn't until the font was used on the Cover of the 1974 Bob Marley album: Natty Dread that it became popular. Over the years the Banco typeface has been adapted, including a burning emblem most often used on Thrasher's merchandise. Regarding the logo's aggressive look, Tony explained that while he never discussed its origins with his father, he believes 'It has become popular with skateboarders as it reminds them of their childhood when they felt freer and they maybe had a little bit more of an edge to their personalities, before jobs, partners and kids.' (Vitello, 2018)

Together with the font, one of the original Thrasher logos drew from a Satanic icon parodied in the form of a Skategoat pentagram. To the outsider the logo has been viewed as Luciferian promoting Satanic Baphomet worship representing negative values associated with the skateboard culture. To Thrasher, the logo is simply a symbol of defiance, not in an occult form but in a questioning of rules, society's pressures, curiosity and the acceptance of others' values. The basic premise of the logo is more a nod to the Baphomet images which appeared on the cover of heavy metal albums.

'Thrasher has made f***ing history.' (Phelps, 2017) To further understand Thrasher's mass appeal, the research sought to examine how a foul-mouthed DIY magazine from California transcended its roots to become a fashion label worn by fashion world insiders, capturing an account of its history from the perspective of Tony Vitello, son of co-founder Fausto Vitello, and from editor Mike Burnett.

In 1981, Eric Swenson, Kevin Thatcher and Fausto Vitello saw something in skateboarding that propelled them to start Thrasher Magazine. Initially set up due to a lack of hard-core magazines and to help promote Swenson and Vitello's company, Independent Trucks, the magazine soon surpassed its creative intention. Vitello, an avid bike enthusiast working for Harley-Davidson as an engineer, found skateboarding's renegade attitude appealing. Professing similar values to their anarchist character, the magazine reflected Thatcher, Swenson and Vitello's renegade natures. Its original motto still reads, 'Skate and Destroy'. The articles, interviews and photos revolve around a reckless approach towards lawlessness. The ethos of the magazine defies authority. As Thrasher's current editor-at-large, Mike Burnett explained when asked in an interview with trade magazine Malakye, 'Why is Thrasher so punk?' Burnett replied 'Skateboarding is anti-authority, anti-normal, anti-complacency. That has nothing to do with fashion or musical tastes, and everything to do with why we think skateboarding is unique.' (Burnett, 2008)

In order to hypothesise on what Swenson, Thatcher and Vitello 'saw' during the early years of skateboarding, it is important to pay attention to the perception of the initial descriptions associated with skateboarders. Notions of rebellious attitudes (Pountain and Robins, 2000), lawlessness (Green and Burke, 2012) non-conformity (Heath and Potter, 2004), and individualism (Hebdige and Potter, 2008) were the values and norms applied by the press during the first wave of skateboarding's 1960's narrative timeline. At the time, these associated behaviours led the media to call for skateboarding to be outlawed, with newspapers including the Los Angeles Times proclaiming it to be dangerous, if not deadly, 'Constituting a public nuisance that should be banned.' (Yochim, 2010). It should be noted that even in current society, while skateboarding is no longer seen as deadly, opinion has scarcely changed. 'To outsiders, skaters are thought of as rebels, social deviants, or simply different. Participants are banned from public areas and signs are routinely posted prohibiting the activity.' (Moore, 2009)

While discussing these 1960's values it would also be key to address some of the main protagonists of the period who were helping to shape these beliefs, encapsulating the Thrasher lifestyle. During the late 1960's the outlaw legacy associated with skateboarding was no more evident than in the anti-authority figures of the Dogtown Z-Boys. Tony Alva, Stacy Peralta and Jay Adams brought about huge changes in the skateboard scene. In his first ever interview for Skateboarder magazine, Alva's attitude was clear to read on the pages. When asked, 'Some observers have characterized you and your friends as being highly aggressive.' Alva commented 'It's true...When the boys are together, you could never find a more aggressive, arrogant, rowdy, perhaps ignorant bunch of people than me and my friends. That's just the way we are; that's the way we skateboard; that's the way we talk... party... surf... travel... you name it.' (Skateboarder, 1977) In James Renhard's 2017 interview for Mpora magazine, Alva went on to describe the group as 'self-identified rebels' who set a precedent for many who followed, not only on the streets, but reflected on the pages of Thrasher magazine.

The early 1980s brought with it a lull for skateboarding. While other manufacturers and publishers were pulling out, Swenson, Thatcher and Vitello recognised that skateboarding was only just finding its feet. The Dogtown era had brought with it a wave of new tricks and an aggressive draw to backyard pools, proving that skateboarding had much more to give. While others shunned the characters establishing skateboarding's temperament, Swenson, Thatcher and Vitello were hooked. For them, Thrasher Magazine was a tool to promote skateboarding's protagonists at a grass roots level, recognising its attraction towards a very unique person: the outcast of society. The magazine framed these risk takers in the articles they wrote and the images they showcased: unruly, brazen and unapologetic, these kids drank, smoked, took drugs and partied like it was their last day on earth. With a heady mix of skateboarding and music the magazine became a manual on how to live an unaccepted way of life.

Thrasher's growing prominence within the skateboard community ran alongside the articles they published on the Californian punk and hardcore music scene. In 1983, Thrasher released the first of twelve cassette-only compilation albums, Thrasher Magazine's 'Skate Rock'. Most of the bands had skaters amongst their members, with a number of the bands featuring pro-skateboarders. The synergy of these characteristics was communicated on the pages of the magazine, in the music featured on Thrasher's skateboard DVDs and in the iconography which appeared on their merchandise. Evidence of Thrasher's widespread influence with music could be seen every year at the Warped Tour and later South by Southwest. This combination of skateboarding and music journalism led to an upsurge in subscriptions. In response to this rise in circulation, Thrasher began offering additional apparel as part of their new 1988 mail order scheme. T-shirts and sweatshirts emblazoned with Thrasher's iconic designs were splashed across the pages of the magazine. This enticed the committed, the unruly and the skaters living the Thrasher lifestyle to invest, and unlike other clean-cut skate brands of the time, their slapdash approach to promoting the clothing was only heightened by their flippant approach to advertising, claiming 'Thrasher products rule the world.'

The Thrasher t-shirt was just one element of the merchandising range. A moving billboard, it acted as an embodied commercial recognised only by those on the inside. A freebie to those who subscribed to the magazine, the t-shirt soon represented something more than its intention, it became a symbol of the magazine's personality. To wear it was an indication of an uncontrollable attitude, a free spirit, the personification of a risk taker who would be up in the face of anyone who got in the way. The iconic status of the Thrasher t-shirt both in its statement and function solidified the magazine's standing within the skateboard community. As with other skateboard brands, the Thrasher t-shirt became one of many signifiers notifying skateboarding's in-crowd that you too were an anti-social, anti-authoritarian 'nerd'. Associated with unfashionable text, with links to satanic iconography, how did this piece of clothing move from a merely emblematic form of wearable satisfaction to a fashion insignia?

By the mid 1980s Thrasher recognised that their print magazine would not survive the future without a 360-degree media house. In order to maintain their print edition, they needed to have a strong visual and digital presence. As Tony Vitello recalled, 'To strengthen the magazine we needed to explore more opportunities. Merchandising came out of a growing subscriber base. The unrealised opportunity we had with the merchandise, with the clothing and stuff was never really something we had considered. Positioning ourselves that way was kind of a realisation that has allowed us to preserve the print product.' (Vitello 2018)

During the 1980s, musicians had been expressing their genuine interest in skateboarding from the way they dressed to onscreen appearances in music videos. Bands like Devo, the Beastie Boys, Sonic Youth, Flogging Molly and Dinosaur Jr traded on their knowledge of skateboarding to shape their alternative status. For Thrasher, this interaction was mutual and continued to mature over the next two decades. Tony Vitello considers 2011 to be the point at which Thrasher became a fashion style believing it to be purely about this interconnected authentic relationship.

> We hosted a party at South by Southwest, a music festival in Austin, Texas. We held a four-day non-stop party and every day we'd have about fifteen bands playing. When these bands were going onto stage to perform, they were like: "can we get some Thrasher gear here?". They were so excited about it. And for a lot of them, like the metal bands, Thrasher was a huge part of their upbringing. It was part of their attitude, they were associated with it. They had read the magazines, they were part of it. We'd always covered music in Thrasher even at the very beginning. There always were music features. There's a symbiotic relationship between both worlds. That music and skateboarding connection is what I think really drove the merchandise to another level.
>
> (Vitello, 2018)

The following year Tyler the Creator and ASAP Rocky both appeared at South by Southwest. While Tyler instigated a riot and was subsequently arrested, ASAP Rocky was photographed striking a member of the public during a theatre event. Both musicians were wearing Thrasher T-shirts. By association, the perception of these events subliminally propelled Thrasher into the limelight. As in the early days of Thrasher this behaviour was not considered wild - if anything it was well suited - as it emulated the Thrasher lifestyle. Suddenly there was a new generation of musician who again had a genuine interest in skateboarding. In a recent interview with The Berrics, ASAP discussed the allure of skateboarding and why it matters to his music, 'It's punk aesthetic. And it's skate aesthetic. Like skaters and punks, we grew up in Manhattan. Most of my friends still skate. It just be like that. It's just regular shit. We would watch our skate videos and clips, and go to clubs. This is the shit we saw.' (The Berrics, 2018) Skate culture was a major influence on ASAP during his formative years, evidenced in his more recent works including the music video for 'Praise The Lord (Da Shine)' where there are signs of fashions and technologies applied to the production of past skate videos.

By 2015 a familiar narrative was alluding to the rise of the Thrasher t-shirt. Spreading from The Idle Man to GQ style from Vogue to W Magazine, journalists described Thrasher's upsurge as being the result of celebrities Ryan Gosling, Rihanna and Justin Bieber being photographed wearing Thrasher t-shirts. As leading fashion magazines followed suit and ran a number of articles commenting on 'How the Thrasher Tee Became Every Cool Model's Off-Duty Staple,' (Vogue, 2016) 'Thrasher Takes London,' (W Magazine, 2015) 'How to Achieve the Skater Style with Ease' (The Idle Man, 2015) and 'How to Do Skater Style Like a Model, (Vogue, 2016) so did the fashion-obsessed. With China's cheap replicas hitting eBay and amassing sales, the story had been told. Not concerned with the approval or acceptance of interlopers, Thrasher at first felt no impulse to confront this adaptation.

The skateboard community however had taken issue with the way journalists were reporting on fashion's preoccupation with Thrasher. Describing Thrasher as a brand that seemed to have popped up out of nowhere, columnists had linked the phenomenon to the series of Instagram posts of models wearing Thrasher t-shirts alongside paparazzi images of Ryan Gosling, Justin Bieber & Rihanna wearing a multitude of Thrasher merchandise. At the same time as they were reporting on the new 'cool trend', pictures of the fashion obsessed wearing Thrasher were bursting onto social media sites, alongside street-style images shot at haute-couture fashion weeks where editors, influencers, bloggers and models alike were adorned in Thrasher merchandise. Thrasher's unsought far-reaching influence began to prompt questions from the skateboard community over the misinformed reporting of the Thrasher lifestyle from 'outsiders', as well as a growing wave of backlash towards designers mimicking the look.

> The pavement is where the real shit is. Blood and scabs, does it get realer than that?
>
> (Phelps, Hypebeast, 2016)

Not everyone in the skateboarding community was happy about models, influencers and bloggers appropriating their looks. While skaters had been dressing this way for years, reading comments by some fashionistas proclaiming to be on the cutting edge of fashion was somewhat offensive. Moreover, the responses from skateboarders were not pretty. The commentary that flowed from below these articles became aggressive and hostile towards the ill-informed and the procurers of a misunderstood lifestyle. As the number of online articles grew, skateboarders bluntly wished the fashion industry would just 'F*** off.' (DC, 2015)

The research focus groups were provided with content and threads connected to these remarks and asked if they were representative of the skateboard community's position. Participant three of the Californian focus group, male, 34 commented, 'Skateboarders will always feel angry about companies who have nothing to do with skateboarding coming in and trying to take ownership of its looks. The thing is you can't own skateboarding's looks, they are always changing.' Participant one of the same focus group, male, 26 commented, 'If someone has the money to start their own 'skateboard brand, you can't stop them but you sure as f*** can see right through them. The problem is the average follower of fashion is clueless and instead of them supporting the community, they're just lining the pockets of some rich f***.' Echoed by participant one in UK focus group, male, 28, 'Vogue is just a bunch of dumb f***'s with no clue. They write about skateboarding like they've stepped on a board and nailed themselves. They should just leave it well alone or at least involve us in the conversation instead of trying to represent our views. But I'm not sure Vogue gives a shit'

Thrasher magazine's outspoken editor, Jake Phelps, loudly expressed his opinion at such practices with widespread criticism towards the designers and fashionistas who replicated or attempted to form new mainstream identities while wearing Thrasher apparel. In a 2016 interview with Hypebeast, Phelps famously commented "We don't send boxes to Justin Bieber or Rihanna or those f***ing clowns, the pavement is where the real shit is. Blood and scabs, does it get realer than that?" (Hypebeast, 2016). His remarks were quickly picked up by skateboard and fashion magazines prompting a transformation by journalists on how aspects of the narrative were reported. In an interview from 2012 with Dazed magazine Phelps had begun to make his feelings heard.

> You can tell that people want to bite it because skateboarding is the hardest f***ing thing known to mankind… It's f***ing hard! It ain't no friendship club, that's for damn sure. And now you've got rappers like Lil Wayne trying to get into skateboarding. Any saturation of skateboarding into the mainstream is good, in a way, because it's good for us. But at the same time, it's corny as f***. What's sad but true is that a lot of the clothing companies that suck are what's propelling the industry right now. So now you can buy the skateboard look and look like a skater, but not ever take a hit in your life. If you're dressed like that and you've never slammed on a skateboard, then you know that you're just f***ing lying to yourself, basically.
>
> (Dazed, 2012)

Now coveted by designers including Vier, Gosha Rubchinskiy, R13 Denim and Vetements, who recreated a Thrasher inspired Logo on an oversized $1,000 USD hoodie, Thrasher has responded by collaborating with skateboard clothing brands HUF, Diamond Supply Co. and Supreme. Working together with established artists and skateboarders including Neckface and Mark 'The Gonz' Gonzales, the magazine has expanded its merchandise, offering collaborative collections. Nevertheless, during this time, Thrasher has upheld its traditions, giving away their $25 t-shirt free to all new subscribers while offering their staple merchandise at original 2010 prices.

> Thrasher glorifies the physical and mental fight involved with skateboarding.
>
> (Phelps, Hypebeast, 2016)

The research indicates that there is a nuanced relationship between the act of wearing Thrasher merchandise and the way in which the t-shirt has been perceived and reported on by the mainstream fashion community. Currently seen as a badge of rebelliousness associated with the notion of cool, this attitude is in stark contrast to the views of skateboarders interviewed, who described the years spent honing their craft while running from security guards and taking abuse from the general public for being too loud, unruly and uncontrollable. While some in the community perceived the attraction of fashionistas as one that would be short lived, there were those who took to online sites to ridicule others who wore the brand, criticising these individuals for not understanding the established history of Thrasher.

At its heart, Thrasher is a media network, not a fashion label. The merchandise they sell helps spread the word to generations of skaters while supporting the publication to stay in print. For Phelps and others, wearing a Thrasher t-shirt 'Empathises with the skater's battle…you should earn the right to wear one'. (Phelps, Hypebeast, 2016) Thrasher magazine's consistent authentic voice is fundamentally for the real fanatics, for those who seek out the magazine, the diehards. One hundred plus pages, the magazine isn't just one voice on one platform. It's a series of collective authentic voices that dive deeper providing in-depth interviews while further video content is posted online. For those who experience surface level skateboarding on Instagram or those who watch a couple of videos every now and again there seems to be a lack of understanding regarding the significance of Thrasher media and the connotation of its merchandise.

This research has gone some way to show that to the skateboard community the outsider wearing the Thrasher t-shirt isn't the issue, it is the lack of awareness concerning the appropriation of iconic emblems that enrages the thriving subculture. It is clear from the analysis of online articles that the skateboard community was not consulted or invited to participate in the mainstream editorial discussion until Jake Phelps expressed his thoughts on the matter. While skateboard clothing brands such as Supreme, Palace, Bianca Chandon, and Sex are successfully breaking into the fashion market, members of the skateboard community feel that they have a right to be angry about the way it's presented in the fashion arena with little or no recognition regarding authenticity. Breaking bones, shredding skin and working through the pain are rites of passage. Thrasher's apparel is a meaningful authentic visualisation of skateboarding's subculture. From the beginning, the magazine has expressed the spirit of rebellion that has drawn many into the skateboard scene. To skateboarders, simply slipping on a Thrasher t-shirt doesn't enhance your street cred, it just goes to showcase how ignorant some celebrities and stylists are of the t-shirt's origins.

Whilst this research paper focused on one particular case study, Thrasher Magazine, further research needs to be undertaken, examining a cross-section of the skateboarding industry to see if the findings of this paper hold true. While the interviews and focus groups explain attitudes by providing a context, one has to be reminded that the participants represent a small sample of a larger community.

Methodology

The approach for this paper was undertaken using a mixed method line of enquiry. Implementing ethnographic qualitative methodology including primary research in the form of interviews and focus groups, the research also undertook a series of non-participant observations focusing on journalistic commentary in the form of visual and written communication (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, Turner 2007). The primary research techniques employed included in-depth semi-structured interviews (Leech, 2002) with Thrasher's current publisher and son of co-founder Fausto Vitello: Tony Vitello and editor-at-large Mike Burnett. The interviews undertaken in person and over the telephone facilitated discussions that provided a much deeper and detailed understanding of Thrasher's history as a curator of skateboarding's narrative, the magazine's position within the skateboard community as seen from Thrasher's perspective and their thoughts on the rise of Thrasher merchandise as a fashion trend. In conjunction with these interviews the research was informed by two focus groups (Morgan, 1998) run in London and California. Gathering together sponsored professionals and skateboard enthusiasts, they were selected based on their comprehensive knowledge of the industry. There were four members at each meeting: seven males and one female in total, ages ranged from 19 to 49.

Secondary research involved in-depth analysis of interviews with Jake Phelps and online media, with a focus on journalistic coverage to evaluate key themes and patterns (Dey, 2003). The research was dependent on online availability. To determine the paper's outcomes the research was largely informed by selected online publications that offered an extensive and varied case study (Hearn, Tacchi, Foth, Lennie, 2009). Careful selection was undertaken to identify which magazines would meet the benchmarks. All the publications selected had a firm and well-thought-of reputation as fashion publications. Each one had written more than five articles on skateboarding within the last five years with at least one article focusing on Thrasher. Data analysis was completed using content analysis methodology (White, Marsh, 2006) to draw out patterns within the gathered texts so as to establish the findings.

The research was substantiated by investigating debates pertaining to subcultural media theory, communication theory and authenticity in consumer counterculture, in addition to informing the conversation on fashion appropriation and subcultural media communication.

Acknowledgments
The author wishes to thank Tony Vitello and Mike Burnett of Thrasher Magazine for their help and efforts completing this research.

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of LDoc, the London Doctoral Design Centre for the continued support.

References

Belk, Russell W., Tian, Kelly and Paavola, Heli (2010), Consuming cool behind the unemotional mask. In Belk, Russell W. (ed), *Research in consumer behaviour,* Emerald Group Publishing, Bingley, U. K.

DAZED, Hammond, S., (2012). Jake Phelps's Thrasher Magazine. *Dazed.* Available at: http://www.dazeddigital.com/artsandculture/article/12984/1/jake-phelpss-thrasher-magazine.

Dey, I. (2003). *Qualitative data analysis: A user friendly guide for social scientists.* Routledge.

DC. (2015, August 9). *Re: A Brief History of Banco, aka "The 'Thrasher' Font"* [Online commentary]. Retrieved from https://hypebeast.com/2016/8/thrasher-font-history-fashion-banco

Edwards, E. (1997). *Beyond the boundary: a consideration of the expressive in photography and anthropology. Rethinking visual anthropology.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Green, B.A. and Burke, A.S. (2012). The community prosecutor: Questions of professional discretion. *Wake Forest L.* Rev.

Harper, D. (1989). Interpretive ethnography: From 'authentic voice' to 'interpretive eye'. *Visual Sociology,* 4(2).

Heath, J. and Potter, A. (2004). *Nation of Rebels: Why Counterculture Became Consumer Culture.* 1st ed. New York: Harper Business.

Hebdige, D. and Potter, A. (2008), ''A critical reframing of subcultural cool and consumption'', *European Advances in Consumer Research,* Vol. 8.

Hearn, G.N., Tacchi, J.A., Foth, M. and Lennie, J. (2009). *Action research and new media: Concepts, methods and cases.* Hampton Press.

HYPEBEAST, Davis, J. (2016). *From the Mag Himself: Opinions on Skating's Most Opinionated Magazine.* [online] HYPEBEAST. Available at: https://hypebeast.com/2016/9/jake-phelps-thrasher-magazine-interview.

Johnson, R., Onwuegbuzie, A. and Turner, L. (2007). Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research,* 1(2).

Kirby, E. (2018). How to Achieve the Skater Style With Ease. The Idle Man. Available at: https://theidleman.com/manual/advice/key-trend-skater-style/.

Leech, B.L. (2002). Asking questions: techniques for semistructured interviews. *PS: Political Science & Politics,* 35(4).

Malakye.com. (2008). *THRASHER MAGAZINE.* [online] Available at: https://www.malakye.com/news/2420/thrasher-magazine.

Moore, L. (2009). An Ethnographic Study of the Skateboarding Culture. *The Sports Journal,* 12(4).

Morgan D L. (1998) *The focus group guide book.* London: Sage Publications.

Pountain, D. and Robins, D. (2000). *Cool rules: Anatomy of an attitude.* 1st ed. London: Reaktion Books.

Quatersnacks.com (2017). [online] Father's Day Links Available at: https://quartersnacks.com/tag/jake-phelps/

Renhard, J. (2019). *Drugs, Death, And Dogtown - The Tony Alva Interview.* [online] Mpora. Available at: https://mpora.com/skateboarding/tony-alva-interview#0rcoao5dePgPIK6V.97.

SKATEBOARDER, Smythe, J. (1997) Alva Available at :https://skateboarding.transworld.net/skateboarder-archives/skateboarder-magazine-volume-4-issue-12/

Smith, K. (2018). *Interview with Mike Burnett, Thrasher Lifestyle as Portrayed Through the Photographers Lens.*

Smith, K. (2018). *Interview with Tony Vitello: The history of Thrasher Magazine.*

The Berrics. (2018). *A$AP ROCKY says most of his friend's skate.* [online] Available at: https://theberrics.com/asap-rocky-praise-the-lord.

VOGUE, Satenstein, L. (2017). Here's How to Do Skater Style Like a Model. *Vogue.* Available at: https://www.vogue.com/article/model-skater-style.

VOGUE, Satenstein, L. (2019). *How the Thrasher Tee Became Every Cool Model's Off-Duty Staple.* [online] Vogue. Available at: https://www.vogue.com/article/how-did-thrasher-tee-become-model-off-duty-staple.

Wheaton, B. and Beal, B. (2003). `Keeping It Real': Subcultural Media and the Discourses of Authenticity in Alternative Sport'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport,* 38(2).

White, M.D. and Marsh, E.E. (2006). Content analysis: A flexible methodology. *Library trends,* 55(1).

W MAGAZINE, Petrarca, E. (2015). *Thrasher Takes London.* [online] W Magazine. Available at: https://www.wmagazine.com/gallery/mens-fashion-week-2015-thrasher-trend/all.

Worley, M. (2017). *No Future: Punk, Politics and British Youth Culture,* 1976–1984. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yochim, E. (2010). *Skate Life.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Zott, C., Amit, R. and Massa, L. (2011). The Business Model: Recent Developments and Future Research. *SSRN Electronic Journal,* 37(4).

55 SUPREME: SUPER-MUTANT OR KEYSTONE SPECIES OF A SARTORIAL ECOLOGY?

Author
Nicolas Adam Cambridge
London Metropolitan University

n.cambridge@londonmet.ac.uk

Keywords
urban street-wear
creative collaborations
scarcity marketing
sartorial ecology
keystone species

Abstract

This paper argues that the behaviours of aficionados of an American urban street-wear brand – seemingly driven by a 'fear-of-missing-out' – may be indicative of a new paradigm in fashion practice. Primary research data is sourced from Supreme's customers, many of whom spend extended periods queuing to obtain the outcomes of collaborations undertaken with selected fashion labels and high-profile players operating in other creative contexts. This captive audience – marooned outside the brand's only outlet in the United Kingdom while waiting to be allowed into the venue under a tightly policed entry system – provided respondents to a questionnaire addressing their purchasing habits and reasons for patronising the label. The strategy of 'scarcity marketing' employed by Supreme is contrasted with an account of more traditional brand-building in the mass-market by casual-wear label Superdry. Using terminologies borrowed from the biological disciplines, the discussion addresses the various interactions between players in a 'sartorial ecology' and locates the outputs of Supreme's collaborative ventures within a taxonomic classification of the domain of material culture. Analysis of the research data suggests that, rather than being victims of a virulent form of marketing 'mind-control', consumers consider Supreme a dependable conduit for accessing otherwise unattainable high-fashion goods. Further, the conclusion argues that it is the collaborating partners who are more vulnerable to the negative impacts of the commercial and creative practices mobilised by this 'keystone species' in the 'sartorial ecology'.

Introduction

Walking through the backstreets of the Soho district in central London one Wednesday afternoon in early 2018, the author's path was blocked by a crowd of teenage boys and young men. It was assumed that these individuals were waiting to purchase tickets for some popular event – given the observed demographic, gaming came to mind. Curiosity piqued, the author made his way alongside the queue, interrupted only by several main roads, to its point of origin outside the sole outlet that American clothing label Supreme operates in the United Kingdom. The store had already closed for the day; scheduled to re-open at eleven o'clock the following morning when the latest 'drop' – the creative outputs of collaborative ventures between the brand and well-known artists, musicians, sports(wo)men or other fashion labels – would become available. In the interim, several hundred patrons would spend the night outside on the pavement, policed by up to a dozen security guards hired by the company to keep order. A similar scenario had occurred on a regular basis throughout the seven years of the outlet's existence; accordingly it seems pertinent to ask how this particular brand persuades consumers not only to part with substantial amounts of money (for what many observers would characterise as mundane items of casual-wear) but also spend extended periods of time waiting to so to do? In examining this phenomenon, the findings of empirical research conducted on Supreme's customers are presented, together with an account of the brand's commercial and creative strategies located within the metaphorical framework of a 'sartorial ecology'.

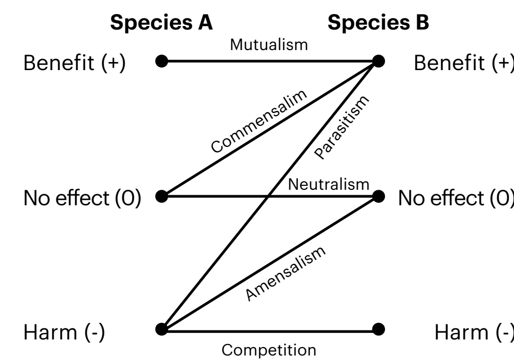
Methodology

The primary research objective was to interrogate the specific factors motivating Supreme's patrons to endure an inconvenient and uncomfortable experience in order to be able to purchase the product(s) they desired. To that end, the conducting of *ad hoc* interviews with individuals waiting outside the brand's outlet in Peter Street on consecutive Wednesday afternoons was seen as the optimal method of obtaining qualitative material. This methodological approach had to be revised when the anticipated access was lost following the introduction of a ticketing system in October 2018. The possibility of attaching a set of questions to the e-mails sent to consumers informing them of their success in applying for tickets was considered, but it was felt that this approach would compromise reasonable expectations regarding privacy. Accordingly, propositions originally envisaged as starting points for face-to-face conversations with respondents were finessed to form a more general questionnaire (Appendix I) – hard copies of which were distributed to amenable individuals as they waited to enter the Supreme store on four occasions during November and December 2018. The focus of this version moved away from consumer motivations for undergoing the hardships involved in purchasing the outputs of Supreme's collaborations, towards reasons for patronising the brand and aspirations regarding future ventures. Additional anecdotal information was collected through informal conversations conducted while the questionnaires were being completed. A total of 200 responses were collected, with the quantitative data obtained transposed into graphic formats for ease of comprehension. A further aim was to review secondary source material available in on-line publications and the limited academic literature addressing the brand and its followers. In addition, a chance meeting with a long-term employee of another highly successful producer of casual-wear furnished an opportunity to articulate a contrasting account of a logo-led, brand-building strategy from the apparel sector.

Theoretical framework: a sartorial ecology

In an article addressing creative collaborations between traditional British apparel-makers and Japanese designers it was suggested that relationships between partners might be characterised as symbiotic or otherwise, using a schema more often applied in the natural world.[1] Here, that proposition is expanded within the metaphorical framework of a 'sartorial ecology' which, while limited in scope in comparison with the blue-print for a sustainable redesign of the apparel sector envisaged by Kate Fletcher and Lynda Grose, also recognises that multiple interconnections between organisms are crucial for any system's survival. In her recently published *Fashion Ecology: A Pocket Guide* Fletcher provides a glossary for such an eco-system, assigning the term 'species' to (among other options) specific garment categories. Here, mobilising the nomenclature of the Linnean classification system, 'species' is used to refer to a particular design output in a taxonomy that features a community of actors, ranging from creative entities (including counterfeiters) to consumers.[2] This metaphorical framework acts as the matrix within which a variety of interactions take place, including development of intra-specific relationships between 'classes' from the same 'phylum' (ie. two makers of casual-wear), and inter-specific relationships between 'classes' from different 'phyla' (ie. a street-wear brand and a luxury label). The discipline of biology recognises a range of symbiotic (lit. living together) relationships based on the relative outcomes for the participants, of which three are symmetrical (both parties gain, both parties lose, both parties are unaffected) and three asymmetrical (one party gains and the other is unaffected, one party is unaffected and the other loses, one party gains and the other loses). The differentiated relationships are set out in Figure 1, and examples of how the various dynamics might operate in the context of the 'kingdom' of apparel discussed ahead.

Figure 1: Symbiotic relationships diagram (Alexander, 2018)



i. Mutualism: both parties benefit from the interaction. The Plover bird picks morsels of food from between the teeth of the crocodile, thereby lessening the reptile's susceptibility to infection. In a 'sartorial ecology' collaborative ventures are predicated on the achievement of this dynamic, although the benefits may accrue in different forms – for example, access to new markets for one partner versus a more desirable profile for the other. Such a relationship is also desirable between fashion producers and their consumers – particularly when the latter plays an active role, such as being involved in customisation.

ii. Commensalism: one party gains from the interaction, the other is not affected. A small arachnid from the order *Pseudoscorpiones* is known to attach itself to the wing-covers of certain beetles – hitching a ride to new environments and hiding from predators – to no obvious benefit for the insect. While it is unlikely that joint ventures in the fashion sector are undertaken in which one party is not anticipated as deriving any benefit at all from the relationship, this is a possible outcome. In a broader context, this dynamic underpins the operation of a fashion system where design ideas developed by one sector of the market are re-presented in another, whether as high-street dilutions of runway looks or designer versions of street-styles. The appropriator gains and, as long as the respective markets are sufficiently distinct, there is no negative impact on the originator.

iii. Parasitism: one party gains from the interaction to the detriment of the other. A particularly unsettling example is that of the so-called 'zombie-ant' fungus *Ophiocordyceps Unilateralis*, which infects the tropical Carpenter ant and causes the insect to alter its behaviour in a manner that eventually leads to its death. This dynamic operates in the context of the counterfeiting of fashion goods, where those engaged in the practice gain as a result of their illicit activities, whereas the *bona fide* producer can suffer both financial and reputational damage. The fact that there are instances of fake goods being fabricated in the same factories that produce the genuine articles confirms that the participants form part of a sartorial ecology. Clearly, such a relationship is undesirable between fashion producers and their consumers. If the latter feel exploited patronage can be withdrawn; in the reverse case more drastic action is required. Some years ago luxury label Burberry acted to 'price-out' members of a certain demographic who did not fit the profile of the company's preferred customer.[3]

iv. Neutralism: the parties co-exist without interacting. Numerous species may share a particular environment, but a lack of observable change means science does not offer a definitive example of this dynamic. A majority of fashion companies operating within a sartorial ecology neither help nor harm one another.

v. Amensalism: one party suffers from the interaction, the other is not affected. Needles dropped by a pine tree contain an acid that inhibits the growth of grass, although there is no benefit to the tree from the depletion. In a sartorial ecology this dynamic operates in the case of an unsuccessful collaborative venture where one company incurs financial or reputational damage as a result of the initiative, but the other escapes unscathed.

vi. Competition: a Darwinian 'survival of the fittest' paradigm in which rivalries over resources in the form of territory, sustenance, shelter etc. affect all those involved. In a sartorial ecology this is the default position – fashion companies operating in the same market sector compete for consumers in a zero-sum game in which the success of one impacts on other players in the field.

Supreme: shop till you (get) the 'drop'

In the taxonomic 'class' of urban street-wear, one label, started in 1994 in New York, reigns supreme. Under the guidance of founder Jeb Jebbiah, Supreme has become a billion-dollar concern, exploiting a 'scarcity marketing' business model that involves strict control over the supply of creative outputs from collaborations with other fashion brands and high-profile individuals.[4] The erstwhile skate-brand releases product on a weekly basis across two seasons in a calendar year, but each item is only available in limited numbers in-store (of which there are only eleven world-wide) or on-line. The use of web-bots to access the on-line site as soon as it goes live has meant that queuing for the weekly 'drops' is the only way for many consumers to obtain the designs.[5] With as few as half-a-dozen pieces manufactured in certain cases, thriving secondary markets have sprung up, with 1,000% mark-ups of pieces from the most popular collaborations not unusual.[6] The majority of product runs are in the low hundreds, but even these figures are determined with the expectation that items will sell out. Any remaining goods are removed from the outlets at the end of the week and put into storage or made available on-line.

Jebbiah's vision for the New York outlet as a hangout space for young people with eclectic tastes in the art, film, music and fashion nurtured a sense of authenticity crucial to the appeal of cult brands. When the company started trading it stocked white t-shirts featuring the brand name printed in white Futura Bold Oblique font inside a red rectangle – a logo based on the graphic artwork of Barbara Kruger.[7] This would not be the only instance of Supreme failing to seek permission to reproduce the intellectual property of other creative individuals, but since that time sanctioned tie-ups with globally renowned artists have featured Keith Haring (1998), Jeff Koons (2001), Richard Prince (2006), Takashi Murakami (2007) and Damien Hirst (2009). An initial collaboration with skate-brand Vans has been followed by myriad other ventures, mainly with street-wear labels and makers of sportswear. 2012 saw an alliance with avant-garde Japanese label Comme des Garçons, and Supreme has gone on to work with a number of high-profile fashion brands (see Appendix II). Collaborations are a key feature of contemporary fashion practice; what is striking about Supreme's *modus operandi* is the amount of control that is retained – all ventures are initiated by Supreme and the creative outputs are only available in their outlets, not those of the partner brands. Considered in the context of a 'sartorial ecology' (Example A in Figure 2, below) Supreme expands through the co-mingling of its design DNA with that of other subjects in the 'kingdom' of apparel. Early collaborative ventures were undertaken with 'classes' belonging to the same 'phylum' of urban street-wear.[8] Later, cross-fertilisations took place as partner brands were selected from the distinct 'phyla' of designer-wear (Example B), casual-wear (Example C) and luxury-wear (Example D). On each occasion a new 'order' (more accurately described as 'sub-class') is created, with offspring of these unions displaying the characteristics of Supreme – most obviously manifested in the visibility of the brand's logo. Accordingly, Supreme behaves rather like a virus – constantly mutating in its interactions with the selected host in order to colonise different niches in the existing hierarchies of the 'sartorial ecology'.

Expressed in evolutionary terms it is as if the brand possesses a dominant gene that masks the recessive versions carried by the partners in the collaborative ventures. However, this quality does not explain how it became, according to 032c magazine, 'the Holy Grail of high youth street culture' (Williams, 2012) for the constituency it serves. Supreme's flaunting of the rules is suggested as the attraction for consumers who 'attempt to assimilate some of the brand's rebellious cool' (Eror, 2016). In addition to its garment offer Supreme produces artefacts, some of which – hammer, nun-chucks, crowbar, flick-knife, fire extinguisher, boxing gloves and roach clip – have connotations with violence or criminality. Indeed, shortly after Gucci Mane completed a prison sentence for drug and firearm offences in 2016, the brand posted a video featuring him wearing a self-portrait Supreme t-shirt. The fact that the rapper had set up the 1017 Brick Squad record label may have inspired Supreme to release a branded house-brick shortly afterwards. This is one of several explanations in an article by Alec Leach (2016) posted on a website dedicated to urban street fashion, *Highsnobiety*. Although the author refers to the re-framing of mundane items as a conceptual art practice, he does not appear to be aware of Carl Andre's *Equivalent VIII* installation at the Tate Gallery in 1966.[9] In his part-travelogue/part-confessional *Supremacist, A Novel*, David Shapiro argues that the company is

Figure 2: Supreme and collaborative partners in a taxonomy of material culture

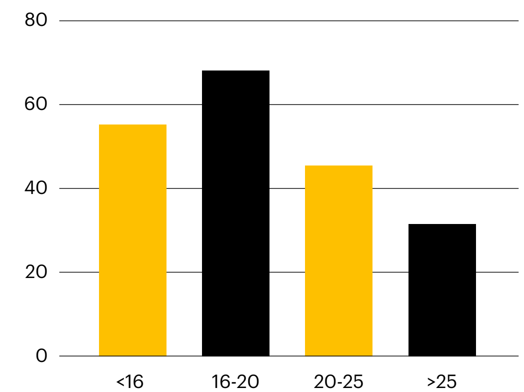
Linnean Nomenclature	Example A	Example B	Example C	Example D
Domain	Material Culture	Material Culture	Material Culture	Material Culture
Kingdom	Apparel	Apparel	Apparel	Apparel
Phylum	Street-wear	Designer-wear	Casual-wear	Luxury-wear
Class	Supreme	Comme des Garçons	Levi Strauss	Louis Vuitton
Order/sub-class	Own label	Supreme x CdG	Supreme x Levis	Supreme x LV
Family	Outerwear	Outerwear	Outerwear	Outerwear
Genus	Jackets/tops	Jackets/tops	Jackets/tops	Jackets/tops
Species	Box-logo hoodie	Polka-dot hoodie	Hooded denim trucker jacket	LV monogram-pattern hoodie

actually a 'long-term conceptual art project about capitalism, consumerism, property-as-theft…' (Shapiro, 2016: ch. IV). The final reference to Marxist anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's dictum may be justification for the plagiaristic practice documented above, but it is harder to identify an ideological motive in the brand's treatment of its patrons, which has been characterised as 'sado-masochistic' (Fowler 2018). Evidence of what appears to be an ambivalent relationship is made material in the form of the Supreme camp-chair, sleeping-bag and thermos flask – each of which would have lessened the discomfort suffered by those queuing all night had they been able to purchase the item on arrival at the outlet.[10] That tautological conundrum is no longer an issue now that a lottery system for ticketed entrance on 'drop' days has been implemented. On other days of the week customers still form lines well in advance of opening time. These queues provided the respondents to the questionnaire, the findings from which are presented ahead.

Research findings

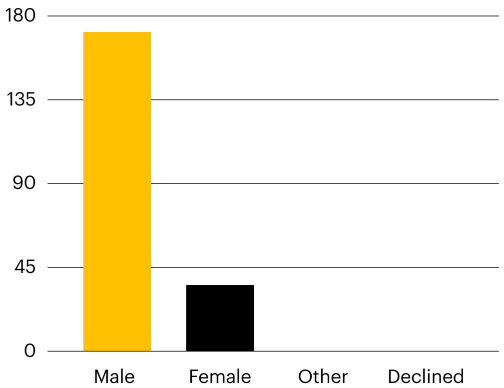
Basic demographic material from a total sample of 200 individuals was collected in the first part of the questionnaire. The sample was spread across the age spectrum (Table I), with approximately two-thirds of respondents either under sixteen or between sixteen and twenty, and one-third either between twenty and twenty-five or over twenty-five years of age. As Supreme only produces adult sizes the proportion of potential consumers in the most youthful category is somewhat surprising, although this fact does not necessarily impact on purchase of items such as the baseball cap or bag that can be used to signal membership of the Supreme community.

Table 1: Your age



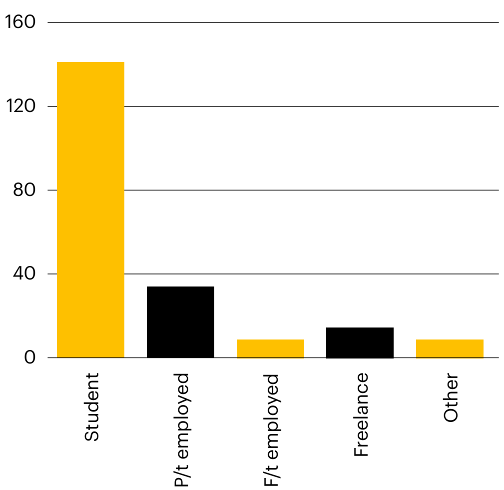
Neither does Supreme offer womenswear, although a number of the most popular items – t-shirts, hoodies, sweatshirts – are not gender-specific garments. The ratio of female to male consumers (Table II) of 1:5 is higher than expected, particularly as collecting limited edition artefacts is typically a behaviour associated with young men. One reason for this outcome might be that fewer females declined to answer the questionnaire than males. The frequency of refusals and the gender of the individual involved were not recorded at the time of the research.

Table 2: Your gender



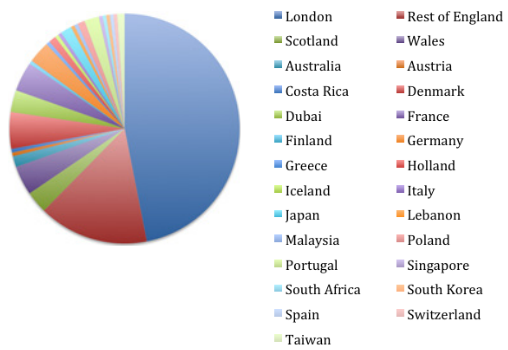
More than 75% of the sample indicated an occupational status as student, whether in school or higher education (Table III). Full-time employed was the second largest category, with near-negligible numbers describing themselves as freelance, part-time employed or 'other' (a category intended to cover unemployed or retired).

Table 2: Your employment status



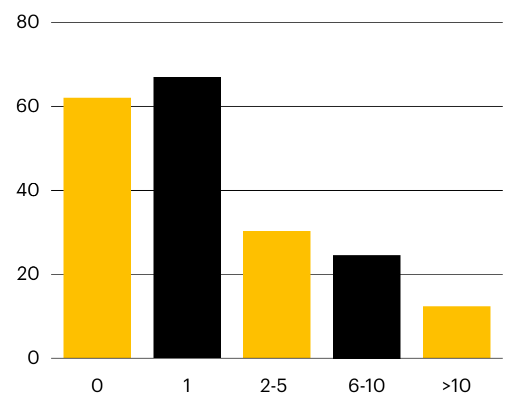
Nearly half the sample had travelled to the outlet from within the Greater London area (Table IV), with a quarter from other parts of the UK (Dundee, Bracknell, Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, Coventry, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Sheffield, Swansea, Swindon, Wakefield, Winchester). The remainder cited international locations.

Table 4: Where have you travelled from to reach the Supreme outlet?



Approximately two-thirds of the sample already owned Supreme goods, ranging from a single garment to, in one instance, more than thirty items (Table V).

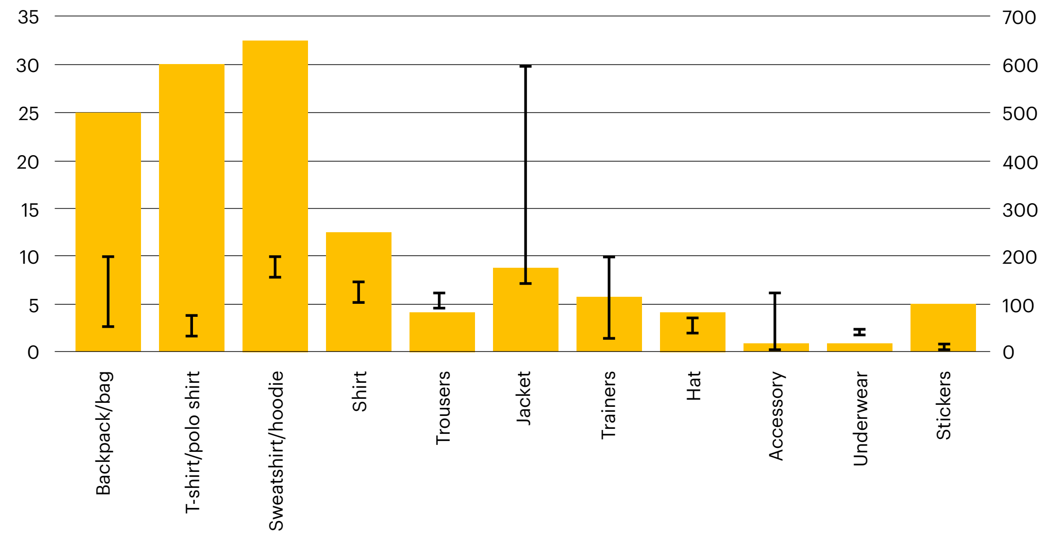
Table 5: How many Supreme items do you already own?



n=200

A wide range of Supreme product had been purchased, often for differing amounts of money within the same category (Table VI). Higher figures may reflect purchase of the more expensive outcomes from collaborations, lower figures the standard Supreme offer. Nearly half of all respondents had bought a casual top of some description.

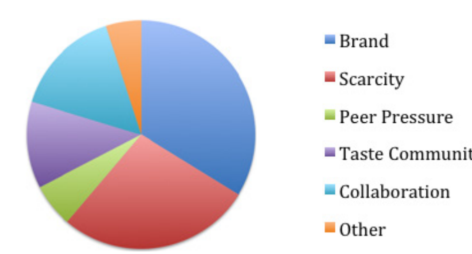
Table 6: Type and price range in £s (right-hand axis) of most recent Supreme purchase



n = 129 (65% response rate; 35% of respondents had not previously bought Supreme)

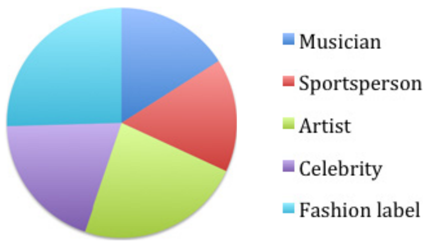
The two main factors, together accounting for 60% of the total, given by respondents for patronage were that Supreme was a preferred brand and a wish to own limited edition garments (Table VII). Alter (2002) does little more than state the obvious when noting that consumer desire to communicate ownership of a rare item is facilitated by the fact that apparel is suitable for public display. An unambiguous and visible logo, such as that used by Supreme, clearly contributes to the achievement of that ambition. Interest in a particular collaboration was the third most frequently cited factor; it is assumed that this would have been the most prevalent response had the research been conducted on 'drop' days. Just over 10% of respondents recognised the concept of being part of a 'taste community', whereas only a small fraction felt that they were succumbing to peer pressure. Of those who ticked the box labelled 'other', the explanations given were curiosity/research and re-sale. Personal communication with Supreme staff elicited the opinion that a majority of customers who attend the Thursday releases intend to sell on items purchased in secondary markets.[11] While this is less likely to be a factor on other days of the week when the more valuable outcomes from collaborations are no longer available it is possible that a number of respondents, unwilling to admit to engaging in what is widely considered a morally questionable activity, did not answer this question honestly.

Table 7: Reason(s) for patronising Supreme



In terms of the type of collaboration preferred (Table VIII), the answers were evenly distributed between the five categories, with other fashion labels (25%) and artists (24%) ahead of celebrities (19%), musicians and sports(wo)men (16% each).[12]

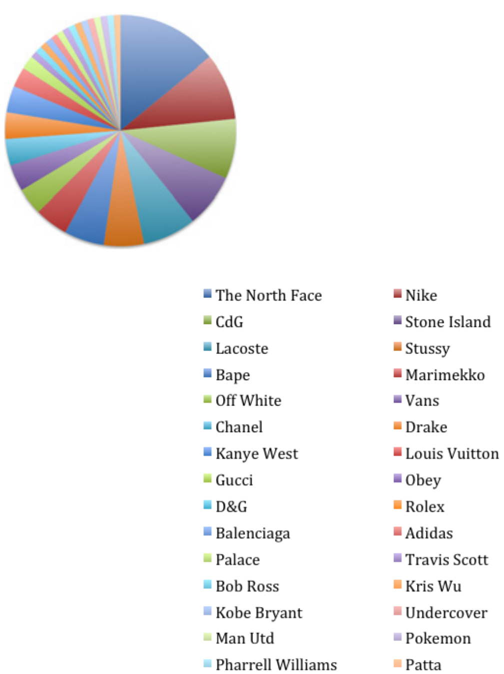
Table 8: Preferred type of collaboration



n = 196 (98% response rate; 44% of respondents gave multiple answers)

For desired collaborations (Table IX) the most popular were with The North Face, Nike, Comme des Garçons, Bape and Stone Island. Two of the more imaginative suggestions featured Manchester United FC and the Pokemon franchise.

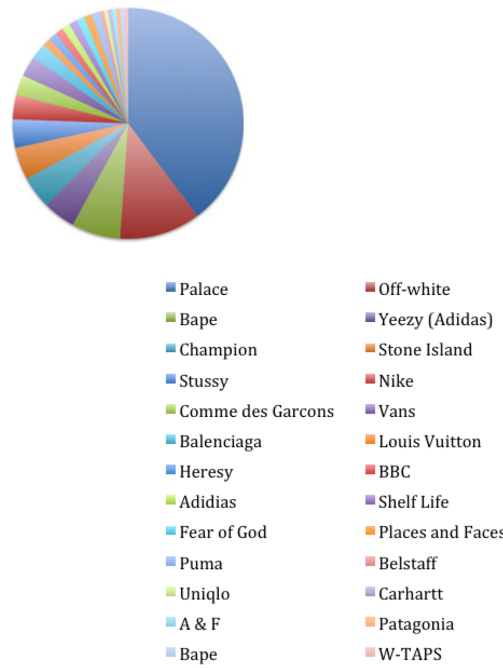
Table 9: Where have you travelled from to reach the Supreme outlet?



n = 96 (48% response rate; a small proportion of respondents gave multiple answers)

Of other brands purchased (Table X) Palace was by some distance the most popular alternative, reported by 40% of respondents.[13]

Table 10: Other urban street-wear brands purchased recently



n = 135 (66% response rate; a small proportion of respondents gave multiple answers)

Superdry: of mimicry and men

Rivalling Supreme, both in terms of commercial success (albeit achieved in a mass market context) and prevalence of its logo, casual-wear label Superdry has followed contrasting strategy when building its brand. The Cheltenham-based company's antecedents are in a partnership formed between Julian Dunkerton, at the time proprietor of a retailer called Cult Clothing, and designer/joint-owner of skate-brand Bench, James Holder. Superdry was founded while the two were on a research trip to Tokyo in 2003 – the name supposedly inspired by terminology used on packaging of Japanese consumer goods.[14] The brand's signature faux-vintage aesthetic – melding 1950s-style Americana graphics with *kanji* (Chinese characters) – gained a substantial publicity boost in 2005 when an image of footballer David Beckham wearing their Osaka 6 print t-shirt appeared in a calendar. Thereafter, a number of other celebrities also patronised the label, contributing to an annual growth rate far outstripping that of competitors such as Abercrombie & Fitch or Jack Wills. A number of sub-brands have been rolled out to complement the main line (Example E in Figure 3, below): the Orange, Red and Black Labels (Example F), Superdry Snow, Superdry Sport (Example G), and the Idris Elba + Superdry collection (Example H).[15] In 2018 the Superdry Preview line targeted the younger market of 16-24 year-olds; later that year Dunkerton resigned from the board in order to pursue other interests – leaving a company whose products are available in more than 500 branded locations across 46 countries, including the flagship store in London's Regent Street. While not obviously intended as flattery, the analogy drawn by Imogen Fox (2011) in an article for the Guardian newspaper – regarding Superdry's garments being as ubiquitous in the capital city as rats – serves as a reminder that, in the natural world, *Rattus Rattus* is one of the most successful species of the mammalian class.

In carving out a niche in the 'sartorial ecology' Superdry has eschewed collaborative ventures in favour of a strategy of mimesis. In the structure of symbiotic relationships 'Batesian mimicry' is a strand of commensalism engendered by any physical manifestation that advantages an organism by dint of its resemblance to, as opposed to interaction with, another species. For example, the insect-like appearance of the Bee Orchid enhances the flower's chances of pollination.

During the initial years of the label's operation Superdry was widely believed to be a Japanese brand – a myth that the company did nothing to discourage.[16] The majority of its outerwear features the brand name both in English and the syntactically inaccurate Japanese phrase *kyokudō kansō (shinasai)* that, translated literally, reads 'extreme dry: do it'. The garment label used for the Black Label line bears the legend 'British Design, Spirit of Japan' supported by depictions of the two national flags; further technical information is rendered in barely comprehensible Japanese script. These tactics, together with the frequent use of *kanji* in the prints appear to go beyond mere appropriation of elements of a foreign culture for decorative purposes. Superdry's disguising of its national origins has enabled it to benefit from consumer perceptions of the brand as belonging to the cohort of Japanese labels (Bathing Ape, Goodenough, Neighborhood, Undercover, Visvim, W-TAPS) responsible for making urban street-wear the coolest of fashion choices. Ironically, as Masato Kimura (2016) observes in a report addressing the company's success and 'the uncomfortable truth about cool Japan', the country is one major site of apparel consumption where Superdry cannot maintain a presence because its mangling of the native language would be regarded as inept, if not insulting. In what might be described as a case of unwitting poetic justice, the outcomes from the company's sole collaborative venture (undertaken with tailor Timothy Everest in 2013) were called the *Sebiro* Collection – using the Japanese word for Western-style suit which is itself a misappropriation of the name of the site of London's tailoring trade, Savile Row.[17]

Figure 3: Superdry and sub-brands in a taxonomy of material culture

Linnean Nomenclature	Example E	Example F	Example G	Example H
Domain	Material Culture	Material Culture	Material Culture	Material Culture
Kingdom	Apparel	Apparel	Apparel	Apparel
Phylum	Casual-wear	Casual-wear	Casual-wear	Casual-wear
Class	Superdry	Superdry	Superdry	Superdry
Order/sub-class	Superdry main label	Superdry Black label	Superdry Sport	Superdry + Idris Elba
Family	Outerwear	Outerwear	Outerwear	Outerwear
Genus	M/F Jackets	M/F Jackets	M/F Jackets	M/F Jackets
Species	Windcheater jacket	Rookie classic jacket	Down puffa jacket	Parka jacket

Conclusion: a keystone species in the sartorial ecology

This paper has examined the creative and commercial strategies employed by urban street-wear brand Supreme, using a metaphorical framework of a 'sartorial ecology'. It has suggested how the range of symbiotic relationships in such a system might operate, including those between fashion companies involved in collaborations and between brands and their consumers. Borrowing the terminology of biological classification, a taxonomy of the domain of material culture is proposed within which apparel labels constitute a 'class', and their collaborations an 'order' (or more properly, a 'sub-class' – a determination based on the fact that the creative outcomes are almost always the property of Supreme). It is suggested that the label acts as a 'super-mutant' in its virus-like ability to interact with other brands irrespective of their membership of any particular 'phylum' in the 'kingdom' of apparel. Supreme, then, is a 'keystone species' – one having a disproportionately large impact on its surroundings (Fletcher 2018) – that has successfully colonised new niches in the 'sartorial ecology'.

The primary research was conducted on consumers whose behaviours were dictated by Supreme's virulent strain of 'scarcity marketing', which limits product availability both geographically (a single UK outlet located in the capital) and temporally (a weekly stock change). Given the difficulties in accessing the on-line platform and prohibitive prices in secondary markets, visiting the outlet in-person is, for many, the only course of action. It might be assumed that these individuals – willing to queue for extended periods and part with substantial amounts of money in order to obtain items featuring limited creative input from the brand – are driven by a 'fear of missing out'. Indeed, when considered in the context of the structure of symbiotic relationships, their engagement in seemingly detrimental behaviour could be equated with that described regarding the hosts of the parasitic 'zombie-ant' fungus. The questionnaire findings provide a more nuanced picture of a mutually beneficial relationship between Supreme's consumers and the brand. Only a small proportion of respondents felt they were acting as a result of peer pressure; considerably more recognised the concept of being part of a taste community. Over one-quarter aspired to own limited edition items and, although few admitted to engaging in the practice of re-sale, such actions indicate an awareness regarding the value of the goods as tradable commodities. Fully one-third of the sample selected Supreme as their brand of choice, and a number of these had identified desirable future collaborations. The fact that, when listing other street-wear brands recently purchased, several respondents cited luxury labels and avant-garde designers suggests the formation of a new paradigm in fashion consumption – one that enables this consumer fraction to access otherwise near-unobtainable, high-value designs.

In a world where identities are less frequently thought of as being the outcomes of autonomous individual projects, outsourcing responsibility for one's fashion choices to trusted institutions is a logical move, and the hardship endured in obtaining the product a measure of consumer commitment to the label. As menswear designer Kim Jones observed, 'When you see the lines for Supreme in New York or London you see so many different types of people, and they are people you can relate to – they understand high-low, they're smart, they're intelligent, and they're humorous. They know what they want, and they are very loyal ...a real aspiration for anybody with a brand' (cited in Sullivan, 2017). This statement supports the position that it is the partner brands entering into collaborative relationships – whether mutual, commensal or parasitic, always more beneficial to Supreme – who are vulnerable to the predatory instincts of the 'super-mutant'. Evidence of the pervasiveness of the Supreme spore came in 2017 when, having been served with a 'cease-and-desist' legal instruction regarding unauthorised use of Louis Vuitton's logo earlier in its existence, the outputs of the urban street-wear brand's collaboration with the luxury label appeared on the runway in the Paris menswear collections.

Notes

1. Cambridge, N. (2016), 'Sartorial Symbiosis or Creative Commensalism? Collaborations between Japanese fashion designers and Western apparel makers', International Journal of Management and Globalisation, Vol.16, #1, 38-49.
2. The term 'ecology' is used in the manner proposed by Margaret Maynard (2008) in an account of conditions of production and consumption of fashion photography.
3. The so-called 'chav'.
4. In 2017 the venture capitalist Carlyle Group bought a 50% stake in the brand
5. Software developed by hackers enabling users to 'queue-jump' the digital ticketing system is available for as little as £10.
6. Secondary on-line marketplaces such as GOAT, Graded and StockX provide forums where vendors and purchasers can negotiate with one another. At the time of writing, of StockX's five most highly marked-up items, four were from Supreme.
7. A t-shirt released in 1997 featured Kruger's I Shop Therefore I Am image with the slogan replaced by the brand's name. A print of a section of a Jackson Pollock painting replaced the red background in a 1999 release.
8. One collaboration was with Goodenough, for whom designer Hiroshi Fujiwara pioneered the practice of combining premium pricing with limited supply – thereby introducing the 'scarcity marketing' model of luxury fashion to casual-wear.
9. An arrangement of 120 firebricks
10. Alternatively, these products might be interpreted as demonstrating that Supreme 'gets it' regarding the sacrifices its consumers make.
11. Re-sellers can often be identified from their overt use of shopping lists featuring 'client' orders.
12. Women are not widely represented in Supreme collaborations – an image of Kate Moss posing for a Calvin Klein swimwear campaign in 1994 was reproduced on a t-shirt released in 2004 to celebrate the brand's 10th anniversary.
13. The British skate-brand founded in 2009 resembles Supreme in many respects. Located nearby, it also employs security guards to manage queues for product 'drops'. Following joint ventures with sportswear makers it has recently announced a collaborative venture with Ralph Lauren.
14. The phrase 'Super-dry' appears on cans of Japan's most popular brand of beer, Asahi.
15. This choice may have been influenced by expectations that Elba would be named as the next actor to play James Bond.
16. Personal communication with a member of staff employed by Superdry since the company's inception.
17. An apparently mutually beneficial, albeit short-lived, relationship judging from comments made by James Holder who states, 'we had a lot of shared ideas about quality and pushing design while respecting heritage... We had wanted to do a collaboration based around suiting for some time but hadn't managed to find someone that we felt would work and would work with our customers. When we met Timothy, we knew we had found our man' (cited in Oliver 2012).

References

Alexander, I. (2018), https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Symbiotic_relationships_diagram.svg

Alter, A. (2000), *Irresistible: The Rise of Addictive Technology and the Business of Keeping Us Hooked*, Penguin Books: New York.

Eror, A. (2016), 'What David Shapiro's Supremacist Teaches Us About Supreme Fuccbois', https://www.highsnobiety.com/2016/06/15/david-shapiro-supremacist/ [accessed 21/10/2018].

Fletcher, K & Grose, L. (2012), Fashion & Sustainability: Design For Change, London: Laurence King Publishing.

Fletcher, K. (2018), 'Fashion Ecology: A Pocket Guide' https://www.fashionecology.org [accessed 12/02/2019].

Fowler, D. (2018), 'The Hype Machine: Streetwear and the Business of Scarcity' http://www.bbc.com/capital/story/20180205-the-hype-machine-streetwear-and-the-business-of-scarcity [accessed 20/10/2018].

Fox, I. (2011), 'How Superdry Quietly Took Over The Fashion World', https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2011/jul/14/superdry-fashion [accessed 22/10/2018].

Kimura, M. (2016), 'Superdry kyokudō kansō (shinasai) ga sekaiju de oke suru wake' (The reasons behind the global success of Superdry), *Wedge magazine special report*, JR Tokai group: Japan, 28-30.

Leach, A. (2016), '8 Possible Reasons Supreme Made An Actual Brick This Season' https://www.highsnobiety.com/2016/08/18/supreme-brick/ [accessed 20/10/2018].

Maynard, M. (2008), 'The Fashion Photograph: an Ecology' in Eugénie Shinkle (ed.), *Fashion as Photograph: Viewing and Reviewing Images of Fashion*, London & New York: IB Tauris, 54-69.

Oliver, W (2012), 'Superdry + Timothy Everest collection S/S 2013', http://www.dazeddigital.com/fashion/article/13698/1/superdry-timothy-everest-menswear-s-s13 [accessed 22/02/2019].

Shapiro, D. (2016), *Supremacist: A Novel*, New York: Tyrant Books.

Sullivan, R. (2017), 'Charting the Rise of Supreme, from Cult Skate Shop to Fashion Superpower', https://www.vogue.com/article/history-of-supreme-skate-clothing-brand [accessed 22/10/2018].

Williams, A. (2012), 'Guerrilla Fashion: The Story of Supreme', https://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/22/fashion/guerrilla-fashion-the-story-of-supreme.html [accessed 22/02/2019].

Appendix I: Questionnaire

1. YOUR AGE: Under 16 / 16-20 / 21-25 / Over 25 -

2. YOUR GENDER: Male / Female / Other / Info refused -

3. YOUR EMPLOYMENT STATUS: Student / Employed f/t / Employed p/t / Freelance / Other -

4. WHERE DID YOU START YOUR JOURNEY TO SUPREME? (CITY/REGION of UK or COUNTRY)

5. HOW MANY SUPREME ITEMS DO YOU ALREADY OWN? None / One / 2-5 / 6-10 / More than 10 -

6. TYPE AND PRICE OF MOST RECENTLY PURCHASED SUPREME ITEM

7. REASONS FOR CHOOSING SUPREME (please tick all that apply)
   Preferred brand
   Desire to own limited edition item/garment
   Peer pressure (friends/acquaintances wear the brand)
   Participation in a 'taste community' (people you do not know wear the brand)
   Particular interest in a specific collaboration
   Other (please state)

8. TYPES OF COLLABORATION OF INTEREST (please tick all that apply)
   Musician(s) / Sports(wo)man / Artist / Celebrity / Other fashion label

9. WHO WOULD YOUR IDEAL SUPREME COLLABORATION BE WITH?

10. OTHER URBAN STREETWEAR BRANDS PURCHASED RECENTLY

(Thank you for completing this survey (to be used for academic purposes only)

Appendix 2: Selected Supreme Collaborations

1996: Vans
1998: Sarcastic
1999: Goodenough; SSUR
2001: Union NYC; W-TAPS
2003: Bathing Ape
2005: John Smedley
2006: Neighborhood
2006: anything; Undercover
2007: Fila; Future Lab; Nike; The North Face; W-TAPS
2008: Original Fake; Visvim
2009: APC; Hanes; W-TAPS
2010: Champion; Stussy; Thom Browne; Vans
2011: Adam Kimmel; Levis; Liberty; Schott NYC
2012: CdG Shirt
2013: CdG Shirt
2014: Brooks Brothers; CdG Shirt; Nike; Stan Smith
2015: CdG Shirt; Stan Smith
2016: Aquascutum; Jordan; Sasquatchfabric; Stan Smith; Timberland
2017: Lacoste; Louis Vuitton; Vanson Leathers

120 PERSONALISATION AND IDENTITY IN FASHION

Authors
Anthony Kent
Iryna Kuksa
Tom Fisher
Michael Skinner
Nottingham Trent University, UK

Corresponding author
anthony.kent@ntu.ac.uk

Keywords
personalisation
consumption
marketing
ownership
design

Abstract

The aim of this research is to explore the concept of personalisation, the relationship between the consumers and producers of personalised fashion and its ethical implications.

Although individualisation in fashion consumption is well known, personalisation is less understood. A significant part of the problem lies in the different uses of the term by producers and consumers and their dynamic interaction. Fashion producers are increasingly intent on acquiring personal data and new uses of big data that contribute to the ability to micro-market and to personalise individual products, services and experiences. However, the rise of co-created designs, looks and communities with consumers challenges their ability to manage the process. The contribution of producers and consumers is less clear as both sides exploit new channels of distribution and communication and create new fashion communities. As identity is fundamentally defined by distinctiveness, more complex forms of personalisation may create more - and alternative - forms of identity.

The paper examines the problem of personalisation from two theoretical perspectives. First, as a social rather than a transactional activity. Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) recognises the fragmentation of markets and the primacy of the consumer as a socially-connected being. It positions personalisation in consumer culture as providing meaningful ways of life and material resources on which consumers depend and their mediation through markets. Second, taking an ethical position on personalisation, the argument focuses on the boundaries of fashion consumption, the problems of ownership and permission to personalise, and the ways personalisation can be understood in a value system. The paper concludes with a summary of personalisation defined by consumer and producer interactivity, temporality, and ownership to advance the conceptualisation of personalised and personal fashion identities.

Introduction

Personalisation permeates our everyday lives (Kuksa and Fisher 2017) and its ubiquity embraces fashion with its increasing concern for personal things and experiences. Multiple consumer identities are enabled by greater variety provided by the growth in fashion retailing, specialisation and faster fashion cycles. Digital technology has led to a more knowledgeable and enabled consumer and as a result, both the means to personalise and the personalisers of fashion have changed as consumers become more engaged in informing and co-creating fashion (Holbrook 2001). The aim of this conceptual paper is to explore this complexity, the changes in the concept of personalisation and their implications for personal identity.

Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) provides the theoretical framework to explain the growth of personalisation by recognising the fragmentation of markets, their sub-cultural, intellectual and personal differences among consumers (Firat and Dholakia 1998, Holbrook 1999). This approach takes a macro, cultural perspective to consumer behaviour where the consumer is conceptualised as a socially connected being with the focus on consumption rather than production, and the interpretation of the experiential, symbolic and cultural aspects of consumption (Belk 1995; Jafri 2018). As a result, meanings, interpretations and knowledge emerge in specific contexts and research sites as the result of complex social, cultural and historical processes. (Moisander et al. 2009, Askegaard and Linnet, 2011). Consequently, consumer culture denotes a social arrangement in which the relations between lived culture and social resources, and between meaningful ways of life and the symbolic and material resources on which they depend, are mediated through markets (Arnould and Thompson 2005).

Within this consumer-led framework, the field of 'personalisation' requires some initial definition. The stem of personalisation - person – is often interchanged with individual (and less often, individualisation as a process), but while individual always refers to a distinctive separate quality of an animate or inanimate entity, person distinguishes humans from each other. Further, 'who I am' as a person, and how I personalise myself can be further qualified by the related concepts of self and identity. Self is a person's essential being that distinguishes them from others, especially as the object of introspection or reflexivity. Self-interested actions are undertaken for the sole purpose of achieving a personal benefit or benefits (Cropanzano et al. 2005). The ongoing construction process of self through external feedback and through one's own self-reflection therefore necessitates a constant building and rebuilding of one's own identity. Through this logic of self-identity construction, the sense of 'who I am' is defined and redefined through perceived contrasts to others. Consumers' self-defining, fashion-based distinctions express an implicit identification with (or distancing from) a relevant social group as social identity formation (Thompson and Haytko 1996). How these distinctions are achieved is in part due to the personalisation of things. Possessions can both literally and symbolically extend the self, so that we are defined by what we have (Belk 1988) and in claiming that something is mine, we also come to the belief that the object is me (Belk 1988). But it is increasingly extended through the digital worlds of associations through messages, blogs, images and interactions. Co-construction of self leads to affirmation of self, the building of an aggregate extended self and an attachment to virtual possessions (Belk 2017).

From a fashion perspective, the tools of self are constituted by dressed bodies and their clothes, makeup and behaviour (Craik 1993). These make intangible meanings concrete, enable a person to identify oneself as being a member of a group, and act as cultural symbols (Crane et al. 2004). The social effects of fashion, expressed and shaped by clothing and accessories are evident in the creation of personal and social identity, of belonging and difference (Crane 2012). More broadly, fashion provides opportunities for emblematic display, exhibitionism in the sense that individuals plan their clothing, but also decor and other consumption-based badges as a strategy for fitting into their targeted aspirational niche of personality and social status (Twitchell 1999). However, fashion does not have fixed elements which dress an already defined or fixed body, but enables social identities to be impressed and naturalized in the body (Butler 1990, Bourdieu 1984, Arvanitidou and Gasouka 2011). Fashion as a creation process is an act in which the consumer modifies fashion styles and rules to create a deeper individuality in the object; hence the garment better expresses their own identity, values, and emotions (Niinimaki 2010).

Personalisation from these perspectives is a dynamic, open and meaning-led process that has expanded through the adoption of new forms of communication and media. Fundamentally though, personalisation involves specialisation, 'a specialized form of product differentiation, in which a solution is tailored for a specific individual' (Hanson 2000 p.450). A second aspect of personalisation incorporates customisation of some feature of a product or service that results in greater convenience, lower cost, or other benefit (Peppers et al. 1999, Versanen 2007). The process can be categorised by three levels of product and service personalisation (Deloitte 2015). Mass personalisation involves mass-produced products which are modified by the business and the consumer has no input. Second, mass customisation where the customer has some personalised choice from mass produced products. Third, bespoke personalisation in which the customer is involved from the start to create a unique product or service.

However, these three levels require further differentiation, particularly in respect of the characteristics of customisation. Mass customisation is defined as 'the mass production of individually customized goods and services' (Anderson 1997 p.4) specifically aligning customised design and manufacture with mass production efficiency and speed. By postponing production to a late stage, mass customisation can deliver more exactly what customers want (Piller and Müller 2004, Piller 2016). From a fashion perspective mass customisation can be further explained as the large-scale marketing of designer labels (Skov 2002, Smith 1997).

Within these customising contexts, personalisation can be a literal process. Personalising clothes with the owner's name printed on them is to take a mass-produced object and make it an exclusive item. In the case of personalised football shirts,

they have a significant function in contributing to a distinct social identity. However, there is clearly a spectrum of personalising approaches, from surface treatments that add the customer's name or initials, to more complex co-creative engagement with the consumer. With luxury and designer labels the application of a monogram to a standardised product could also be described as customisation (Kent 2017). However the greater the designer's attention to craftsmanship and small-scale production, the brand and the environment in which it is experienced, the higher the level of personalisation. As an exclusive activity, personalisation sees fashion products as status symbols in which consumers have a high level of engagement. Bespoke tailoring typifies this aspect, from the cloth customers picked out in advance for suits which became 'bespoken for', and from the tailoring for fit.

The three levels of personalisation, while needing qualification, highlight the changes that have taken place in in fashion concerning consumer empowerment and agency and who does the personalising. Over time, the designer and later the designer label were synonymous with a personal creative style applied to the designs and seasonal collections. These were communicated to consumers through exposure to, and commentary by distributors and the fashion media. In this sense, personalisation has distinguished the designer, the label and the brand with a consistent and recognizable identity; for example, the fashion consumer of Ralph Lauren is buying into his personalisation of American sportswear (Kent 2017).

However, through cultural intermediation, consumer interpretation of brands and producer messages can subvert their original, designer or brand-led meaning. In the case of advertising, the reader response approach to advertising concerns the meanings and effects of advertisements that are not necessarily what their creators intended (Belk 2017). In this vein, personalisation is viewed as resistance to business or brand hegemony through singularity as consumers choose a product to fit their own aesthetic and functional preferences (Schreier 2003, Thompson and Haytko 1996). But, as production, communication and consumption become inextricably bound up in each other they underline their interdependence and point towards new forms of personalisation. In fashion, cultural mediation can now be thought of as a function of the multiplicity of activities and relationships in a global production network that has the potential to include consumers and cultural intermediaries (Molloy and Larner 2010).

Such activities and relationships have contributed to the fast fashion system that has enabled many more consumers to create their own identity, and multiple identities. Here, designer influence is more distanced, fashion is eclectic, providing access to new ideas and products, and focusing on availability and affordability. Consequently design is driven by speed and accuracy of interpretation for specific consumer markets, and less concerned with originality. Indeed multiple media enable fashion to be disseminated so quickly and with so many interpretations that looks and styles follow fast on each; the designer collection is replaced by consumer 'mash up' (Kent 2017). In these ways the perceived uniqueness and authenticity of the messages being communicated through ready-to-wear branded garments can be cultivated and reformulated in more personalized and context-specific meanings (Thompson and Haytko, 1996).

However, the consumer's ability to read producers' looks more knowledgably and adapt them to their own style has led to more nuanced consumption. Consumers may resist brands to achieve a personal style, but they also engage with them more interactively. They are more likely to find inspiration from external sources such as influencers, bloggers and friends – other consumers - than directly from the brand, retailer, advertisers and other mediators. Individual fashion, through a proliferation of choice is evident in its diversity and street-fashion looks and stands in contrast to the organisation of directed or co-ordinated fashions by fashion designers, their intermediaries and media commentators.

Even more so, slow design offers alternative ways of addressing issues of fashion design and sustainability at a relatively local level by activating the potential for personal connection to garments to increase their longevity. It offers collaborations that challenge existing hierarchies of 'designer,' 'producer,' and 'consumer,' and provides agency, especially to women. Slow fashion engages with the reuse of materials in ways that question the notion of fashion being concerned exclusively with the 'new.' By focusing on the materiality of fashion it questions the primacy of image, defining 'fashion' with making, clothes and identities, rather than only with looking (Clark 2008).

Increasingly, consumers can and do want to take a more active part in co-production of products and services they consume, and as co-creators to be partners in productive relationships (Arvidsson 2006; Arvidsson and Malossi 2011). Co-creation is a broader concept than consumer value creation and takes various forms, including co-production and co-design (Sanders and Stappers 2008). From a producer perspective co-creation recognises that consumers are not passive receivers of products and brands but actively participate in the creation of brand equity (Boyle 2007; Choo et al. 2012) and their own value-in-use (Lusch and Vargo 2006; Payne et al. 2008; Grönroos 2011). Belk (1995) signals that customers may attribute subjective values to products beyond objective characteristics, therefore self-designed products create value for the user beyond the foreseen functional benefit, including symbolic meaning and pride in authorship (Fiore 2002, Schreier 2003, Duray et al. 2000). Moreover, consumers can become active co-designers rather than advisors or co-producers, expressing their product preferences and expectations, often via physical interaction with objects and materials. McCann (2016, p.253) evaluates apparel co-design as having the potential 'to promote a more responsible, value-added, slower product development, involving end-users at every stage.' Personalisation in this context is about empowering individuals, specifying and designing with their full involvement to meet their own unique needs.

From a digital perspective in particular, customisation enables consumer exploration and play through involvement in online customised apparel. It presents opportunities to explore different attachments, meanings and the intensity of such on an individual basis. More than in the physical world, consumers have an active role as co-creators, affecting the meaning of the product to the owner and contributing to identity construction (O'Cass 2004, Schreier 2003, Fournier 1998, Fiore 2004).

Technological developments have made a major contribution to this ability to create and personalise, leading to organisational capabilities that measure specifically what each individual consumer wants. New sources and types of data sets are available to marketers because more interactions with customers are taking place in social media, online and on mobile devices, where all actions can be easily recorded (Hofacker et al. 2016). Consumers have become an 'incessant generator of both structured, transactional data as well as contemporary unstructured behavioural data' (Erevelles et al. 2016, p.898) defined by its volume, velocity, and variety (Erevelles et al. 2016). Detailed data combined with advances in manufacturing and distribution technologies is linked to processes and resources to provide personalisation, seen in flexible manufacturing and 3D printing that enable mass personalisation at lower costs. The single view of the consumer through all the different touch points he or she has with a business allows it to personalise the shopping experience further. This is evident in initiatives from eBay with an app allowing users to find items based on photos, and Amazon with its 'Echo Look' functionality to learn about an individual's style and make recommendations based on what it sees (McKinsey (2018).

These advances have led consumers to become both critics and content curators. One consequence of so much easily accessible information is information overload, and that has led online consumers to turn to curation (Cha et al. 2018). The rapid growth of social curation communities like Pinterest, allow consumers to curate their own collections of products. The compiled contents are shared on social network services (SNS) so that users can add their qualitative judgement to previously independent content (Cha et al. 2018). More precise data and delivery systems have also changed expectations about speed and convenience to the consumer. Through its Prime offer, Amazon has created an expectation that delivery should be next day, or even the same day. Customers now expect to get a taxi, watch a film or receive a meal almost instantaneously, and to make a choice based on an easy-to-assess interface or app. (McKinsey 2018). Personalisation of at least customised fashion extends to when the consumer wants it, in contrast to delivery slots and ensuing waiting which consumers associate with standardised orders, mass production, and budget services.

However, a change in consumer behaviour towards ownership of pre-owned or rented products, especially for high-value items and accessories, appears to refine personalisation in another way. The lifespan of a fashion product is becoming more elastic as these, along with refurbishment and repair, offer new business models. Consumers seek affordability, in a move away from the permanent ownership of clothing (McKinsey 2018) but Belk

(2007) separately introduces sharing as a more social form of ownership, defining it as an act and process of distributing and receiving or taking to and from others which makes it 'a communal act that links us to other people' (p.717). Sharing things allows consumers to personalise as it provides more access to different things, to create different identities from those allowed by their current wardrobe. It supports consumers' value systems too, and their ability to externalise internal values and self-concept about sharing as a sustainable value system. These developments present new insights into personalisation, as a contrast to the expansion of ownership in post-war consumption, where 'what belongs to me' is personal, and increased consumption created more personal and personalising conditions.

The blurring of boundaries between producers and consumers leads to a problem with the ownership and use of information held about a person by other parties. Brands increasingly develop their strategies around the need to convince consumers to part with their data. In fashion, they typically use personalized recommendations or individual styling tips to encourage consumers to voluntarily share more data about themselves, such as size, age and even life events like getting married, which companies can then use to further personalize the customer experience (Parisi 2018). But sharing online can lead to self-revelation and loss of control (Belk 2017). Part of the reason for so much online sharing of information and self-disclosure is the so-called disinhibition effect (Suler 2004). It leads many users to conclude that they are able to express their 'true self' better online than they could in face-to-face contexts (Belk 2017). While the sharing model is clearly evident in a non-commercial form through blogs, social media, and image sharing sites (Belk 2014), access-based consumption is less evident, and sharing sites can lead to commercialisation that makes them effectively short-term rental sites (Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012).

These sharing effects on personalisation concern the autonomy of a person (Bozdag 2015). Effectively, personalisation alters the way that a person interacts with an individual or process. And so if a person is unaware of this alteration to some degree, and autonomy is understood to be a fundamental element of being a person, it could be rationalised as an unethical practice. From this perspective, autonomy in choice is akin to exercising free will and self-determination (André et al. 2018). Consequently, personalisation diminishes autonomy by taking away free will, but may also increase it by making things more relevant, and points to the need for an authority to decide whether certain practices are ethical or unethical.

There is a disparity in perspectives about the agent carrying out the personalisation, and the consumer for whom personalisation is being carried out. Organisations tend to justify their processes through the availability of privacy policies, terms, and conditions, which imply consent for personalisation and related practices. However, as Kay and Kummerfeld (2012) demonstrate, the consumer is often disadvantaged in many scenarios due to the length and complexity of modern privacy policies, leading to a lack of operational transparency between organisation and consumer.

In some scenarios, consumers are increasingly desensitized to giving up personal data and have ambivalence to the practice (Harris et al. 2015). It is uncertain though whether this is due to users having a clear understanding of what they are agreeing to, or that they trust the organisation to use their data in a responsible manner, or that they feel powerless to how certain data is used and no longer feel in control. In other contexts, there are higher degrees of sensitivity to the collection of personal data and the purpose for its use. The trade-off of personal information in order to benefit from personalisation technologies, has given rise to a privacy paradox (Chellappa and Sin 2005) as well as highlighting questions of data ownership. An assumption of data ownership is that data belongs to the person to whom the information refers. Bozdag and Timmermans (2011) assert a view that an individual should have control in whether to give up or withhold personal information in order to retain autonomy. Consequently, the issue of privacy comes down to contextual integrity and the belief by an individual within each context towards the suitability of the information collected or used (Nissenbaum, 2004). In each context, an individual may elicit a feeling of infringement if the belief of the data used is unaligned with the judgement made for what is appropriate.

In this co-creating environment, producers need to do more to demonstrate the value they offer consumers from gathering data about their interactions with them. It has been found that if retailers offer a more personalized experience, then people are willing to give them personal self-declared data (Glossy 2018). But the vital component in any successful personalisation initiative must be trust, both in the way that personal data is handled and in the motivations for its use. Three core building blocks are required to achieve this, through transparency, personalised benefits and control (Deloitte 2015). Trust in part, depends on knowing who we are trusting, their reliability and consistency in keeping to an agreed course of action within a knowable and shared value system. However, other parties may be involved, for example Facebook's relationship with Cambridge Analytica or the generalised sharing of personal data with other companies for marketing purposes. So trust can arise when data is used in a way that is permitted by the consumer. This may require a new data governance process and framework that gives consumers control over how their data is used, as a result of the use of customer data for both personalised marketing and the development of customised products and services.

Conclusion

The paper demonstrates the complexity of personalisation. It can be argued that personalisation of fashion lies in the hands of the designer and this is true in part; fashion design reflects the designer's personality and individual style and interests. However as the definitions of fashion and in particular fashion systems demonstrate, personalisation extends beyond the boundaries of the designer and into a broader system of producers, intermediaries and consumers. There is a blurring of lines between producers and consumers both in mediation, and increasingly in the objects of personalisation themselves. By contrast with the networked digital world, slow fashion points to new ways to personalise through localisation and making. The dimensions of the personalisation of fashion move from personalisation by 'one', the designer, to personalisation by 'many'.

Temporality is a second issue. In part this is consumers' access to immediacy, enabled by online suppliers fulfilment and delivery systems. Personalisation in response to events or impulses, and in more imaginative and distinctive ways can be achieved when things can be delivered within 24 hours. It can be extended when consumers share and rent objects, but these forms of temporary acquisition change the concept of personalisation as 'owning', and being attached to something over time. Instead, ownership is re-defined by relationships or networks of personally-defined suppliers of pre-owned objects. With the advance of digital media, online forms of personalisation can de-materialise and disappear at any time; and online, what was previously a more private act of acquisition and appreciation can become more of a group practice (Belk 2013).

Ownership also applies to personal data and information and its use. Recent developments in privacy, trust and loyalty raise concerns about the security of these aspects of digital social media, and growing awareness of the detailed personal data held and disseminated by different social media groups and their associates. Information for the consumer about personalising though, is moving from words and texts to images and the visual. The ascendancy of vlogs, YouTube and Instagram as sources of information influence personalising practices and the way we make and show our personalised things. Important considerations here are the conjunctions of the co-creative processes, to show techniques in co-creation and the showing of the final created product (see Mersch 2015). Personalisation enabled by fast fashion to acquire and assemble many fashion items to create personal and social identities is supplemented by creative engagement in both intangible and tangible fashion: interpretation through producing and consuming, looking and making as much as reading and wearing. The implications of these combinations and constellations of personalisation for the fashion identity are that consumers and producers will become more engaged in many different ways using different assumptions of time, information, imagery and material practices.

The implications for personal ID are that personalisation is more communal than at first appears. Online data sharing, aggregated information and its use by commercial enterprises require a negotiation of control and privacy by the individual in the process of creating personalised fashion products and experiences. Some degree of personal information is exposed and used by others. Conversely as sources of information about fashion become expanded and become more complex, individuals may actively seek to join both commercial and non-commercial communities that curate and organise looks and act as fashion navigators.

References

Anderson, D.M. (1997) *Agile Product Development for Mass Customization: How to Develop and Deliver Products for Mass Customization, Niche Markets, JIT, Build-To-Order and Flexible Manufacturing.* London: Irwin.

Askegaard, S. and Linnet, J.T. (2011) Towards an epistemology of consumer culture theory: Phenomenology and the context of context. *Marketing Theory*, Vol. 11, No. 4 pp. 381-404.

Amed, I. Balchandani, A. Beltrami, M. Berg, A., Hedrich, S.and Rölkens, F. (2018) The State of Fashion 2019: A year of awakening, *McKinsey*. November. Available at https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/retail/our-insights/the-state-of-fashion-2019-a-year-of-awakening?Accessed 20th November 2018

André, Q. Carmon, Z. Wertenbroch, K. (2018) Consumer choice and autonomy in the age of artificial intelligence and big data. *Customer Needs and Solutions*, Vol.5, No.1, pp.28-37.

Arnould, E. J. and Thompson, C. J. (2005) Reflections on twenty years of research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol.31, No.4, pp. 868–882.

Arvanitidou, Z. and Gasouka, M. (2011) Fashion, gender and social identity. In the *Proceedings of the First Fashion Colloquia*, September, London College of Fashion: London.

Arvidsson, A. (2006) Brands: Meaning and Value in Media Culture. London: Routledge.

Arvidsson, A. and Malossi, G. (2011) Customer co-production from social factory to brand: Learning from Italian Fashion. In D. Zwick and J. Cayla, (Eds.) *Inside Marketing*, pp. 212-233.

Ballie, J. and Delamore, P. (2011) E-Co-Creation for Fashion. Conference paper presented at the *Mass Customisation and Personalisation Conference*, November, San Francisco.

Bardhi, F. and Eckhardt, G. M. (2012) Access-based consumption: The case of car sharing. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol.39, No.4, pp.881-898.

Belk, R.W. (1988) Possessions and the extended self. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol.15, No.2 p139.

Belk, R.W. (1995) Studies in the new consumer behaviour. In D. Miller (Ed.) *Acknowledging Consumption.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Belk, R. (2007) Why not share rather than own? *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 611 (May), pp. 126–40.

Belk, R. (2010) Sharing. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol.36, No.5 (February), pp. 715-734.

Belk, R.W. (2013) Extended self in a digital world. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (October), pp. 477-500.

Belk, R.W. (2014) You are what you can access: Sharing and collaborative consumption online. *Journal of Business Research.* Vol. 67, No. 8, pp. 1595–1600.

Belk, R.W. (2017) Qualitative Research in Advertising, *Journal of Advertising*, Vol.46, No.1, pp. 36–47.

Blom, J. and Monk, A. (2003) Theory of personalisation of appearance: why people personalise their mobile phones and PCs. *Human-Computer Interaction*, Vol. 18; No 3, pp.193-228.

Boyle, E. (2007) A process model for brand cocreation: brand management and research Implications. *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 122-131.

Bozdag, V.E. and Timmermans, J.F.C. (2011). Values in the filter bubble: Ethics of personalization algorithms in cloud computing. In the Proceedings of the *1st International Workshop on Values in Design–Building Bridges between RE, HCI and Ethics*, Lisbon, Portugal.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste.* Boston: Harvard University Press.

Butler, J. (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* New York: Routledge.

Cha, H. S.You, S. Gang, K. W. Park, M. (2018) The value and risk of curated shopping: Online consumer's choice. *International Journal of Business and Information;* Vol. 13, No.3, pp.321-348.

Chellappa, R.K. and Sin, R.G. (2005) Personalization versus privacy: An empirical examination of the online consumer's dilemma. *Information Technology and Management*, Vol. 6, pp.181–202.

Choo, H.J., Moon, H., Kim, H. and Yoon, N. (2012) Luxury customer value. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, Vol.16 No.1, pp. 81-101.

Clark, H. (2008) SLOW + FASHION—an oxymoron—or a promise for the future …? Fashion Theory: *The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, Vol.12, No.4, pp. 427–446.

Craik, J. (1993) *The Face of Fashion : Cultural Studies in Fashion.* London: Routledge.

Crane, D. (2012) Introduction. In A.M. Gonzalez and L. Bovone (Eds.) *Identities Through Fashion.* Oxford; Berg.

Crane, T.C. Hamilton, J.A. and Wilson, L.E. (2004) Scottish dress, ethnicity, and self-identity. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, Vol. 8, No.1, pp.66-83.

Cropanzano, R. Goldman, B. and Folger, R. (2005) Self-interest: defining and understanding a human motive. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, Vol.26, pp.985–991.

Deloitte (2015) Made-to-order: The rise of mass personalisation. *The Deloitte Consumer Review.* Available online at https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/ch/Documents/consumer-business/ch-en-consumer-business-made-to-order-consumer-review.pdf. Accessed 28th November 2018.

Duray, R. Ward, P.T. Milligan, G.W.and Berry W.L. (2000) Approaches to mass customization: Configurations and empirical validation. *Journal of Operations Management*, Vol. 18, No.6, pp. 605–625.

Erevelles, S. Fukawa, N. and Swayne, L. (2016) Big Data consumer analytics and the transformation of marketing. *Journal of Business Research*, February, Vol.69, No.2, pp. 897-904.

Firat, A. F. and Dholakia, N. (1998) *Consuming People: From Political Economy to Theatres of Consumption*, London: Routledge.

Fiore, A.M. Lee, S. and Kunz, G. (2004) Individual differences, motivations, and willingness to use a mass customization option for fashion products. *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol.38, No.7, pp. 835–849.

Fournier, S. (1998) Consumers and their brands: Developing relationship theory in consumer research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol.24, No.4, pp.343–353.

Grönroos, C. (2011), Value co-creation in service logic: a critical analysis. *Marketing Theory*, Vol. 11 No. 3, pp. 279-301.

Hanson, W. (2000) *Principles of Internet Marketing*, Cincinnati, OH: South Western.

Harris, M. A., Brookshire, R., Patten, K., and Regan, B. (2015) Mobile application installation influences: Have mobile device users become desensitized to excessive permission requests? *In the Proceedings of the Twentieth Americas Conference on Information Systems*, pp.13-15.

Hofacker, C. F. Malthouse, E. C. and Sultan, F. (2016) Big data and consumer behavior: Imminent opportunities. *The Journal of Consumer Marketing*, Vol. 33, No2. pp. 89-97.

Holbrook, M.B. (Ed.) (1999) *Consumer value: A framework for analysis and research.* London: Routledge.

Holbrook, M.B. (2001) The Millennial consumer in the texts of our times: Exhibitionism. *Journal of Macromarketing*, Vol. 21, No. 1, June, pp. 81-95.

Jafri, S (2018) From marginalization to boundary solidification: CCT and its implication for aspiring scholars. In S.N.N. Cross, C. Ruvalcaba, A. Venkatesh and R.W. Belk. (eds.) *Consumer Culture Theory (Research in Consumer Behavior*, Vol. 19, Bradford: Emerald Publishing Limited, pp. 207 – 212.

Kay, J. and Kummerfeld, B. (2012) Creating personalized systems that people can scrutinize and control: drivers, principles and experience. *ACM Transactions on Interactive Intelligent Systems*, Vol.2, No.4, p. 24.

Kent, A.M. (2017) Personalisation and fashion design. In I. Kuksa and T. Fisher (Eds.) *Design for Personalisation.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Kuksa, I. and Fisher, T. (2017) *Design for Personalisation.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Lusch, R.F. and Vargo, S.L. (2006) Service-Dominant Logic: reactions, reflections and refinements. *Marketing Theory*, Vol.6, No.3, pp. 281-88.

McCann, J. (2016) Sportswear design for the active ageing. *Fashion Practice*, Vol. 8 No. 2, pp. 234-256.

Mersch, D. (2015) *Epistemologies of Aesthetics.* Zurich-Berlin: Diaphenes.

Moisander, J., Penaloza, L. and Valtonen, A. (2009) From CCT to CCC. Building consumer culture community. In J.F. Sherry Jr. and E. Fischer (eds). *Explorations in Consumer Culture Theory, Abingdon:* Routledge. pp. 7-33.

Molloy M. and Larner, W. (2010) Who needs cultural intrermediaries indeed? *Journal of Cultural Economy*, Vol.3, No.3 pp. 361-377.

Niinimaki, K. (2010) Eco-clothing, consumer identity and ideology. *Sustainable Development*, Vol.18, No.3 pp.150-162.

O'Cass, A.O. and Julian, C.C. (2001) Fashion clothing consumption : studying the effects of materialistic values, self-image / product-image congruency relationships, gender and age on fashion clothing involvement. In S. Chey and B. Collins (Eds.), *Bridging marketing theory and practice: Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand Marketing Academy (ANZMAC) Conference*, Auckland, New Zealand, 1-5 December.

Nissenbaum, H. (2004) Privacy as contextual integrity. *Washington Law Review*, Vol.79, No.1, pp. 119-158.

Parisi, D. (2018) How brands use personalization to bring a human element to e-commerce. Glossy. Available at https://www.glossy.co/fashion/how-brands-use-personalization-to-bring-a-human-element-to-the-impersonal-e-commerce-world. Accessed 1/12/18.

Payne, A. Storbacka, K. Frow, P. and Knox, S. (2009) Co-creating brands: Diagnosing and designing the relationship experience. *Journal of Business Research*, Vol. 62, No. 3. pp.379–389.

Peppers, D. Rogers, M. and Dorf, B. (1999) *The One to One Fieldbook: The Complete Toolkit For Implementing a 1 to 1 Marketing Program*, New York, NY: Double Day.

Piller, F. (2016) The presence and future of mass customization. *How digitalization facilitates value creation via personalization & customization.* Nottingham Trent University, Research seminar.

Piller, F.T. and Müller, M. (2004) A new marketing approach to mass customisation. *International Journal of Computer Integrated Manufacturing*, Vol. 17, No.7, pp.583–593.

Sanders, E. B.-N and Stappers, P.J. (2008) Co-creation and the new landscapes of design. *CoDesign*, Vol.4, No. 1, pp. 5-18.

Schreier, M. (2003) Value Creation by Toolkits for User Innovation and Design. *Working Paper.* Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration, Department of Entrepreneurship. Available at http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download Accessed 3rd January 2019.

Shilling, C. (1993) *The Body and Social Theory*, London: Sage.

Skov, L. (2002) Hong Kong fashion designers as cultural intermediaries: Out of global garment production. *Cultural Studies*, Vol.16, No.4, pp.553–569.

Smith, P. (1997) Tommy Hilfiger in the age of mass customization in A. Ross *No Sweat: Fashion, Free Trade and the Rights of Garment Workers.* London : Verso.

Suler, J. (2004) The online disinhibition effect. *Cyberpsychology and Behavior*, Vol.7, No. 3, pp. 321–326.

Thompson, C.J. and Haytko, D.L. (1997) Speaking of fashion: Consumers' self- conceptions, body images, and self- care practices. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 22, September, pp.139-153.

Twitchell, J.B. (1999) *Lead us into Temptation: The Triumph of American Materialism.* New York NY: Columbia University Press.

164 THE DRESS AND THE SELF: HOW DRESS STYLES EXPRESS IDENTITIES

Authors
Courtney Nicole Chrimes
Rosy Boardman
Helen McCormick
Gianpaolo Vignali
The University of Manchester, UK

Corresponding author
courtney.chrimes@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

Keywords
clothing preference
self-concept
dress and identity
consumption and identity

Abstract

Clothing one's body denotes a clear intentional behaviour. Literature highlights that females purchase certain products and clothing styles to achieve their desired body shape or to hide or flatter areas of their body. Additionally, it has been found that clothing is a tool that assists consumers in achieving an ideal appearance and has the ability to alter one's mood, enabling them to either camouflage or bolster their self-confidence. This suggests that there is a link between an individual's body perception and their clothing preferences, and that clothing choice reflects the individual. Building on previous studies, this paper investigates how women express their identity through different styles of dresses, exploring what a specific type of dress can say about an individual's perception of self.

A mixed methods study was conducted involving: 1. A quantitative online questionnaire, which established females' preferred style of dress and 2. Qualitative semi-structured interviews which explored how different styles of dresses create different identities. A convenience sample of 263 (phase 1) and 15 (phase 2) UK females aged 18-34 was obtained. The questionnaire data was analysed through descriptive statistics and the qualitative interviews were analysed through a process of coding. Findings indicate that different styles of dresses are used to express different types of identity. This paper contributes to the academic literature regarding fashion choice and the perception of one's self, fashion identity and the clothing selection process. This paper also provides retailers with a better insight into consumers' clothing preferences and their associations with different styles of dresses, which can inform their marketing and sales strategies.

Introduction

Within today's society it is irrefutable that material possessions play a fundamental part in peoples lives. Indeed, the meanings that are bestowed on possessions have the ability to establish identities (Miles, Cliff and Burr, 2012). Knowingly or unknowingly, possessions have the aptitude to extend the self and act as a symbol of definition (Belk,1988). Clothing is considered to be the most demonstrative form of consumer possession (Miles, Cliff and Burr, 2012), which goes beyond the necessity to cover the body (Lunceford, 2010). Indeed, clothing is used as a vehicle of self-presentation whereby an individual can defend, maintain and create identities in an attempt to align oneself with perceived social norms (Baumeister, 1982; McNeil, 2017). Thus, unsurprisingly clothing consumption in a postmodern world is a crucial element in the construction of identity and the self (Niinimaki, 2010; Tiggemann and Andrew, 2012). Prior research that explores the relationship between identity and consumption draws on decision-making models that are concerned with how a consumer searches, chooses, acquires, and disposes of goods (Hogg and Michell, 1996). This is because the choices that are made at the initial stages can be linked to questions of identity of the self (Hogg and Michell, 1996), as consumers are predominantly searching for products that create a sense of self-identity (Riek et al., 2016). This paper will begin by introducing research that has previously investigated the relationship between consumption and the formation of identity (Belk, 1988; Jantzen, 2006; Miles, Cliff and Burr, 2012). However, it is evident from the literature review that prior studies explore possessions, such as clothing in general, and so there is a lack of research exploring how particular styles of clothing can be used to establish different identities (Miles, Cliff and Burr, 2012). We address this gap by investigating how different styles of dresses can maintain, hide and curate different identities.w

Research questions

Indeed, former research has established that clothing can be used to maintain (Guy and Banim, 2000; Buse and Twigs, 2015), create (Kang, Johnson and Kim, 2013; Brownbridge, Sanderson and Gill, 2016) and hide certain identities (Freitas, Davis and Kim, 1997; Peters, 2014), however the role of dress styles in this multiple identity formation has not been established. Consequently, the following questions have been posited:

RQ1. Do females choose certain styles of dresses to express, create or hide certain identities? If so, which styles create particular identities?
RQ2. Which styles of dress do females fear wearing the most and why?
RQ3. Which style of dress gives females the most/ least confidence and why?

Apparel dresses

'Dress' is contextualised within this study as a particular style of garment which is predominantly worn by females. Dress styles have been chosen as they are currently the highest selling product within the womenswear market, with more than two thirds of females having purchased a dress in the last year (Mintel, 2018). Dresses are crucial as they have a fit relationship with both primary (bust) and secondary (waist and hip) dimensions of the body (Grogan et al., 2013; Brownbridge et al., 2018;). Thus, when purchasing a dress, a female must consider their whole-body shape. From an academic perspective, Fiore and Kimle (1997, p.144) defined five key dress styles; A-line, Bell, Tubular, Wedge and Hourglass, and emphasised that different dress styles could be used to manage females body shapes. However, within industry the number of dress styles is exhaustive, with key styles including bodycon, midi, skater, jumper, wrap, smock, slip and maxi. Thus, 'dress' is not just a simple style that is used to portray a particular identity and further exploration of the relationship between dress styles and identity curation is warranted. Furthermore, as identity-based marketing is contended to be more successful than lifestyle-based marketing when selling women's clothing (McNeill, 2017), a comprehensive understanding of how different styles of dresses are used to develop the self is paramount for effective fashion marketing (Gutman and Mills, 1982; Goldsmith, Moore and Beaudoin, 1999).

Identity

Women choose what to wear every single day of their lives (Tiggemann and Lacey, 2009) and in doing so they construct an outward appearance that defines who they are or even who they are not (Freitas, Davis and Kim, 1997). Goffman (1959) found that when a person decides on what clothes to wear they choose to display a particular presentation of the self. Hence, identity is concerned with a self-image that an individual wish to convey to others (Solomon and Schopler, 1982). One's self-identity is neither singular nor static (Peters, 2014), rather an individual embodies multiple selves, which are constructed and re-constructed throughout one's life (Vignoles, 2011). Yet no research has explored whether females choose to wear different styles of dresses in order to achieve or avoid these multiple identities. In order to understand how people curate various identities of themselves, the idea of self-concept must be acknowledged (McNeill, 2017).

The Self

Self-concept is defined as the totality of a person's thoughts, feelings and attitudes towards oneself (Goldsmith, Moore and Beaudoin, 1999). An understanding of self-concept is vital because consumers wear products that complement their self-image (Goldsmith, Moore and Beaudoin, 1999). Rosa, Garbarino and Malter (2006) found that consumers seek to affirm their self-concept through the use of apparel. Hence, a consumer's choice of clothing will be influenced by their self-concept, in particular the specific aspect of self that an individual decides to express (McNiell, 2017). However, how individuals do this through different styles of dress remains unknown.

Self-concept is a multifaceted notion that entails various dimensions. Sirgy (1982) acknowledged that self-concept refers to 1). The actual self: how a person perceives themselves, 2). The ideal self: how a person would like to perceive themself and 3). The social self: how a person would like others to perceive themselves. However, within the literature self-concept is more commonly thought of in two ways, namely, the ideal self-concept and the real-concept (Goldsmith, Moore and Beaudoin, 1999). Additionally, Kaiser (1990) posited that when formulating clothing decisions, a person undergoes a self-dialogue between the 'I' and the 'Me', which together comprise of the self (Niinimaki, 2010). The 'I' refers to the creative self, which interprets the garment subjectively, whereas the 'Me' is similar to Sirgy's (1982) social self, in that it is concerned with how others will respond to the choice of clothing. Whilst insightful, both Sirgy (1982) and Kaiser (1990) ignore Grubb and Grathwohl's (1967) development of the situational self, which refers to the self that is influenced by a particular situation. As identities are entrenched in social relations (Roach-Higgins and Eicher, 1992), it is contended that the situational self should not be overlooked. Academics have also begun to investigate the self that a person fears (Guy and Banim, 2000). Indeed, Freitas, Davis and Kim (1997) found that who a person does not want to be is an important component in the construction of one's self. Evidently, the concept of self is a meaning-making process (Crane and Boyone, 2006), whereby consumers choose to wear certain styles of clothing in order to express one's self (Niinimaki, 2010). The findings of this study will be framed by Guy and Banim's (2000) findings of: 'The woman I am most of the time (true self)', 'The woman I fear (feared self)' and 'The woman I want to be (aspirational self)', however this paper will also explore, 'The woman I am expected to be (social self)' and investigate these constructs in relation to different dress styles. The following section will synthesis prior findings that have investigated how clothing maintains, curates and supresses certain identities.

The True Self

The true self refers to how one really is (Goldsmith, Moore and Beaudoin, 1999). Prior research has established that clothing is used as a vehicle of self-presentation, whereby an individual can uphold their true self (Baumeister, 1982; Vignoles, 2011; Buse and Twigg, 2015). This is exemplified within Buse and Twigg's (2015) study who found that for elderly people with dementia, dress remains a significant way to maintain their identity when their mental perception of the true self deteriorates. Hence, it is evident that clothing enables people to maintain continuity of the self at a material level (Buse and Twigg, 2015). More recently, research has been undertaken to understand how transgender people use clothing to express their true self. For example, Levitt and Ippolito (2014) found that when growing up, participants were forced to hide their true self by wearing clothes that conformed to a traditional gender. Alternatively, Guy and Banim (2000) discovered that when females referred to their true identity they often disassociated themselves with fashionable apparel and tend to select clothing that fulfils their functional needs. Thus, despite the verification that clothing has the ability to sustain one's true identity, there is limited research that explores how particular styles of dresses are used to project one's true self.

The Ideal Self

Studies that have explored clothing choices and identity have predominantly investigated how people use clothing in order to construct an aspirational identity (Kang, Johnson and Kim, 2013; Brownbridge, Sanderson and Gill, 2016). Grogan et al., (2013) found that clothing was expected to emphasise the most attractive body features. Thus, given the ability of clothing to modify and flatter the body (Klerk and Tselepis, 2007), it can be argued that an individual uses clothing to gain the temporary achievement of the ideal self (Kang, Johnson and Kim, 2013). The necessity to use clothing to create new identities does not seem to differ amongst age groups either, as Miles, Cliff and Burr (2012, p.91) found that young people use clothing to hide behind in order to attain their ideal self, with one participant acknowledging that caps 'made him look older'. Similarly, Holmlund, Hagman and Polsa (2011) found that elderly women preferred clothing styles that made them appear stylish and slimmer. Hence, it is apparent that clothing can be used to manipulate one's true identity to achieve a new one (Peters, 2014). However, the present study explores this even further, by investigating how females use different styles of dresses to construct new identities, as opposed to grouping clothes together in general.

The Self I Fear

Fashion identity studies have partially investigated the self that a person fears (Guy and Banim, 2000). For example, Buse and Twigg (2015) found that an older male participant who had dementia, avoided wearing certain clothing as he thought that people would associate him with being elderly, an identity he clearly wanted to circumvent. Freitas, Davis and Kim (1997) also found that females avoided clothes that associated them with a past identity, as they felt disassociated with that particular identity. In the same study Freitas, Davis and Kim (1997, p.329) also unveiled that homosexuals avoided certain styles of clothing, which they considered to be 'stereotypically' gay. Additionally, Peters (2014) found that females who identified as being plus-size tried to avoid this identity by negotiating this sense of self through clothing. Hence, it is crucial that this self is accounted for, as it emphatically influences which styles individuals avoid wearing in order to evade a certain identity. Although the feared self is lacking within existing literature, what is often found to be paramount to the construction of identity is the work of establishing who one is not.

The self I am expected to be

Clothing serves a dual purpose within identity construction: it not only permits the expression or suppression of one's self, but also acts as a signal of conformity to a social group (Miles, Cliff and Burr, 2012). McNeill (2017) theorises that identity can be seen in the roles that individuals devise for themselves within a specific social setting. This suggests that people select apparel in an attempt to participate in social groups (Niinimaki, 2010). Indeed, Miles, Cliff and Burr (2012, p.85) found that a salient factor that influenced young peoples' clothing choices was their 'friends' opinions', inferring that for young people certain clothing allowed them to be perceived as being socially accepted. However, Niinimaki (2010) found that, although clothing allows for the conformity within social groups, it is also concerned with differentiating the self from others in that social group. Thus, the social self is complex as it is concerned with the balancing of two identities, that is, how one chooses to conform to their social group, but also how one can create a sense of individuality within this group.

Method

This mixed method study investigates how females express their identity through different styles of dresses, particularly exploring what a specific type of dress articulates about an individual's perception of self. Firstly, a quantitative online survey was distributed, in order to ascertain the most popular styles of dresses purchased, to a convenience sample of 344 females, aged 18-34. A selection of 9 different styles of dresses were obtained from ASOS' website. ASOS was the chosen retailer as the website attracted more than 127 million visits in February 2017 (Mintel, 2017), suggesting high user-interaction. The online questionnaire utilised three, 5-point unipolar semantic scales to measure respondents' thoughts towards each style of dress, anchored by the constructs, *likable-not likable/ flattering-not flattering/ similar to what I wear- not similar to what I wear,* developed by Cox and Cox (2002) and further utilised by Kim and Lennon (2008; 2010) and Kim (2018). The online questionnaire allowed the researcher to obtain a quick snap shot (Lazar, Feng and Hochheiser, 2017) of relevant styling preferences about the target sample. Descriptive statistics were used to identify which styles were considered the most flattering, likeable and similar to what the participant would usually wear.

Secondly, qualitative semi-structured interviews were conducted based on open-ended questions, which allowed for a deeper understanding of how certain dress styles are used to evoke a sense of self. The rich qualitative data set permitted themes to emerge organically (Boardman and McCormick, 2018). As styling preferences are subjective, it was vital that qualitative interviews were utilised in order to explore the 'why' question of the phenomena (Berg, 2009; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2012). The interview guide (Appendix I) was developed from the main themes in the literature (Miles, Cliff and Burr, 2012). Main questions, supplemented with further probing questions, were utilised to ensure the detail of the answer was sufficient enough to allow the researcher insight to their worldview (Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault, 2015). All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed after the interview had taken place (Rahman, 2015). 15 participants were chosen on the following criteria: they were regular apparel female shoppers, aged 18-34, in an attempt to enhance the reliability of the findings.

Saturation point was reached. The researchers undertook a line-by-line coding technique to identify initial themes and subthemes, and then coded interview transcripts in order to highlight the relationship between these themes (Grogan et al., 2013).

Findings and discussion

Study one: online survey

Of the 344 responses that were obtained from the online survey, 262 of those responses were usable and fulfilled the inclusion criteria. The average age group of the respondents were 18-25-year olds (72.9%). All responses for each of the three constructs, *Flattering, Likeability and Similar to What I Would Usually Wear,* were averaged to uncover that the style of dress which scored the highest in relation to likeability (*M*=4.34), flattering (*M*=4.17) and most similar to what I would usually wear (*M*=3.80) was the wrap dress. The skater style dress obtained the second highest score for most flattering dress (*M*=3.58), but scored the highest for the least likeable dress style (*M*=3.20). Finally, the bodycon dress scored the highest for the least similar to what the participants would usually wear (*M*=2.45), as well as scoring the second highest for both the least likeable style of dress (*M*=3.36) and the least flattering style of dress (*M*=3.14). A summary of these findings is presented in Table 1.1

Table 1.1: Summary of Findings from the online survey

Measures	Style of Dress		
Likeable	Wrap dress- most likeable style (*M*=4.34)	Skater dress- least likeable style (M=3.20)	The body con- second highest for the least likeable style (M=3.36)
Flattering	Wrap dress- the most flattering style (*M*=4.17)	Skater dress- the second most flattering style (M=3.20)	The body con- second highest for the least flattering dress (M=3.14).
Similar to what I would usually wear	Wrap dress -highest style that is most similar to what I would wear (3.80)	The pencil dress- second highest for the style that is the least similar to what I would wear (2.46)	The body con- the highest for the style that is the least similar to what I would wear (2.45).

Study two: semi-structured interviews

As the women sought to articulate how each style of dress expressed different identities, all participants revealed 4 distinct, yet interdependent views of self in relation to the different dress styles. Firstly, females revealed how they would avoid certain styles of dresses as they associated that particular style with a self they feared. Secondly, there were revelations regarding how certain dress styles allowed females to curate aspirational selves. Additionally, females also articulated how certain styles of dress were used in order to reinforce their every-day 'true self'. Finally, there were also statements that revealed how females chose to wear particular styles of dresses in order to uphold social expectations of the self. Thus, this study unveiled that there are four typologies of the female self which can be expressed through dresses:

(1) The female I fear
(2) The female I am
(3) The female I desire to be
(4) The female I am expected to be

The female I fear

Females revealed how they avoided certain styles of dresses which either reminded them of their younger self, made them look bigger than they actually are or styles that showed areas of their body that they disliked. The first theme that will be explored is the fear of looking like one's younger self. This finding is similar to that of Freitas, Davis and Kim (1997), who discovered that females avoided certain clothing which associated them with their past identities. The main styles of dresses that were associated with this fear were the smock dress, the slip dress, the bodycon dress and the skater dress:

> I'd avoid wearing a smock dress because I think it is quite immature and it makes me look a lot younger than I actually am. (P.1-22)

> The skater dress is something I would have worn when I was 15 [...] but now I think it's very juvenile and childish. I would just never wear it now. (P.14-23)

> The slip dress is very childlike. It reminds me of my school uniform... I would never go for this style of dress as it would make me feel even younger. (P.4-21)

> I used to wear the bodycon style in the past when I was younger but now I'm a bit older and my figure isn't as good as it was [...] I used to wear this style clubbing with my friends, but I don't have that lifestyle anymore, so I would definitely avoid this style now. (P.10-30)

These findings imply that females associate certain styles of dresses with past identities. It is clear that, with time, females avoid wearing certain styles of dresses in an attempt to disconnect their contemporary self from their former self. It appears that females of this age group try to portray a more mature identity through their clothing, and thus fear wearing dresses that they used to wear or that are associated with being 'immature' and 'young'. Ten females associated the skater dress style with their younger self, which supports the survey findings that although females considered the skater dress to be the second most flattering style of dress (*M*=3.58), it was the least likeable.

The second theme that emerged is that females avoided wearing styles of dresses that made them look bigger than they actually are. The dress styles that were associated with this fear were the smock dress, slip dress and the jumper dress:

> The slip dress is a style I will always avoid wearing. They make me look bigger than I actually am... I associate this style with a particular summer where I had gained a lot of weight [...] I definitely would not wear this style. (P.7-23)

> I would never wear the jumper dress. It would just make me look like a sack of potatoes [...] it would make me look like I have an oval body shape. (P.14-23)

> The smock dress is definitely a style I would avoid wearing [...] it makes me look bigger than I actually am [...] because it is so baggy! (P.10-30)

These findings illustrate the anxieties that females associate with dresses, in particular how certain styles made them appear larger. There appeared to be a general consensus amongst all participants that dresses should make females look slimmer, a finding supported in the literature (Apeagyei, 2008; Frith and Gleeson, 2008; Grogan et al., 2013). This supports why the jumper dress (M=3.02) and the smock dress (M=3.20) were found to be the least flattering styles in the survey.

Females avoided wearing styles of dresses that revealed areas of their body that they were insecure about, a finding which is further supported by Klerk and Tselepis (2007). The styles of dresses that were associated with this were the bodycon dress and the maxi dress. The following quotes capture the essence of this fear:

> I would never wear the maxi dress because it highlights all the things I dislike about myself. I'm too short, I hate my arms and I don't have any cleavage. (P.15-20)

> The thought of wearing the bodycon makes me feel physically sick. I would feel really insecure wearing it, as it would show off all my wobbly bits. (P.2-31).

Furthermore, four participants stated that they loved the wrap dress on other people, but that they would fear wearing this style of dress as it would accentuate areas of their body they feel insecure about:

> The wrap dress I love so much. When I see it on models it looks amazing, however for me personally the dress just accentuates everything that is wrong about my figure. It makes me look like I have multiple stomach rolls. (P.7-23).

Hence, it is apparent that a female's perception of their body affects what they wish to show, or in this case, not show about themselves.

The female I am

Females discussed particular styles of dresses that they identified as their true self. Participants often referred to dress styles that they could just 'throw on', or particular styles that would allow them to achieve a satisfactory sense of self 'without too much effort'. These findings are supported by Guy and Banim (2000, p.321) who found that females show their true self through clothing choices that allow them to get on with their day-to-day lives. Indeed, females chose to talk about dress styles that made them feel comfortable, as well as styles that did not require extensive decision-making. The dress styles that were associated with a female's true self were the jumper dress, the smock dress and the slip dress:

> The jumper dress is just me. I would feel really comfortable in this style of dress [...] a lot of the time I am dressing to look good in front of other people, but if I could just wear one style of dress and not care about trying to portray something about myself to others, it would be the jumper dress [...] however I could only wear this style in front of people who I'm comfortable around. (P.14-23).

> The slip dress is just a safe option for me. It's a very easy style and there is no pressure with this dress. I don't have to worry about what I'm communicating about myself to others. It's just a dress I can just throw on and be satisfied with how I look. (P.5-23)

> The smock dress is definitely just my safe go-to. When I go to University, I have to look quite serious and professional, but I wish I could just wear a smock dress and feel comfortable in my own skin. I think the style is me because I am actually young at heart. (P.6-20).

It is apparent that when females referred to their true self they described their chosen dress styles as being 'safe', 'easy' and 'my go-to'. This suggests that when a female chooses a dress style for their true self, they are more concerned with practical factors, such as comfort, rather than attempting to portray something about themselves to others. Indeed, participants acknowledged that they would only ever wear dresses that expressed their true self either in front of people they felt comfortable with or on their own. This implies that females rarely reveal their true self to others and that the styles of dresses that they would choose to wear for themselves are different from the styles of dresses they would choose to wear in public. These findings provide further insight as to why the slip dress, the smock dress and the jumper dress were the highest chosen dress styles for *the most similar style to what I would wear* construct in the online survey, as the interviews demonstrate that these styles of dresses do not require a great deal of cognitive effort.

The female I aspire to be

All participants acknowledged that they often chose to wear certain dress styles in order to curate aspirational identities. A common theme established was that females used dresses to achieve an ideal hourglass figure, a finding similar to that of Grogan et al., (2013). Participants identified the wrap dress, the midi dress and the skater dress as key styles that allowed them to achieve an hourglass figure:

> The skater dress really flatters my figure [...] it makes me look like I've got an hourglass figure, which is great! (P.10-30).

> I like the fact that I can manage my body shape (with the wrap dress) [...] I can tie it quite tight to define my waist and it looks as though I have an hourglass figure, even though in reality I'm more of a pear. (P.14-23).

> The midi dress would 100% enhance my body confidence because it would show off my figure [...] it would make me look like I have an hourglass figure. (P.7-23).

The quotes infer that females choose to wear certain styles of dresses that allow them to obtain their desired body shape. This provides further insight as to why the wrap dress was considered to be the most flattering and likeable style within the survey, as the dress allowed them to define their waist and create an hourglass figure.

A further theme was that females selected certain dress styles to help them feel more powerful. Eight participants stated that the pencil dress in particular best described their aspirational self, using adjectives such as, 'empowering', 'sophisticated' and 'professional'. Females associated this style of dress with an identity that they hoped to achieve in the future:

> The pencil dress is a style that I hope I can wear in my 30s [...] when I have my life together. (P.15-20)

Females also associated this style of dress as the one that they would wear in a work environment, as it would 'assert one's authority' (P.15-20) and 'highlight what stage of your career you are at' (P.8-34). One participant associated this style of dress with her friend and highlighted that 'she is a manager now' (P.10-30), inferring that this dress style helped her friend in achieving her aspirational work goals.

The female I am expected to be

Females also revealed that they avoided wearing certain styles of dresses, as that particular style did not conform to the identity that they were expected to be. This was a particular concern for the participants in their thirties, demonstrated by the following quote:

> If I wore the bodycon dress or a wrap dress my friends would think I was having a mid-life crisis [...] they are very revealing and young and are styles in particular that I am not expected to wear. (P.8-34)

This shows that females choose styles of dresses that allow them to maintain a certain 'expected' identity to others. This is further reinforced by one participant, who stated that she would only wear 'modest' (P.2-32) dress styles as she is a mother and hence is expected to dress in a way that upholds societal expectations. This indicates that females' dress choices are affected by their perceived social role.

Conclusions and future recommendations

Prior studies have found clothing choice to be the salient way in which multiple identities are curated (Roach-Higgins and Eicher, 1992; Peters, 2014; Buse and Twigg, 2015), yet no research has explored whether females choose to wear different styles of dresses in order to achieve or avoid these multiple identities. Table 1.2. summarises the four female typologies which have been found within this study.

Hence, by answering RQ1 this study fills this gap within the literature by providing valuable insights into how certain dress styles are used in order to curate, maintain, hide or express different identities. These findings support Guy and Banim (2000) who explored how clothing choices related to, 'the woman I want to be', 'the woman I fear I could be' and the 'the woman I am most of the time'. However, this research extends these findings by not only investigating how specific styles of dress are used to achieve different identities, but also by discovering a new identity typology, 'the female I am excepted to be', which is the novel contribution of this paper. Indeed, this study found that females who were in their 30s felt pressure to wear certain styles of dresses in order to fulfil a societal expectation. This implies that age also plays a key role in the construction of identity through different dress styles, an area that future research could investigate further. The interviews also answered RQ2 and RQ3 by illustrating that females fear wearing certain dress styles that evoke certain anxieties and felt more confident in dresses which allowed them to achieve their desired body shape, a finding which has also been supported within prior literature (Apeagyei, 2008; Frith and Gleeson, 2008; Zhang et al., 2017). The findings of this paper make managerial contributions by demonstrating that the different identities that females associate with certain dress styles are extremely influential over their purchasing decisions. The outcomes of this paper can provide retailers with a better insight into consumers' clothing preferences and their associations with different styles of dresses, which can better inform their marketing and sales strategies. Finally, this paper contributes to the academic literature regarding fashion choice and fashion identity with a particular focus on the selection process of certain dress styles.

Table 1.2: Summary of Four Female Typologies Curated Through Different Styles of Dress.

	Four Typologies of Self			
	The Female I Fear	The Female I Am	The Female I Desire to be	The Female I Am Expected to be
Dress Styles	Smock Dress Slip Dress Body Con Dress Skater Dress	Jumper Dress Smock Dress Slip Dress	Wrap Dress Midi Dress Skater Dress	Styles they would avoid: Body Con Dress Wrap Dress
Associations	• Looking larger than normal. • Association with younger self. • Accentuated disliked areas of the body.	• Styles to throw on. • Did not require extensive cognitive effort.	• Styles that allow one to achieve their desired body shape. • Styles that made one feel more powerful and professional.	• Social projection of ones-self. • Modest styles. • Dressing for one's age.

References

Alessandro, S., Chitty, B. (2011). 'Real or relevant beauty? Body shape and endorser effects on bran attitude and body image' *Journal of Psychology and Marketing*, 28 (8), 843-878

Apeagyei, P. (2008). 'Significance of body image among UK female fashion consumers: the cult of size zero, the skinny trend', *International Journal of Fashion Design*, Technology and Education, 1 (1) 3-11

Baumeister, R.F. (1982). 'A self-presentational view of social phenomena', *Psychological Bulletin*, 91 (1), 3-26.

Belk, R.W. (1988). 'Possessions and the extended self', *Journal of consumer Research*, 5, 139

Berg, B. (2009). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Boardman, R., McCormick, H. 'Shopping channel preference and usage motivations: exploring differences amongst a 50-year age span', *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An International Journal*, 22 (2) 270-284.

Brownbridge, K et al., (2016). 'Aspirational bodies: fashioning new beauty ideals' *Inter-disciplinary.net*, 1-12

Brownbridge, K et al., (2018). 'Fashion misfit: women's dissatisfaction and its implications', *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An international Journal*, 1361-2026.

Buse, CE., Twigg, J. (2015). 'Clothing, embodied identity and dementia: Maintaining the self through dress', *Age, Culture and Humanities*, (2), 1-31.

Cox, D., Cox, A.D. (2002). 'Beyond first impressions: the effects of repeated exposure on consumer liking of visually complex and simple product designs', *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 30 (2), 119-130.

Crane, D., Bovone, L. (2006). 'Approaches to material culture: the sociology of fashion and clothing', *Poetics*, 34, 319-333.

Drapers. (2017). *Product Returns: Return to sender.* Available at: https://www.drapersonline.com/business-operations/product-returns-return-to-sender/5046165.article?search=http s%3a%2f%2fwww.drapersonline.com%2fsearchar ticles%3fkeywords%3donline+returns+due+to+poor+fi [Accessed: 25th October 2017].

Fiore, A. M, Kimle, P. A. (1997). *Understanding Aesthetics for the Merchandising and Design Professional.* New York;

Fairchild Publications. Freitas, A et al., (1997). 'Appearance Management as boarder construction: Least Favourite Clothing, Group Distancing and Identity... Not!', *Sociological Inquiry*, 67 (3), 323-335.

Frith, H., Gleeson, K. (2008). 'Dressing the Body: the role of clothing in sustain body pride and managing body distress, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 5:4, 249-264.

Goffman, E. (1959). The presentation of self in everyday life. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Goldsmith, R.E et al., (1999). 'Fashion Innovativeness and self-concept: a replication', *Journal of Product and Brand Management*, 8 (1) 7-18.

Grogan, S et al., (2013). 'Dress fit and body image: a thematic analysis of women's accounts during and after trying on dresses', *Body Image*, 10 (3), 380-388.

Grubb, E.L., Grathwohl, H.L. (1967), "Consumer self-concept, symbolism and market behaviour: a theoretical approach", *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 31 No. 4, 22-27.

Gutman, J., Mills, M.K. (1982). 'Fashion life style, self-concept, shopping orientation and store patronage: An integrative analysis', *Journal of Retailing*, 58 (2), 64-

Guy, A., Banim, M. (2000). 'Personal Collections: Women's Clothing Use and Identity', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 9 (3), 313-327.

Hogg, M.K., Michelll, P.C.N. (1996). 'Identity, self and consumption: A conceptual Framework', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 12 (7), 629-644.

Holmlund, M et al., (2011). 'An exploration of how mature women buy clothing: Empirical Insights and a Model', *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 15 (1), 108-122.

Jantzen, C. (2006). 'Becoming a 'Woman to the backbone: Lingerie consumption and the experience of feminine identity', *Journal of Consumer Studies*, 6 (2), 177-202

Kaiser S. 1990. *The Social Psychology of Clothing. Symbolic Appearances in Context.* 2nd edn. Macmillan: New York; USA.

Kang, J.Y et al., (2013). 'Clothing functions and use of clothing to alter mood', *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, 6 (1), 43-52.

Kim, H., Lennon, S. (2010). 'E-atmosphere, emotional, cognitive, and behavioural responses', *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 14 (3), 412-428.

Kim, M. (2018). 'Digital product presentation, information processing, need for cognition and behavioural intent in digital commerce' *Journal of Retailing and consumer Services.*

Kim, M., Lennon, S. (2008). 'The effects of visual and verbal information on attitudes and purchase intentions in internet shopping', *Psychology of Marketing*, 25 (2), 146-178.

Klerk, H., Tselepis, T. (2007). 'The early adolescent female clothing consumer: Expectations, evaluation and Satisfaction with fit as part of the appreciation of clothing quality', *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An International Journal*, 11 (3), 413-428.

Lazar, J et al., (2017). *Research Methods in Human-Computer Interaction.* 2nd edn. Elsevier Inc.

Levitt, H.M., Ippolito, M.R. (2014). 'Being Transgender: The Experience of Transgender Identity Development', *Journal of Homosexuality*, 61 (12),1727-1758.

Lunceford, B. (2010). 'Clothes make the person? Performing gender through fashion', *Communication Teacher*, 24 (2), 63-68.

McNeill, L.S. (2017). 'Fashion and Women's self-concept: a typology for self-fashioning using clothing', *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An International Journal*, 22 (1) 82-98.

Miles, S et al., (2012). 'Fitting in and sticking out: consumption, consumer meaning and the construction of young people identities', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 1 (1), 81-96.

Mintel (2018). Occasion wear (including partywear & bridal wear)-U- August 2018, Mintel, available at: http://academic.mintel.com/display/911104/?highlight#hit1 [Accessed: 19/11/18].

Mintel (2017). Online Retailing-UK-July 2017. Mintel, available at: http://academic.mintel.com/display/845585/?highlight [Accessed: 20/11/18]

Niinimaki, N. (2010). 'Eco-clothing, consumer identity and ideology', *Sustainable Development*, 18 (3), 150-162.

Peters, L.D. (2014). 'You are what you wear: how plus-size fashion figures in fat identity formation', *Fashion Theory*, 18 (1), 45-71.

Rahman, O. (2015). 'Denim Jeans: A Qualitative Study of Product Cues, Body Type and Appropriateness of Use', *The Journal of Design, Creative Process and the Fashion Industry*, 7 (1), 53-74.

Rieke, S et al., (2016). 'Exploration of factors influencing body image satisfaction and purchase intention: Millennial females', *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 20 (2), 208-229.

Roach-Higgins, M.E., Eicher, J.B. (1992). 'Dress and Identity', *Clothing and Textile Research Journal*, 10 (4), 2-9.

Rosa, J et al., (2006). 'Keeping the body in mind: the influence of Body Esteem and body boundary aberration on consumer beliefs and purchase intentions', *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 16, (1), 79-91.

Rubin, H., Rubin, I. (2012). *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data: The Art of Hearing Data*, SAGE.

Saunders, M et al., (2012). *Research Methods for Business Students.* 6th edn. England: Pearson Education Ltd.

Sirgy, J.M. (1982). 'Self-Concept in Consumer Behaviour: A critical Review', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 9 (3). 287-300.

Solomon, M., Schopler, J. (1982). 'Self-consciousness and clothing', *Personality and social psychology bulletin*, 8 (3), 508-514.

Taylor, S et al., (2015). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Guidebook and Resource.* 4th edn, John Wiley and Sons.

Tiggemann, M., Andrew, R. (2012). 'Clothing Choices, weight and trait self-objectification', *Body Image*, 9 (3), 409-412.

Tiggemann, M., Lacey, C. (2009). 'Shopping for clothes: Body satisfaction, appearance investment and functions of clothing among female shoppers', *Body Image*, 6 (4), 285-291.

Vignoles, V.L. (2011). 'Identity Motives' in: Handbook of Identity Theory and Research, 403-432.

Zhang, L et al., (2017). 'The Use of 3D body scanning technology to assess the effectiveness of shape wear: changes in body shape and attractiveness', *International Journal of Fashion Design*, Technology and Education, 10 (2), 190-199.

Appendix I:

Table 1.0. Interview guide
Source: based on Rubin and Rubin (2012) and Boardman and McCormick (2018).

Main Questions	The Self Explored	Probing Questions	Follow-up questions
Can you please comment on what you think each style of dress says about you if you were to wear the dress?	True self Aspirational self Social self Feared self	Why do you think that? Have you ever worn this style before? Would you wear this style in the future?	That is really interesting; please can you tell me a bit more about that?
Which is the dress style that would give you the most/ least confidence?	Aspirational Self Social self Feared self	Why do you think that? Would you feel insecure in this particular style of dress?	That is really interesting; please can you tell me a bit more about that?
What do you think your friends would think about you if you to wear one of these styles of dresses?	Social self Feared self	Why do you think that? Do you choose dresses that are similar to what your friends would wear?	Can you tell me a bit more about why you think that?
Which style do you think expresses your individuality?	True self	Why do you think that? How come you have not chosen another style of dress?	That is interesting; can you explain in a bit more detail as to why a certain dress style does/ does not express your individuality?
Which style of dress do you fear wearing the most?	Feared self	Why do you fear that particular style of dress?	Can you tell me a bit more about why you fear that particular dress?

Acknowledgments

The authors reported no potential conflict of interest.

Funding

Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council supported this work.

ORCID

Courtney Nicole Chrimes ID https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4710-9885

171 'BIOFEEDBACK' IN DEVELOPING FASHION IDENTITY

Author
Evelina Galli Poghosyan
Idyllwild Arts Academy, Otis College of Art and Design, USA

epoghosyan@gmail.com

Keywords
fashion identity
visual self-expression
biofeedback
observer
mirroring

Abstract

During the past few decades, the practice of Biofeedback has gained increasing prominence in medical circles due to the measurable and positive results it provides. Patients presenting various ailments, ranging from ADHD to Autism, have shown quantifiable improvements. The core of the Biofeedback process is to provide the observer-patient with information on their current state, measured with digital tools, and showing the observer the 'optimal' state they should 'aim towards'. In time, the observer-patient begins to mirror the 'optimal' state, thus, improving their existing condition and, in many cases, curing it.

The purpose of this paper is to begin to investigate the existence of such processes that happen on the unconscious level as presented by everyday people that may affect their fashion identity. The limited study presented here provides the basis for further exploratory investigation.

If the brain is in a constant state of observation, does it observe and recognise any type of 'feedback' on the state of its own visual self-expression? Does it 'autocorrect' itself? The first step is to investigate whether there is such a process of observation and autocorrection, and the second step is to explores the sources of the feedback, if such mechanisms exist, in shaping personal fashion identity.

Introduction: what is biofeedback

What is biofeedback? 'Biofeedback refers to any technique which uses instrumentation to give a person [or organism] immediate and continuing signals on changes in a bodily function that he is not usually conscious of.' (Sullivan, 1975: p. 38)

Biofeedback helps bring involuntary responses to the surface of consciousness and makes it easier to recognize and control them. Examples of involuntary response include breathing, heartbeat, sweating, and blood pressure. These involuntary responses are all controlled by the nervous system without conscious effort. Voluntary responses would include tasks such as running, picking up an object, and waving to a friend. People are usually unaware of involuntary responses. In contrast, they make a conscious choice in the case of voluntary responses.

There are several methods of obtaining biofeedback. One of the common methods includes electrodes attached to the patient's skin. These sensors send electric signals to an attached monitor, which displays the current state of the patient through signal, sound or visual information. At the same time, an optimum-desired state graph or additional information might be displayed that helps the patient compare their results to the desired state.

The observer

How does the brain observe? Does it constantly interpret the environment or 'turn on' when being prompted and remain 'dormant' the rest of the time? Scientists assumed that because it requires a great amount of energy for the brain to handle processes, it acts in a more discriminating manner in terms of what it recognises so as to save energy on non-essential observations. As a result, the brain only focuses on those processes that are of the most importance. (Keysers, 2009)

Jay Sanguinetti and his advisor Mary Peterson, a professor of psychology and director of the Cognitive Science Program at the University of Arizona (UA), and with John Allen, a UA professor of psychology, cognitive science, and neuroscience, conducted extensive new studies to monitor subjects' brainwaves with an electroencephalogram, or EEG, while their subjects were observing various presented objects. They concluded that the human brain recognizes everything. It processes all the information and then determines the best possible interpretation and what information should be released from the 'subconscious' level to the 'conscious' level. 'This is a window into what the brain is doing all the time,' Peterson said about the results of their studies. 'It's always sifting through a variety of possibilities and finding the best interpretation for what's out there. And the best interpretation may vary with the situation.' (Littin, 2013)

This information sheds light on the process of observation and demonstrates that the human brain is constantly in the process of observation, recognition, and filtering of information. The brain is continually bringing to the conscious level pieces of information that it is 'exposed to and able to recognize from before' as it simultaneously filters out information that it has no prior exposure to, even though it observed, recognised, and processed it on the subconscious level.

It may be concluded that the brain is constantly processing not only people in our environment but also media, architecture, shapes, colours, the way people dress, the way they groom themselves, etc., and not solely based on the 'familiarity' to push the information to the 'active consciousness.'

Hypothesis

Obvious tools of seeing self-reflection will be considered: mirror, photographs, and video. A 40-person questionnaire was conducted with the goal of finding out the dominant source as well as interviews with four individuals for more in-depth anecdotal evidence. The limited scope of these interviews requires further investigation but provides the basis for a larger study to take place.

Methods

Questionnaire made via Google Questionnaire but printed on paper and distributed to 40 individuals. This included males, females, non-binary, and transgender individuals in creative fields between 13-18 years old.

There were 10 questions, most of them with space for long answers:

1. How can you best describe your personal style?
2. Does your style reflect who you are on the inside fully or would you like to modify something?
3. What would be the ideal image of you that you'd like others to see?
4. What is the best way to observe your identity?
   A. Mirror
   B. Selfies
   C. Video
   D. Other (with given space)
5. Do you know how shapes, colors, textures, grooming, styling elements, and the accessories you wear effect other people's perception of you?
6. Do you know what clothes make you feel a certain way (sad, optimistic, happy, serious, collected, invincible, flirty, sexy, relaxed, etc.)?
7. Does the person you see in the mirror look the way you feel inside?
8. Do you take selfies?
9. Do you feel selfies help you shape your personal style?

And the main question was posed at the end:

10. What is the best way to get feedback on your style?
    A. Mirror
    B. Selfies
    C. Friends
    D. Other (with space given)

Results

The results of the questionnaire came back with an overwhelming majority of 75% stating that they rely on their friends, 7% answered in the other section with family, mom, or boyfriend. A relatively small 12% claimed it was the mirror, and only 6% chose selfies. Based on these results, it was evident that even participants in the creative field stated friends as a major source of feedback. This requires further investigation through in-depth interviews with older participants.

Additional information gathering and analysis through interviews

Interviewees were asked various questions in a conversational manner with a focus on their 'Fashion ID' and development journey. The main question of interest was, 'What was the defining moment, if you can recall, in your style development process?'. Older participants who had a well put together style were selected to see if with age comes more independent choices in clothing.

Film director, female, 55 years old: In the beginning of my career, I was working as a PA on the film set with aspirations to be a film director one day. I was pretty comfortable and happy running around in my shorts and sneakers. One day I was casually chatting with the wardrobe supervisor, and she asked who I wanted to be when I grow up? I said that my goal is to be a director. She looked at me from head to toe and said, 'You'll never be a director running around in your shorts and sneakers.' That was harsh, but I realized she was not trying to offend me. She was being honest and basically telling me that I looked too 'weak,' and in the age where the industry was only dominated by male directors, appearing weak would not have a chance [for a female]. From that day on, I never wear shorts or shirts or sneakers! My uniform became dark pants with cool biker boots, which I tweaked a little bit when I was in New York by adding some chic jacket and scarf and more polished boots. In LA, I'd wear more casual-looking designer jeans, tee-shirts, and possibly a biker jacket that looked worn but read 'status' for the 'in-the know' Hollywood crowd. If you want to succeed in your chosen profession you need to dress the part and look like someone who has what it takes to do the job.

It is striking that her 'Aha' moment came not from a mirror or photograph or reading some book, but rather is based on someone's earnest comment that she recognized as genuine and helped to form her Fashion Identity.

Chief Financial Officer, male, 52 years old: I don't remember the exact moment, but my parents were both very strict about appearances. They said if I want to command respect, I cannot dress like a slob. They were a fashionable but conservative couple, but they were encouraging me to make money, buy high-quality products, and care for my clothes, look, and fit. It was not as much about 'expensive' clothes but more about the 'right' clothes, so I would fit nicely into the business society and sometimes even be just a tad better to covey status without being flashy or excessive. Even now I hate baggy clothes. Even on my days off I try to wear clothes from natural fibers that are body slimming and not overly baggy. I take care of my body and exercise, so there's no reason to wear baggy clothes.

It's clear that his family was providing 'feedback,' which was part of his upbringing and culture and stayed with him for life as part of his Fashion Identity.

Investment Banker, male, 65 years old: I was a poor kid and barely had money to cover my rent, so I could not even think about clothes. I was working on railway construction, so I can't even remember what I wore, but it was always dirty and baggy. At some point I realized that the girls I liked and wanted to be with didn't really care about poor railroad construction workers in dirty clothes. One even laughed that I should not stand too close or I'd make her clothes dirty. It made me really angry, but I could see her point. I decided to do a job where I only wore suits, like important people on Wall Street. I've heard the saying that 'clothes don't make the man,' but in all truth, I think they do... they absolutely do. In my early twenties, I was in the perfect physical shape with dirty clothes and no decent girl would talk to me. Now I am 65, but I wear Zegna. In all honesty, now, I don't really care about clothes, but I deal with high net worth clients, and if I don't convey a professional and status-conscious image with the right clothes, right watch, right car, and show that I am on their level, why would they trust me with their money? Now it's part of the lifestyle. I don't go to the gym in designer clothes, but I still can't look like a slob there as well since I might run into someone. I like being tidy as well, so I guess it is part of who I am now.

It's literally 'rags to riches,' and much like before, it is the same painful style of feedback coming from outside that helped shape his Fashion Identity.

Attorney, female, 45 years old: After law school, I was still getting the hang of navigating through my world. I had no clue about fashion nor cared about any of that 'frivolous' stuff. But a rude awakening came one day at the deposition when the opposing counsel made a crude remark asking if I was going to a tea party afterwards because I looked so 'cute.' I felt like I was struck by lightning. I was wearing a white shirt with embroidery that had some tucks and pleats, and I was feeling great about my choice to look 'feminine and confident.' However, all my confidence was gone in a second. Here I was playing with sharks, in a male-dominated profession, and I was trying to look cute and feminine. As a novice attorney that was not a wise choice. I could have put more thought into it, and I didn't, so I had to suffer the consequences. Now I wear slick and polished choices that don't have to be 'masculine' but still convey power. You still need to assert yourself and look professional with just the right touch of feminine softness for the jury to be sympathetic towards you and for you to command respect from the judge, opposing counsel, and your client. I think now I do think a lot about how I present myself in the world. In my free time, it's a different story. I like to wear boho and creative styles like Free People, thrift finds, athleisure pieces. I just think you need to be clear where you are and what you are trying to convey with your look.

In her storyline, she also mentioned the comment versus mirrors or photograph feedback, which in this case was an 'opposing' party who was trying to distract her and be demeaning. However, it put her on the path of finding her own style that is more in line with what she does.

Mirror neurons

Based on the 'validity' of the observation, the brain also fires mirror neurons which are 'multimodal association neurons that increase their activity during the execution of certain actions and while hearing or seeing corresponding actions being performed by others.' (Keysers, 2009)

The reason that we 'filter the impute' and fire up 'mirror neurons' is purely survival-based behavior. 'If we want to survive, we must understand the actions of others. Furthermore, without action understanding, social organisation is impossible. In the case of humans, there is another faculty that depends on the observation of others' actions: imitation learning. Unlike most species, we are able to learn by imitation, and this faculty is at the basis of human culture.' (Rizzolatti, 2004)

Mirror neurons also play a discriminating role on what we perceive as 'familiar' and 'safe' and 'foreign' and 'dangerous.' According to Christine Hsu, when we observe the movement of a person we dislike, our brain perceives these movements in a slower mode versus someone who we like. The brain processes someone we dislike as a 'foreign and potential danger' and, thus, makes us be more observant in the way they move so we can prepare accordingly if they strike. On the other hand, someone who we 'like' and perceive as a friend does not require a special 'filter' or 'processing,' so we observe them in normal speed. (Hsu, 2012)

'Like' attracts 'like'

So how does our brain determine who we 'like' or 'dislike?' The traits for this determination can exist on all levels: physical, mental, and emotional. However, the first clue the brain processes is the visual reaction to physical familiarity, and thus, forming 'first impression judgments,' which last about 400 milliseconds according to Mary Peterson. 'There's a brain signature for meaningful processing,' Sanguinetti said. 'A peak in the averaged brainwaves called N400 indicates that the brain has recognized an object and associated it with a particular meaning.' Peterson adds, 'It happens about 400 milliseconds after the image is shown, less than a half a second.' (Littin, 2013) It takes time to recognise someone's emotional, mental, and spiritual views. As such, the visual reaction is the fastest way for the brain to begin discerning familiarity and unfamiliarity.

There is strong evidence of people being attracted to those who look like us not only as romantic partners, but on the level of friendship and work as well. 'It is a well-known finding that we choose friends who are similar to us in background and attitudes, a psychological phenomenon known as homophily.' However, recent research has found that the faces of group members are more similar than non-group members. In one of the studies, participants submitted photos of their friend's faces. Detailed measurement of the faces found that friends had more similar facial structures and features than compared to non-friends', according to Ronald E Riggio Ph.D (2017). Because perceived similarity leads to group formation, facial appearance may play an important and yet relatively overlooked role in determining group membership.' states Eric Hehman (2018). Interestingly, this understanding of attraction applies to pets, as well as to inanimate objects, such as cars, buildings, clothing, accessories, and so on. Visual and physical factors are not the only form of attraction. People can be attracted to each other on an emotional level, such as liking the same music, enjoying the same sports, spiritual beliefs, political standpoints, and intellectual interests. Whatever area of the brain is the most dominant in a particular person creates a stronger attraction pull. According to Neil Fleming (1995) there are four major sources, four sensory modalities for processing information:

1. Visual
2. Auditory
3. Physical
4. Social

Most often it's a combination of factors through a mix of dominant elements. The visual modality often tends to be more compelling because visuals are where the brain receives the most amount of information.

Addressing the opposites attract argument, it is usually opposite qualities that we would like to have that we find attractive: the ying to our yang that we aspire to and believe would make us 'whole.' The average person doesn't have all aspects in themselves presented as dominant traits, so partnerships are able to create a more balanced 'whole,' adding the necessary strengths to the unit while enhancing the existing core.

Conclusion

Of course, additional studies are required to fully determine the results, but from this small research study, it is evident that we construct and shape our identities, in this case Fashion Identities, based on feedback from the people around us.

A notion that goes in opposition of the thought that we 'individually' create our social selves, in this case Fashion Identities.

> A social identity theory of group behavior (and the individual-group relationship) is introduced and from it are derived further theories of social influence and group polarization... It is shown in the social identity theory (theories) of group behavior. Social influence and group polarization explicitly assumes a functional interaction between psychological and social processes, in contrast to individualism, and at the same time generates distinctive, testable, empirical predictions. It is concluded that the social identity concept represents a mechanism of social-psychological interaction and as such demonstrates that social psychology need not be an individualistic.
>
> (Turner, Oakes 1986)

Often we have selected those people based on how well they resemble us or who we want to be. In a twisted way, it reminds us of the story of Narcissus staring at her own image and getting 'feedback' from the mirror. Our 'mirror' is our friends and peers that we have selected based on how closely they resemble us, or how 'familiar' or 'aspirational' they are.

However, let's not forget about the outliers. Not everyone mentioned friends as their feedback source. What are the brains' mechanics that predispose us to one or the other way of relating to and reacting to our environment?

L. Festinger (1975) describes our relation to our surroundings and people based on a person's awareness levels. Awareness is what predisposes us to interactions and reactions to people in our environment. This includes how we function in the reality of modern society. Human beings continually adjust their mental attitudes and personal actions to fit into a perceived expectation. Such continual adjustments, between cognition and action, results in one of three relationships with reality as he explains they fall into three categories:

1. Irrelevant relationship: Cognitions or actions unrelated to each other
2. Consonant relationship: Cognitions or actions consistent with each other
3. Dissonant relationship: Cognitions or actions inconsistent with each other.

To 'translate' this for Fashion Identity research, three similar levels and types of people are proposed.

Level 1. (Irrelevant relationship)
Unaware dresser
Unconscious influence: people who are not self-aware about how they look and what impact it makes on others. These people have no idea why they are misfits and how to improve on this. Classic examples include Mark Zuckerberg, Einstein, Susan Boyle, fictional characters Ugly Betty, or Andrea Sachs from The Devil Wears Prada.

Level 2. (Consonant relationship)
Socially aware dresser
Conscious influence: these people are well aware about who influences them and who they want to emulate. They are trying to fit in with their chosen 'right' crowd, and they might even use social status symbols to one up others. Obvious examples include Steven Spielberg, Elon Musk, Ralph Lauren, Michelle Obama, and Jennifer Lawrence.

Level 3. (Dissonant relationship)
Creator
Conscious Disregard: people well-versed in visual self-expression and consciously trying not to fit in and embrace being different. This group includes the likes of Coco Chanel, Daphne Guinness, Isabella Blow, Karl Lagerfeld, Patti Smith, and John Galliano.

It requires more research and exploration, but there is a clear theory in development here. The essential lesson is that if you don't like your Fashion Identity, the easiest solution is to change your 'mirror,' or in our case, the people whose feedback influences you. The other and more challenging way would be to 'rise above' Biofeedback and become a creator.

References

Ivarez L, Jaffe K. (2004) *Narcissism guides mate selection. Humans mate assortatively, as revealed by facial resemblance following an algorithm of 'self-seeking like'.* Evol Psychol [Internet]2:177–94.

Biofeedback Therapy: Uses and Benefits. (n.d.). Retrieved January 4, 2019, from https://www.webmd.com/a-to-z-gui

Debruine, L. M., Jones, B. C., Little, A. C., & Perrett, D. I. (2007). *Social Perception of FacialResemblance in Humans. Archives of Sexual Behavior,* 37(1), 64-77. doi:10.1007/s10508-007-9266-0

Festinger, L. (1957). *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance.* California: Stanford University Press.

Hehman, E., Flake, J. and Freeman, J. (2017). *The Faces of Group Members Share Physical Resemblance.* Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 44(1), pp.3-15.

Personali Hiebert, B. (2012). *Biofeedback Therapy*

Hsu, C. (2012, October 05). *Liking Someone Affects How Your Brain Processes the Way They Move.* Retrieved January 4, 2019, from https://www.medicaldaily.com/liking-someone-affects-how-your-brain-processes-way-they-move-242947

Keysers, C. (2009). *Mirror neurons.* Current Biology 19(21). Amsterdam

Littin, S., & University Communications. (2018, February 19). UA Study: *Your Brain Sees Things You Don't.* Retrieved from https://uanews.arizona.edu/story/ua-study-your-brain-sees-things-you-don-t

Retri Rizzolatti, G., & Craighero, L. (2004). *The Mirror-Neuron System.* Annual Review of Neuroscience, 27(1), 169-192.

Ronald E Riggio Ph.D. (2017). *Why Do You and Your Friends Look So Much Alike?* Cutting-Edge Leadership. Retrieved from: https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/cutting-edge-leadership/201708/why-do-you-and-your-friends-look-so-much-alike?eml

Singer, W. (1999). *The Observer in the Brain.* Understanding Representation in the Cognitive Sciences, 253-256.

Sullivan, E. A. (1975). *The future: Human ecology and education.* Homewood, IL: ETC Publications.

Thorpe, V. (2008, September 06). *Why portraits look so like the artist.* Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/a
Turner, J. C., & Oakes, P. J. (1986). The significance of the social identity concept for social psychology with reference

Waytz, A., Heafner, J., & Epley, N. (2014). *The mind in the machine:* Anthropomorphism increases trust in an autonomy? (n.d.). a Northwestern University, USA b University of Connecticut, USA c University of Chicago, USA Retrieved from https://www.psychologytoday.com/us

Manchester Metropolitan University

IFFTI

8–12 April 2019