Changing Fashion

A Critical Introduction to Trend Analysis and Meaning

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FASHION AS PERFORMANCE

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> Fashion is defined as the art of the perfect moment, of the sudden and surprising and yet obscurely expected harmonious apparition —the Now at the threshold of an immediate future. But its realization is, at the same time, its destruction. By appearing, and giving definitive form to the moment, fashion is almost already part of yesterday.
>
> Vinken, 2005

The aesthetic and academic exploration of fashion as performance began to gain attention beginning in the 1990s as scholars and artists working in performance studies, film studies, gender studies, and the performance arts took notice of the theoretical and expressive possibilities of dressed appearance. The multi-disciplinary breadth of this exploration, including performing artists as well as academicians from diverse fields, presents a challenge to organizing this chapter. For the purposes of clarity we utilize Richard Schechner's division of performance into two main realms, those: (1) 'looking at human behavior—individuals and social—as a genre of performance'; and those (2) 'looking at performances—of theatre, dance and other "art forms"— as a kind of personal or social interaction' (1985: 296). To state it differently, Schechner discerned a useful distinction between performances of everyday life, which we witness without buying tickets, and those performances which are staged for an audience. Fashion, we will discover, is part of both types of performances, and within those performances seeds are planted giving rise to fashion change and related cultural transformation.

The relatively late emergence of fashion studies within performance scholarship can be attributed to the following converging attitudes. Firstly, the ephemeral nature of fashion made it vulnerable to dismissal by scholars interested in studying the 'lasting' and 'significant' aspects of culture; secondly, the link of fashion to consumer culture often meant it was relegated to analysis as a consumer behavior; and finally, for second-wave feminists, fashion was interpreted as symbolic of the subjugation of women to male gaze and desire (Church Gibson, 1998), making its study somehow a validation of sexist attitudes and behaviors. Ironically, the very attitudes which delayed the serious regard of fashion as a form of performance are now the essence of the emergent interest in fashion as performance. Fashion *is* fleeting and ephemeral, but as such it is the ideal embodiment of the modern condition – and what must be embraced as *real* in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century (Lehman, 2000). Fashion *is* the most visible and fluid form of 'commodity fetish'. Living in the age of the consumer, fashion allows us to embody our desire, buy our identity – in the most intimate sense, and is the consumer product most linked to the performance of everyday life. Finally, *yes, yes, yes*, fashion is about gender construction, and about dressing for others to see, and within this process, scholars, designers, and artists have found the potential for transforming gender through performance.

In some ways what has occurred is a rediscovery of what was already noticed once before, by some of the most thoughtful artists, designers, and scholars of the early twentieth century. Post World War I artists and writers who were struggling to unleash themselves from art based in the static classical traditions, saw the momentary ephemeral nature of fashion as the perfect embodiment of the new modern aesthetic. Ulrich Lehman, in discussing the conceptual connections artists and writers saw between their ideas of modern art and fashion, stresses the performative, the transistory nature of sartorial expression:

> for the artist in modernity, beauty lies expressing in the contemporary and no recourse to the ancient ideal of sublime beauty is permitted. Fashion is the supreme expression of that contemporary spirit. It changes constantly and remains necessarily incomplete; it is transitory, mobile, and fragmentary. This quality ties it in with the pace and rhythm of modern life. (2000: xii)

The notion that modernity is about the ephemeral played a large conceptual role in the emergence of performance art during this post-war time period, as artists working in diverse mediums together defined a new twentieth-century direction for creative expression. Early explorations of the link between fashion and art resulted in performances including the work of designers such as Sonia Delaunay and Paul Poiret, as well as artists and writers of the period.

This chapter will focus on late twentieth and early twenty-first-century examples of the role of performance as an instigator to fashion change. Using Schechner's ideas, the case studies are divided between those that are integrated into everyday life, that happen without a ticket on the stages that surround us; and those that are formal staged productions, requiring tickets. Opening case studies will be performances of everyday life, including performances enacted as a part of surrounding popular culture, performances which help create the spirit of the time or Zeitgeist; and finally how subcultures enact performances that impact the wider culture through challenging assumptions and normative behavior.

Performances of Everyday Life

Wearing our Identities: Popular Culture as Performance

Gwyneth Paltrow, wearing folk-style headdress of fall flowers, declares on the cover of October 2005 *Vogue* 'I HAVE SOMETHING THAT's SO REAL.' MADONNA (written in red and all caps), is 'REINVENTED FOR THE VERY LAST TIME' as a 'Marvelous Mom and English Lady of the '

her hair on a French estate outside of Paris. Madonna as 'Marvelous Mom' and 'Lady of the Manor' wears Galliano polka dots and plays with her son who is dressed as a medieval knight, defending her on the Manor. How do the lives of celebrity icons like Madonna and Gwyneth function as a form of performance popular art within our culture, and how do they contribute to fashion change?

Fashion coverage in early nineteenth-century women's magazines took a didactic tone, and focused on telling women what was in fashion, and how and where to wear it. Middle-and upper-middle-class women, eager to imitate the dress of the upper class, read fashion magazines for guidance in following the current rules of fashion and social etiquette. Elizabeth Wilson contrasted this function of early fashion coverage with what exists today, accurately capturing the purpose of the 'Lady of the Manor' and 'I am so Real' *Vogue* fashion spreads, which was to create in the viewer the desire to capture the life of their popular culture icon, through buying and wearing their look:

> Fashion is a magical system, and what we see as we leaf through glossy magazines is 'the look'. Like advertising, women's magazines have moved from the didactic to the hallucinatory. Originally their purpose was informational, but what we see today in both popular journalism and advertising is the mirage of a way of being, and what we engage in is no longer only the relatively simple process of direct imitation, but the less conscious one of identification. (2003: 157)

The continual definition of gender identity, captured aptly in the Madonna cover headline, 'REINVENTED FOR THE VERY LAST TIME,' is noted by Wilson as she discusses the impact of fashion photography (2003: 158), noting the sensual relationship between the viewer and fashion imagery, with modern photography stimulating a continual dialogue on what it means to be a woman, and increasingly a man, in Western culture. The nineteenth-century focus on accurate depicture of a fashion product, so that it could be copied and disseminated, is replaced by what Wilson terms 'images of desire'(2003: 157), that captured a lifestyle and attitude of popular culture icons, making the viewer feel that consuming the fashion will also capture the dream.

The full performance of both Madonna and Gwyneth is of course much more permeating than these two fashion spreads in a popular fashion magazine. Both have long histories of popular culture performance, both on formal stages, and in informal contexts such as talk shows, interviews, and unsolicited media coverage (see Schwichtenberg, 1993; Gilligan, 2000). Fashion thus becomes embedded within a wider range of leisure entertainment, with fashion change happening on multiple levels and in multiple places, as designers, mass-market product developers, teenagers in the rural Midwest, and European elite all pick up on the look of popular culture icons all at the same time, and through different mass communication channels. Fashion is thus an ongoing constant performance, as popular culture cult figures move in and out of publicity's glare and popularity. In some cases changes happen as cult figures alter their identity, such as Madonna, for example. In other cases, cult figures are replaced with those capturing more closely the Zeitgeist, the spirit of the age.

'Adorned in Zeitgeist': The Contribution of Barbara Vinken

> Fashion has become what art had wanted to be: the Zeitgeist expressing itself in visible form. Its stage is no longer the opera or race course. Fashion is now made, worn, and displayed, not by the bourgeoisie or the aristocracy, but on the street.
>
> (Vinken, 2005: 41)

The tracing of changing styles through Western costume history is often accompanied by explanations for the new looks focusing on changing world views and changing times. The simple argument is that as the so-called 'spirit of the times' or zeigeist changes, styles in fashion, architecture, music and other arts also change to express the new mood of the age. As an early example, Max von Boehn, in his three-volume history of costume series, argued that dress and other visual arts conform to the 'spirit of the age' (1933: 62, see also Uzanne, 1898). Style changes are thus seen to reflect rather than precede cultural and social changes, and to be reactive rather than formative agents in the change process. More recently, Barbara Vinken has revitalized the term 'Zeitgeist', focusing on the performance aspect of fashion, with the dressed body performing and therefore playing a role in formulating the spirit of the times. Rather than being a reflection or expression of the times, within the scholarship of Vinken, fashion becomes the very embodiment of the ever-changing moment:

> Fashion is defined as the art of the perfect moment, of the sudden surprising and yet obscurely expected harmonious apparition—the Now at the threshold of an immediate future. But its realization is, at the same time, its destruction. By appearing, and giving definitive form to the moment, fashion is almost already part of yesterday. (2005: 42)

The agency of fashion, the role of fashion as instigator of cultural change, is dated by Vinken to the 1970s, when she argues post fashion began to dominate the streets. With the post-fashion era Vinken argues that 'the fashion designer loses his [her] absolute power' and 'fashion becomes a co-production between the creator and those who wear the clothes' (2005: 35). With this movement to the streets, rather than within the imagination of particular designers, post fashion becomes more formative as it is used as an emblem of changing identities and attitudes of the wider cultural population.

Like many others, Vinken embedded fashion and its development as a designer-based industry within an analysis of cultural construction of femininity, and gave the Victorian designer Charles Frederick Worth the credit for 'creating an aura around fashion and promotion as a new art for modern times' (2005: 19). In these early years of the couture industry, argued Vinken, fashion concerned itself with marking female sexuality and artifice in clear contrast to the perceived authenticity and physical and intellectual potency of men. Women's secondary sexuality characteristics were overly emphasized by corseting and bustles, and posed in dramatic contrast to men's sober business looks of the period. The Vinken-labeled

'fetish of femininity' emerged, with fashion becoming an arena marked by the interplay between the natural and artificial, with women's bodies molded to satisfy male gaze and desire. The established pattern of males lusting after particular female body parts and garments emerged in this time period, with possession of female fetish symbolizing male power and accomplishment.[1]

For the next hundred years fashion concerned itself with ever new inventions of womanhood, always playing off the original fetish of femininity created in the Victorian period (see Vinken, 2005 for a more complete discussion). Playing with such traditions as the male dandy, designers like Coco Chanel marked the 'modern' woman, by playing with the vocabulary of the fetish female through cancellation of key aspects of the fetish female by removing the corset and flattening the chest. The feminine fetish in different form returned in the 1950s with the New Look, the last strong statement before the emergence of post fashion.

Fashion as performance emerged in the post-fashion era as designers in collaboration with people in the streets deconstructed the original fetish of femininity. It was at this point that fashion became performative and generative, according to Vinken (2005). Unleashed from the design establishment, no longer tied to either marking or canceling the fetish of femininity, fashion came to life as the embodiment of discourse on gender and the contemporary condition:

> In the West, fashion becomes 'carnivalistic': it cancels the divisions of classes and genders, and, more than this, it exposes the function of costume and disguise at work in categories of class and gender. (2005: 64)

Vinken (2005) provided a number of good case studies of post-fashion Zeitgeist performance; our case study will focus on one of the earliest versions of post fashion: the English female punk street fashion, as influenced by British designer Vivienne Westwood.

Essential to Vinken's concept of post fashion is the denial of the 'natural' categories of gender, and the refusal to accept the social principles of class. Subcultural punk style, as analyzed by Evans and Thornton (1989), deconstructed both class and gender, creating a street performance that in its popular manifestation created broader fashion change. In terms of Vinken's concept of post-fashion emanating out of the street, it is important to point out that subcultural punk style's meanings were embedded within the female fetishized 'bad woman of the streets,' contrasted with the good virtuous woman at home. The Victorian dichotomy between good domesticated women, and street prostitutes was thus deconstructed by punk women as they defied accepted-class and gender-based categorization systems by the way they decked themselves and performed in the public arena.

In terms of female gender punk women deconstructed multiple other aspects of the female fetish as first presented in the fashionable Victorian world. Firstly, the notion that a woman constructs herself as a sexual object to be desired by men is turned on end by punk women. As analyzed by Evans and Thornton:

> Punk women … jettisoned conventional prettiness and sought instead to look tough, menacing and threatening. In doing so they pinpointed the masquerade of femininity, the unholy alliance of femininity, naturalness, good taste and good behavior. (1989: 18)

Class distinctions are also deconstructed in punk looks, with punk women defying class-based rules instructing women to dress tastefully, as an expression of social background and accomplishment:

> Punk fashion for women was an alternative to the perfect gloss of high fashion orthodoxy, with its notions of good taste, naturalness and wholesomeness, and its insistence on conventional beauty, slenderness and flawless skin. By contrast punk seized on the flashy, cheap, and tacky: fluorescent colours, fake leopard-skin, fishnet stockings, plastic stilettos, pancake make-up and obviously dyed hair. These accoutrements together signified an interaction of sexuality and class that was resolutely unsoftened by tastefulness.
>
> (Evans and Thornton 1989: 20)

The popularization of punk and its integration into broader Western culture, spreading (as personally documented) as far as rural college campuses in the Midwestern United States, involved what Hebdige (1979) termed the 'conversion' of the sub-cultural style into mass-produced and marketed fashion objects. These fashion products, while carrying references of the original subcultural look, are void of the style's original nonconformist meanings. An example of this conversion process is the Zandra Rhodes couture version punk on display at the Victoria and Albert Museum which Evans and Thornton describe as 'a meticulously torn, beaded … safety-pinned and zip-riddled black evening dress', designed to apply 'taste to the wound', creating a pleasing and conventionally attractive appearance style (1989: 31). Appearing in 1979, this dress signaled the conceptual end of the authentic punk movement with the adoption of the punk trend by upper-class women, and the linking of the punk look to beauty culture.

Sub-Cultural Style as Performance: Punk Violation of the Codes of Masculinity

Dick Hebdidge's analysis of male punk style, centered more on issues of class than gender, focused on the meaning of sub-cultural style within the consumer-dominated late twentieth century. Viewing punk styles as a form of disturbing conspicuous consumption, Hebidge viewed sub-cultural style as a reflection of 'the tensions between dominant and subordinate groups' (1979: 2). Hebdige argued that punk street performance challenged accepted class and gender norms by creating what he termed 'noise,' 'interference in the orderly sequence' of normal life, through disturbing use of consumer products to create violations of accepted codes of behavior (1979: 91).

Similar to others in this chapter, Hebdige interpreted male punk styles as performance, as a drama that focuses and forces an audience to see surrounding reality in a different way:

> the punks were not only directly responding to increasing joblessness, changing moral standards, the rediscovery of poverty, the Depression, etc., they were dramatizing what have come to be called 'Britain's decline' … The punks appropriated the rhetoric of crisis which had filled the air waves and editorials throughout the period and translated it into tangible (and visible) terms. (1979: 87)

The drama presented by punks was in part the visible display of objects displaced from the trashy world of late twentieth-century Britain and worn on the body as an emblem of Refusal, the unwillingness to accept the status quo:

> Objects borrowed from the most sordid of contexts found a place in the punks' ensembles: lavatory chains were draped in graceful arcs across chests encased in plastic bin-liners. Safety pins were taken out of their domestic 'utility' context and worn as gruesome ornaments through the cheek, ear or lip. 'Cheap' trashy fabrics … in vulgar designs … and 'nasty' colours … were salvaged by the punks and turned into garments which offered self-conscious commentaries on the notions of modernity and taste. (1979: 107)

The public behavior of punks completed the performance, by matching the visible display of outrage with blatant disregard for social codes and normative expectations:

> The punks wore clothes which were the sartorial equivalent of swear words, and they swore as they dress—with calculated effect … clothed in chaos, they produced Noise in the calmly orchestrated Crisis of everyday life in the late 1970s. (1979: 114)

In the disturbance created by punk street performance, as enacted through dress and behavior, fashion change occurs as perceptions are altered by the challenge created by sub-cultural discourse.

The ultimate impact of punk on mainstream fashion is captured in this quote from a 1977 fashion editorial in *GQ*, counseling readers on how to wear punk:

> Punk, if treated with extreme delicacy and sensibility, can be made to work with the season's overall fashion direction. Take the torn T-shirt. Carefully slashed to ribbons, it can work perfectly with freshly minted blue jeans and a wool over-shirt. Worn as part of the overall Punk statement, however, it is unsubtle.
>
> (quoted in Jones 1987: 133)

With this fashion column in *Gentleman's Quarterly*, men's punk styles, like their female counterparts, are absorbed into trends supporting accepted forms of gendered identity – serving no longer to challenge but to reinforce hegemonic masculinity.

Stage Performances: Tickets Required

The formal stages on which fashion change is initiated include rock performances, runway shows, sports events, and film. The ability of mass media to broadcast such performances to a much broader audience than those seated at the live show, has increased the power of these staged events to create broadly based and widely accepted fashion change. The second half of this chapter introduces you to a range of staged and ticketed performances and discusses how they initiate fashion change.

Runway Shows as Performance

Runway fashion shows emerged at the turn of the twentieth century staged in couture houses, department stores, and at charity events throughout the United States and Europe. Related to the democratization of fashion made possible through mass production and mass dissemination of fashion-trend information, fashion shows became the arena of fashion performance, with the spectacle helping to create the names and labels sold throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century. With the movement in the late twentieth century toward experimentations with identity, fashion shows became performances with diverse intentions, launching ideas as well as products.

Caroline Evans viewed the runway as 'space of artifice that offers a particularly modern platform for the performance of gender as image and idea' (2001: 273). Citing the long association between cultural construction of femininity and fashion, Evans saw runways as the performing zone for enacting gender, with changes visibly brought to the fore by fashion products, teamed with special effects and spectacle. As an example, Vivienne Westwood's introduction of the mini-crini, worn with a blazer and platform shoes on runway shows in 1985, is apt. A knocked-off favorite of the mid 1980s, Westwood's original design drew together meanings of female dress from the Victorian and the 1960s to create a modern interpretation of femininity:

> The mini-crini re-presents a consideration of the history of sexuality and of fashion's changing definition of the female body. The hooped crinoline is an invention of the nineteenth century, associated with empire, while the mini is a product of the 1960s and swinging London. It is a cultural hybrid that is required to be read in terms of both its antecedents. If the crinoline stands in for a mythology of restriction and encumbrance in women's dress, in the mini-crini that mythology is juxtaposed with an equally dubious mythology of liberation associated with the mini-skirt. In it two sets of ideas about female desirability are conflated: one about covering, the other about uncovering the female body.
>
> (Evans and Thornton 1989: 148)

Imitations, according to Evans and Thornton (1989), were often knocked off void of the concept originally put on the runway by Westwood. This draining of the conceptual meaning of fashion objects through the mass-production process is common, as meaning laden performance is translated into popularized trend.

Duggan (2001, see also Khan, 2000) usefully categorized fashion shows into distinct categories,[2] and then went on to link the different types of shows to performance art. In all cases the runway show becomes a visible means of performing style for an audience, affecting them through spectacle, concept and/or form, process, or socio-political statement. Fashion changes initiated by such shows expand beyond simple dictation of sleeve length or skirt shape, to selling ambiance, ideas, and attitudes.

The spectacle show focuses on production and dramatic effects, captivating audiences through venue, model selection, lights, and music. Audiences are encouraged to adopt fashion change through the seduction of the production, in combination with the looks which are presented on the runway. The 1964 Courreges 'space age' show in Paris, is often cited as one of the first spectacle shows that sold an audience a new look through model choice, venue, music, and production ambiance:

> In January 1964, the journalists filing into the Courreges salon in Paris were astonished to find themselves in a stark modern room with white vinyl walls and white boxes to sit on. Loud beat music was playing and when the show started, giant girls with close cropped hair, freckles, suntans and wide, white grins came pounding out wearing skirts inches above the knees and flat white boots. Courreges was launching his 'space age' clothes and he was shrewd enough to know that it would be useless to show such revolutionary ideas unless you did it on a new kind of girl in a new kind of salon.
>
> (Keenan, 1977, quoted in Evans, 2001: 297)

In contrast to spectacle shows, conceptual approaches to runway show production focus on concept, process, or form with a designer or design house presenting an idea to the audience. Individual designs and models in this type of show, are secondary to the abstract concept. Duggan (2001) provided the example of the 1999 Viktor & Rolf haute couture show, which explored the concept of a designer dressing a static and passive female fashion figure:

> An example of this emphasis [a substance approach] can be seen in Viktor & Rolf's Fall 1999 haute couture show, which featured a single model standing on a circular rotating platform. At the start of the show she is wearing only a burlap slip and undergarments. As the show progresses, the designers clothe her in successive layers of burlap and Swarovski crystals, Russian-doll style, until her head is barely visible. The intimacy of the act, as well as the designer involvement in the process, focuses on the action of clothing the body, allowing process to overshadow product. (2001: 251)

Designers interested in sculptural form sometimes devote an entire show to exploring new shapes on the body. For example Yomamoto's 1992 show experimented with Madeleine Vionnet's innovative use of bias cut:

> If one follows up on the experiments of Yomamoto … sooner or later one is led to Madeleine Vionnet, whose cutting technique created a body that was no longer divided into a two-dimensional plane … but rather self-moving, and three-dimensional, its form constantly changing space. The fabric modeled the body in different ways, depending on whether it was cut with, against or diagonal to the wave of the thread; … Behind Vionnet's clothes stood the femininity of the classical statue. Yomamoto appropriates Vionnet's technique for his own purposes—not in order to establish a normativized beauty in a static space, but rather to reveal the beauty of the incomplete and the imperfect: a transitory beauty, beauty in transit.
>
> (Vinken, 2005: 112–13)

Fashion change was thus initiated by Yomamoto's show through altering the audience's concept of ideals of feminine beauty as expressed through the sculptural form of the dressed body. Women were moved to adopt new looks, through appreciation for new concepts of beauty.

Designers interested in process focus on technological or structural innovation, exposing the audience to the creative or inventive process. Duggan cites Miyake's 1999 show as an example:

> In his Spring and Fall 1999 shows, Miyake featured a team of assistants dressed in black, who participated in the production by reshaping a garment while it was on the model, or cutting out a new shape on the floor of the stage. These mini-performances reinforce Miyake's interest in manipulation and transformation by making the process of garment design and construction the focal point of the show. (2001: 255).

Similarly, novel applications of traditional fabrications, or newly emergent textile products are sold to an audience through emphasis on function and fiber performance.

Designers interested in social and political commentary stage fashion shows that focus on communicating a message. For example, Miguel Adrover has staged shows in which he has turned products produced by luxury labels such as Burberry and Louis Vuitton inside out, reconstructing them into anti-fashion commentaries on the trend toward conspicuous consumption as expressed through established luxury logo merchandise (Duggan 2001: 265). In some cases the message is carried not by the design, as much as the production itself. Duggan describes a 1999 statement show focused on highlighting fashions damaging endorsement of narrowly defined body ideals:

> Red or Dead, a label based in London, have repeatedly defied ideal body types in their shows. The Fall 1999 collection featured an obese male model who lifted his shirt to reveal the word 'unique' on his chest. The label also featured atypical models such as albinos and dwarfs to reinforce their message (2001: 267).

While the fashion change impact on these shows may seem indirect, they have the power to create changing attitudes, and in so doing changing fashion trends.

Film as Performance

> Stardom demonstrates the extension of commodification even to the most intimate, personal realms: all aspects of the star personality—from clothing, hair-styles, and makeup, to biographical details, tastes and fantasies—are grist to the commodity's mill, and can be sold as part of the star products.
>
> (Suarez 1996: 221)

Film, with its ability to link fantasy, fashion, and identity has historically played a strong role in the display and spread of fashion trends. Silk evening wear from 1930s depression era American films was knocked off in less expensive mass-produced rayon, and worn in living rooms throughout the United States. Similarly, the menswear-inspired fashion looks designed by Ralph Lauren and worn by Diane Keaton in Annie Hall, were immediately found in fashion magazines in 1977 (Bruzzi, 1997). Andy Warhol's underground films, featuring marginal social characters dressed in cutting-edge street versions of high fashion, have been credited with helping to move fashion from the couture houses to the streets (Suarez, 1996).

While certainly 'stardom' sells fashion, the role of film performance in creating fashion change is larger than individual celebrities – with costume sometimes standing independent of character and plot line, and influencing the audience toward new looks and new identities (Bruzzi and Church Gibson 2000; Bruzzi 1997). These films successfully captured the spirit of the times through fashion imagery, causing audiences to look past plot lines, actual celebrity lives, and character, and focus on their own desires, needs, and fantasies as expressed in fashion objects. The following case study researched by Jacqueline Reich (2000) demonstrates the power of film to communicate and create desire for a fashion trend, with costume leading the way, rather than character and plot.

In 1959 Federico Fellini released *La Dolce Vita* staring Marcello Mastroianni as Marcella Rubini, an Italian gossip journalist. Dressed in the latest Italian men's fashions, Rubini made his way through seven days in the film, fumbling ineptly through a series of humiliating circumstances, victimized by a number of women who take advantage of his provincialism. Ironically, given his role in the film, Mastroianni emerged from this film labeled by the public as 'The Latin Lover' – a term indicating sexual prowess and svelte style:

> Yes, from La dolce vita on, this label of the Latin Lover, which doesn't fit me, stuck to me. At first I played chauffeurs, ingenuous workers modest but very nice young men. After this film new proposals for more intellectually committed roles started to arrive, but there was always some story in the middle involving the Latin Lover, with which I had nothing to do because I have never been one. In fact, I was always busy saying: 'Excuse me, but in La dolce vita this protagonist is not a lady-killer – he doesn't conquer anyone. If anything he is the one conquered. It's women who use him and he, being provincial, innocently falls for it every time! The foreign actress uses him; his mistress uses him, even though she may be the only one over whom he has the least bit of authority; the woman in the castle of aristocrats uses him – he is only the victim!' So, I'm not exactly sure what this idiotic term palmed off on me means. People have labeled me as such evidently because I wore a blue blazer in the film and moved in a circle with a lot of women.
>
> (Faldini and Fofi 1981: 17, quoted in Reich, 2000: 217)

What in fact audiences caught hold of and remembered was the image of Mastroianni as a style symbol for post-war Italian affluence. The meaning of his character, and later his 'stardom,' was wrapped up in the audience's desire for Italian style, as captured in an individual male actor in this particular film, in this particular time period:

> Both the genesis and the success of La dolce vita arose in part out of the post-war cultural climate of Rome as it evolved from 'open city' to the hot spot of the rich, famous, and beautiful. It became a haven for the international jet set, the cultural elite, and the Italian and American film communities. As a result of this world-wide exposure, by the late 1950s Italy emerged as a cosmopolitan style-maker and trendsetter with the success of Vespa, the Fiat 500, and, last but not least, Italian fashion.
>
> (Reich, 2000: 210)

Mastroianni as a star thus served as a catalyst for his audience's blossoming identification with all that was Italian. He is remembered not for the character he played, or the plot of the film, but rather for the fashionable figure he cut, and what that image of male identity symbolized for the audiences of the late 1950s:

> The Latin Lover is above all a product, a consumer icon, a cultural commodity offered up for consumption to the international public. Mastroianni was a symbol for Italian style, for a style of life that resonated with a national public experiencing greater prosperity after years of struggle and with an international consumer market hungry for all things Italian.
>
> (Reich, 2000: 210)

Fashionable dress in *La Dolce Vita* thus stood independent of plot, character, and identity of the actor, to create a visible embodiment of a new look, which was captured in the short-hand commodity term 'Latin Lover.' The term 'stuck,' not just to Mastroianni, but to a whole series of fashion objects which were then marketed internationally carrying the aura and meaning first planted by the Italian fashions worn in this film.

Music as Performance

> Nike, then the number-two company in the shoe business, was in a bruising but losing battle with Reebok … In 1986, they fired their ad agency and hired Wieden and Kennedy … One night, two W & K admen saw 'She's Gotta Have It' [hip-hop video], in which Spike Lee's oddball character Mars Blackman stomped around in Air Jordans. A light bulb

> went off. They called Lee and told him they wanted to pair him with Jordan. In 1988, when Spike [Lee] and Mike [Jordan] began filming a series of spots that would shock the advertising world, Reebok was a $1.8 billion dollar company, and Nike trailed at $1.2 billion. A year later, Spike and Mike's ads helped propel Nike past Reebok, and the company never looked back. Not only did Nike's success confirm that niches were the future, it also confirmed that a massive shift in tastes was occurring— from baby boomer to youth, from suburb to city, from whiteness to Blackness.
>
> (Chang, 2005: 415)

Strong feelings of identification and collective identity are experienced through musical performance (McLaughlin, 2004; Frith, 1996). The connection of the body – through movement, stance, and dress, to the meaning of the music – draws the audience into a physical and emotional relationship with performers, as they experience the music as sound, energy, and visual spectacle. Audiences are bonded through this experience, as commonly they live through the performance and react to its impact in their everyday lives. Hiphop, initially a musical form that helped construct inner-city youth identity, spread in the 1980s beyond those borders into the suburbs, with white youth wanting Air Jordans to get to Blackness, drawn to the message and energy of hip-hop music, and the attraction of a high-performance sports figure, Michael Jordan.

As a popular music performance scholar, Frith spoke to this as he commented 'music is especially important for our sense of ourselves because of its unique emotional intensity—we absorb songs into our own lives and rhythm into our own bodies' (1996: 273). Further, in discussing the impact of music on formation of identity, Frith commented that 'identity comes from the outside, not the inside; it is something we try on, not something we reveal or discover' (1996: 273). This tendency to feel that we as an audience can 'try on' a musical identity, translates into well-documented examples of audiences using dress to mark connection and identification with popular musical performers such as David Bowie and Grateful Dead.

Hip-hop initially 'was tried on' as an urban style, when the music of 'Niggaz with Attitude,' a group from Compton, an urban underclass neighborhood in LA, released an album that opened up the floodgates to youth across the nation to do it themselves:

> After the album was officially released on January 25, 1989, it went gold in six weeks. It had been recorded for under $10,000 … Like a hurricane that had gathered energy over hot open waters before heading inland, Straight Outta Compton hit American popular culture … Hip-hop critic Bill Jam says 'Niggaz With Attitude' (NWA) made it look easy inspiring a Do-It-Yourself movement for anyone from the streets to crank out gangstra rap tapes.' All one had to have was a pen and pad of paper, a mic, a mixer and a sampler. Thousands of kids labored over their raps in their dark bedrooms, then stepped onto the streets.
>
> (Chang, 2005: 320)

The powerful sound and timely release of 'Straight Outta Compton', a hiphop anthem that celebrated the power of local narratives springing out of deindustrialized inner city street neighborhoods, made African-American, Chicano and Latina youth spring alive with their own stories. Listening to NWA rapping 'We're born and raised in Compton!' made youth denied access to jobs and the American dream who were 'increasingly uninterested in whitewashed hand-me-downs' (Chang, 2005: 320), feel empowered to create their own culture and values. Chang pointed out the powerful impact of the local to identity construction during this time period, going as far as to link Clinton's 1992 Democratic Convention video-biography to the NWA release:

> After Straight Outta Compton, it really was all about where you were from. NWA conflated myth and place, made the narratives root themselves on the corner of every [neighbor] 'hood. And now every 'hood could be Compton, everyone had a story to tell. Even Bill Clinton's sepia-toned videobio, aired at the 1992 Democratic Convention, could have been titled Straight Outta Hope. (2005: 321)

At the same time that 'Straight Outta Compton' rooted rap in the local neighborhood, it also called for an embrace of what hip-hop critics came to call 'The Real,' unapologetic rapping that forced a reaction, often by using lyrics that were blatantly violent, misogynistic, and homophobic. Claiming to be the only artists 'speaking for the brother on the corner' (Chang, 2005: 328), musicians like NWA and Ice Cube unapologetically used violence to raise the power of their music to a riveting intensity, working to broaden its appeal out of their own neighborhoods and into affluent white suburbs. The music became an anthem for a generation that included youth from a cross section of neighborhoods and circumstances:

> rappers had to represent—to scream for the unheard and otherwise speak the unspeakable. Life on the hair-trigger margin—with all of its unpredictability, contradiction, instability, menace, tragedy and irony, with its daily death and resistance—needed to be described in its passionate complexity … A generation needed to assassinate its demons.
>
> (Chang, 2005: 328)

The look of rap became a fashion movement capturing the meaning and mood of the music, popular well beyond the neighborhoods giving rise to the musical style. Advertisers and product-development teams 'discovered that urban youth of color—until then an ignored niche—were a more brand-conscious, indeed brand-leading, demographic than they had ever realized' (Chang, 2005: 417). The term 'urban' became linked in young consumers' minds with being hip, and being powerful, and multi-racial youth were both initiating and spreading hip-hop style. Companies like Nike, as captured in the quote opening this case study, cashed in and led this trend.

Judith Butler: Undoing Gender on Stage

> And while he has been no stranger to theatrical, gender-twisting finery onstage, and while his earliest work was presented in the queer mecca of the East Village's Pyramid Club in the early 90's, it would be wrong to call him a drag act. The makeup and silk slips he has worn onstage have never seemed to be an imitation of womanliness but more a pursuit of a kind of inclusive idea of beauty that he is still in the midst of defining. He has also appeared in handsome suits and, once, with a sack over his head.

(Hodgman, 2005: 26)

This description of Antony, of Antony and the Johnsons, captures Judith Butler's concept of gender as performance, with the role of the repeated act as a means of altering or challenging the accepted male/female binary gender system in the West. The essentialist position that femininity and masculinity are 'natural' categories is challenged by Butler (2004a, 1999), who argued that gender is constituted through what she called a 'series of acts which are renewed, revised, and consolidated through time' (2004b: 157). Focusing attention on stylization of the body through gestures, movements, and appearance, Butler argued that the body 'becomes its gender' (2004b: 157) through a series of performances. Transformation of gender occurs (and we as authors add, style change occurs) as individuals alter the performance, subvert the normative by ignoring or purposefully violating the unstated rules of gendered identity.

Using Butler's ideas, Antony's series of performances in which he altered dress and hair styles, pushing audiences to transcend normative categories of gender, forced novel considerations of gendered identity and style. For example, in 1995, Antony staged a play in New York in which a businessman gets pregnant and gives birth to Anne Frank. The manipulation of gender expectations unsettled the audience, both in terms of how he appeared and the subject matter he presented in text and performance. This type of unsettling experience can act as a catalyst, giving rise to newly formulated concepts of male, female, and transgendered identity.

At the same time that Antony was on stage manipulating gender in theatre and music, the designer Gaultier was performing a series of challenging gender acts on the men's runways in Paris. Leaving behind the normative definitions of male gender performance focused on unmarked sexuality and sober competence, Vinken points out the exuberant embrace of fetishized sex that Gaultier put on the runway during this time period:

> In Gaultier designs, it is evident that the age of renunciation has been left behind. Men's fashion no longer appears in the name of unmarked sexuality, but is instead unscrupulously marked, covered with all the sex symbols available on the market. Like women, Gaultier's men wear furs, bright colors, funky cuts, skin tight leggings; every form of uniform fetish is indulged. In his winter 1997 fashion show, one could even catch a glimpse of the codpiece. (2005: 32)

Gaultier did not just confine his gender experimentation to men. During this same time period, Gaultier performed femininity on the runway, challenging the concept of 'natural' female sexuality, by putting bustles, bras and corsets on the outside rather than hidden on the inside of designer garments (Vinken, 2005: 32).

The unleashing of gender from nature, and the notion that gender isn't real until it is performed, while perhaps most articulately stated by Butler, is visually embodied by fashion of the 1990s and early new millennium, with its insistent challenging of the binary system of gender. Popularized trends, such as the wearing of innerwear as outerwear for women, and padded briefs for men, emerged out of this continual renegotiation of gender performed on runways by a range of innovative designers. While it can easily be argued that the overstated codpiece presented by Gaultier on the runway was not adopted widely, the presence of underwear advertisements in the *New York Times* nine years later featuring understated, padded, codpiece-style underwear, illustrated how the subversive becomes the trend in the twenty-first century.

Performing Fashion in the New Millennium

The theories presented in this chapter focused on understanding fashion change as instigated by performances, both those performed to a ticketed audience, and those enacted as a part of popular culture. While the range of performances reviewed is wide, including everything from runway shows, to street fashion, to film, there are several key common theoretical elements. These elements are summarized briefly followed by a set of case studies exploring the performance of masculinity in the twenty-first century.

Summarization of Key Elements of Performance Theories

Element 1: Fashion is Performed both on Stage and as a Part of Everyday Life

Schechner (1985) discerns a useful distinction between performances of everyday life, which we witness without buying tickets, and those performances which are staged for an audience. Fashion is performed in both arenas and both types of performances instigate fashion change and related cultural transformation.

Element 2: Fashion Plays a Role in Formulating the Spirit of the Times, or Zeitgeist

The tracing of changing styles through Western costume history is often accompanied by explanations for the new looks focusing on changing world views and changing times. The simple argument is that as the so-called 'spirit of the times' or Zeitgeist changes, styles in fashion, architecture, music, and other arts also change to express the new mood of the age. Barbara Vinken (2005) has revitalized the term 'Zeitgeist,' focusing on the performance aspect of fashion, with the dressed body performing and therefore playing a role in formulating the spirit of the times. Rather than being a reflection or expression of the times, within the scholarship of Vinken, fashion becomes the very embodiment of the every changing moment.

Element 3: Fashions Allow Us to Embody our Desire and Purchase our Identity

Fashion is the most visible and fluid form of 'commodity fetish.' Living in the age of the consumer, fashion allows us to embody our desire, buy our identity, in the most intimate sense and the most linked to the performance of everyday life.

Performing Masculinity: Emergent Consumer Identities on Stage

From a performance perspective, predicting emergent cultural identities and linked fashion products involves watching for cultural performances with momentum and possible market niche or wide appeal. Scholars interested in cultural studies as well as fashion professionals interested in forecasting trends both depend for direction on sensitivity and submersion in popular culture. The following four case studies focus on new-millennium versions of masculinity. The first case study focuses on a performance that has the potential to recharge a fashion trend of the past. The second case study explores the possible establishing of a new look through the emergence of a new and influential version of male identity. Case study three is an examination of the runway as an arena of gender redefinition and trend development. Finally the chapter ends in West Africa examining the role of a new male masking tradition in revising the look, the relationships, and the attitude of young Central Pende males. Unlike the case studies used earlier within the chapter, the impact of these performances is untested, but the potential for their market niche or more broadly based acceptance is explored and discussed.

Bull Marketing: Cowboy Culture Rides into the New Millennium

> On an early November Sunday, the crowd at the Gator—in the Orleans Hotel and Casino just across the street from the strip—was made up of bull men, ranch hands and stock contractors, just as it had been all week. They were here for the annual Professional Bull Riding finals—a 10-day pageant of smokeless tobacco and Western wear and strange contradictions, not to speak of the central spectacle of seven evenings of men trying to stay on the backs of enormous bucking bulls. The event is held every fall in America's No. 1 city of sin, filling Las Vegas with cowboys of all stripes—from working ranchers spitting in cups to C.E.O.'s who carry Palm Pilots in their holsters and make Armani and Stetson look as if they go together.
>
> (Halpern, 2006)

The Western shirt is an emblem of American identity with a power to recur as a trend on a regular basis, carrying varying meaning linked to particular cultural time periods. The first adoption of the shirt as a popular trend was in response to the wearing of extremely ornate western wear as costume by early rodeo and Wild West show performers and by actors in early Western movies. Tamed versions of the shirts became associated with the lifestyle of a working rancher, thus moving from stage to real life. In tracing the movement of the shirt from the stage to the ranch owner, Weil and DeWeese also gave credit to the popular dime novels of the period, that attracted not only working ranchers and ranch hands to the apparel, but a more general American audience enthralled with the lifestyle messages of Western wear:

> In order to understand how Western fashion became popular, it should be put in the context of popular culture. The West was first popularized by dime novels. Billions of them were published during a fifty-year period beginning in 1860, according to the Buffalo Bill Museum in Golden, Colorado. This was the first, mass-produced entertainment industry, something like the television of its day. Dime novels fed the myth of the West to the hero-starved East. The Wild West shows of Buffalo Bill and the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch took the West on the road, thrilling audiences across the United States of America and Europe. Silent films, and later 'talkies', took off where the Wild West shows had left off, perpetuating the romance and excitement of the West (2004: 19).

Predicting and understanding the cultural meaning of an emergent Western-wear trend involves not only comprehending the performance-based spread of the fashion, but also the spirited appeal of the Western myth to the American imagination and sense of identity. The concept of the frontier, not only within the United States but worldwide, is a recurring and retold myth conjured at key points in history to construct and reconstruct American male identity. The integral role of the conquering of the Western frontier to American economic growth pointed out by Slotkin (1992), served to embed Western mythology in notions of individual success and national identity. The predictable recurrence of men's Western wear on both American and European runways and the closets of American men is living testimony to the continuing power of this myth.

The emergence of bull riding as a men's spectator sport, compared by Halpern (2006) to the popular culture phenomenon of Nascar, has the potential to once again revive the Western shirt and cowboy boots as widely worn emblems of male identity. Obvious symbols of wealth and accomplishment in the form of fashion products are displayed at bull-riding events as the wealthier audience members flash Western wear worn with Rolexes. Mixed into the crowd of working cowboys, these high-end fashionable versions of Western identity help to perform a uniquely American version of masculinity. Evidence of the spread of the trend to American college campuses is emerging as mechanical bull contests and Western line dancing are being offered as weekend entertainment for students.

Performing Masculinity: The Neanderthal TV Hero

> According to research conducted by the upstart male oriented network Spike TV men responded not only to brave and extremely competent male leads but to a menagerie of characters with strikingly antisocial tendencies … The code of such characters, said Brent Hoff, 36, a fan of 'Lost,' is: 'Life is hard. Men gotta do what men gotta do, and if some people have to die in the process, so be it.'
>
> (St. John, 2005: 2)

Television offers ongoing performances that play fundamental roles in formulating a range of popular cultural identities, including gender. Consumer research provides helpful analysis of the popularity of particular television programs among demographic populations that can help to alert the cultural observer to trends in how masculinity and femininity are being performed on the television stage and their broad or market niche appeal to distinct groups of consumers. In this particular case study covered by the *New York Times* in 2005, Spike TV, a cutting-edge network focused on young male viewers between eighteen and forty-nine, conducted research revealing the emergence of a new male anti-hero tough guy, with broadly based appeal to young American men.

Examination of the behavioral trends of these popular male television leads reveals an edgy, flawed-personality type often drawn to resolving conflict through violence and direct action, and openly sexist in attitudes toward women. Revenge behaviors are often condoned within the plot lines, with male audiences drawn in and identifying with a flawed and typically violent protagonist. Related trends contributing to this 'I am not

ashamed about it' bad-boy look is a series of best-selling books by self-declared sexist males, with such book titles as *I Hope They Serve Beer in Hell, The Modern Drunkard*, and *The Alphabet of Manliness*. An editor for one of the books summarized their appeal: 'I think all these books are about men searching for a model other than what they're being told to do, something more rebellious, less cautious and less concerned with external approval.' (St. John, 2006: 8)

Styles of dress worn by these television anti-heroes are in dramatic contrast to the super-clean good guys of earlier television history, typically expressing the bad good boy, with emphasis on dark edgy looks dominating in black. Similarly the authors of the bad-boy books present themselves in public appearances as sloppy frat boys holding drinks and/or cigarette-toting lounge lizards in bad suits. The question then becomes, for the fashion trend analyst, how this set of related male performances will be embodied in new fashion looks.

'Fred and Fred' Ballroom Dance as Runway Activism

Caroline Evans's concept of the runway as a performance arena wherein gender is manipulated and redefined through a complex mixture of special effects, ambiance, and design was brought to life in a underground theatre below the Louvre in the presentation of the collection of Viktor & Rolf in Fall 2006. This runway show, falling into the classification of a concept show according to Duggan's (2001) categorization system, was intended by Viktor & Rolf to challenge gender rules and expectations. This challenge was linked to the show's commercial intent of launching Victor & Rolf's new cologne for men, Antidote. With backing from L'Oreal, the cosmetic giant, this cologne is primarily marketed within Europe to a gay audience and has been purposefully named and promoted to carry 'its own tantalizing wiff of AIDS-era politics' (Trebay, 2006e: E8).

The ambiance of the show, with its intended linkage to formal ballroom dancing, was introduced to the audience by the set-up of the theatre which included chandeliers and small tables with gilded chairs. Guy Trebay (2006e) in particular noted the serving of champagne at this afternoon show, as mood altering for the audience, moving them into a mood of formal anticipation. The show opened with a male and female couple ballroom dancing down the runway, followed by the presentation of models accompanied by a live rather campy performance by Rufus Wainwright of Judy Garland classics. The clear linkage to the classic music of Judy Garland and the ballroom dancing of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers is accomplished in these two sections of the show.

The choice of Rufus Wainwright to perform as a part of this fashion show production made a pointed and significant link between the person who Trebay refers to as 'the first postliberation era gay pop star' (2006d, E1) and the launch of Antitode cologne. Wainwright's own camp-inspired tribute concert to Judy Garland in New York at Carnegie Hall in June 2006 set the stage for the campy link of this fashion show to the classic ballroom dance of Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire. Not coincidently Mr Wainwright was dressed by Viktor & Rolf for this heavily publicized concert.

The conceptual challenge to the audience, and the political content of the show, was expressed on the runway just before the final presentation of models that ended the show. Harkening back to the opening of the show, the classic ballroom male-female runway dance, this pivotal section of the show reinterpreted the Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire moment in the presentation of a set of six all-male dancers in formal ballroom attire. The significance is captured by Guy Trebay in his review of the show:

> It was just before the final parade of models appeared, however, that what could have been another canned fashion spectacle turned into something else. Pumped from the ceiling, a bank of artificial fog rolled onto the runway. Suddenly, through the mist, appeared eight men in tailcoats and with patent-leather hair. Filing on to the catwalk as the orchestra struck up a song, each turned crisply to one another, partnered and began to dance. Fred and Ginger became Fred and Fred.
>
> (Trebay, 2006e: E8)

Similar to Rufus Wainwright's accomplishment of moving classic Judy Garland music into the lexicon of male gay culture, this fashion production staged by two male gay Dutch designers effectively claimed an important element of popular culture history for a gay audience, by changing the rules of its presentation.

The political nature of the show and its conceptual link to the activism of the two Dutch designers is made evident in the comments from Viktor Horsting, captured by Guy Trebay in his fashion review:

> 'We really felt like the show was about making your own rules,' said Viktor Horsting, who is surely one of the few people so committed to his beliefs that he revoked his baptism in the Roman Catholic Church last year to protest the Vatican's stance on homosexuality. 'It was using the very unnatural form,' or ballroom dancing, Mr. Horsting said, 'to question what is natural.'
>
> (Trebay, 2006e: E8)

Thus in an intricately designed production these two male designers effectively integrated the launch of a cologne for a cosmetics multi-national leader with a political message of gender redefinition in the new millennium. Again, the role of the trend analyst is to predict the impact of this runway redefinition of gender on up-and-coming fashions.

Masculinity Danced in West African: The Fashionable Young Man

The Central Pende of Zaire have a vibrant masking tradition with a history of invention and reinvention of tradition. The traditional masquerades were danced for religious purposes as well as a form of popular entertainment. Currently the masks are performed almost exclusively as entertainment, most often appearing at festivals, on television, and sometimes in traveling troupes in other countries. This responsive tradition, with its openness to the invention of new characters with changing social circumstances, has proven more resilient than other neighboring traditions. For example, the related Eastern Pende, who have more rigidly held to the traditional role of the masks in religious rituals, have devolved over time to only include a small number of masks which are rarely performed to an audience of primarily older community members (Strother, 1995).

The mask in the traditional arts of West Africa included not only a carved wood face piece but an overall costume, as well as a mode of dance associated with distinct traditional and emerging characters. Among the Western Pende a new mask is carved in response to an idea or a character

that emerges as important within the community. In the case of the invention of the mask embodying a fashionable young man, the idea originated with a young male villager named Gambetshi. According to his story, he was up in mango tree trying to pick a ripe mango for himself when a middle-aged woman called up to him to fetch her a good mango. After picking her mango and throwing it down, he again tried to pick himself a piece of fruit, but was interrupted once more by an older woman insisting he serve her interests, and so the afternoon progressed. Finally out of patience he cried out protesting the assumption that the young are always expected to serve the old within his community. Out of this experience grew the desire to dance the modern young man character at a community masquerade, in part as a protest against traditional patterns of power between older and young members of his community.

The first time Gambetshi danced the character his movements were well defined as the modern fashionable young man, but the costume and mask were improvised. Encouraged by the audience response to his mask he sought out a sculptor to carve the wooden portion of the mask. Strother captures the collaboration between this young man and the sculptor as the new version of West Pende masculine is embodied in sculptural form:

> In Gambetshi's mind, modernity was associated with naturalism. He had to insist most emphatically on abandoning the visual codes for which Central Pende masks are known, such as downcast eyes and a continuous brow. [The sculptor] wished to sculpt the facepiece with sharply chiseled features conveying a young man's taut muscularity, with bulging forehead and disproportionate large eyes and nose. Despite the dispute, the sculptor finally had to bow to the custom of meeting a client's wishes. He then created a work unique in Pende masquerading for its soft modeling, naturalistic proportions, fleshy mouth, and painted rather than carved eyes.
>
> (Strother, 1995: 27–8)

Most significantly for this case study was Gambetshi's insistence on the newly fashionable retro hairstyle associated with 'young men devoted to up-to-the-minute fashion' (Strother, 1995: 28). The use of fashion trends to embody new masculinity thus became an element of this particular masking tradition and its challenge to historical gerontocracy.

This case study illustrates the applicability of Zeitgeist (or spirit of the times) concepts of fashion-change theory even in diverse settings such as West Africa. In this case the exposure of young men to urban life in West African cities had begun to alter their notions of masculinity, giving rise to a new kind of man with an evolving relationship with others in the community. By going through the process of creating dance movements, a costume, and finally a carved mask to express this modern notion of a man, Gambetshi captured the spirit of this distinct moment in time among the Central Pende. With the dancing of the costume with its fashionable hairstyle and other trend accessories the mask has the potential to instigate transformation of gender and also fashion trends.

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[1] For a discussion of the theoretical basis for the fact that males fetishize female body parts and garments, while this behavior is not common among women, see Valerie Steele (1996: 12-13).

[2] Duggan's categories and category names have been slightly modified in order to clarify the meaning for the reader. For original discussion see Duggan (2001).

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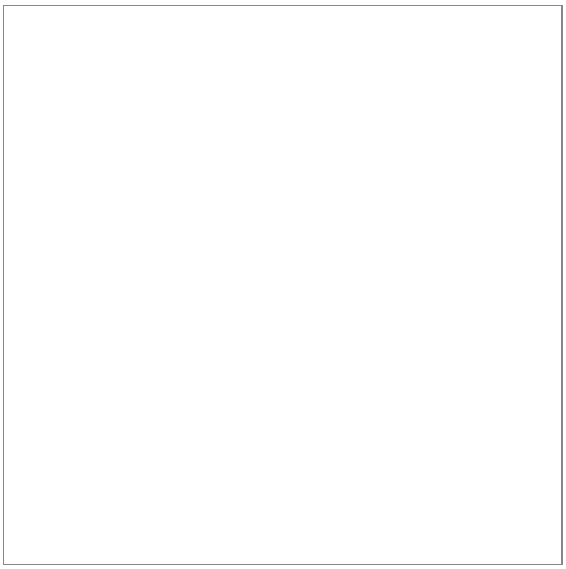

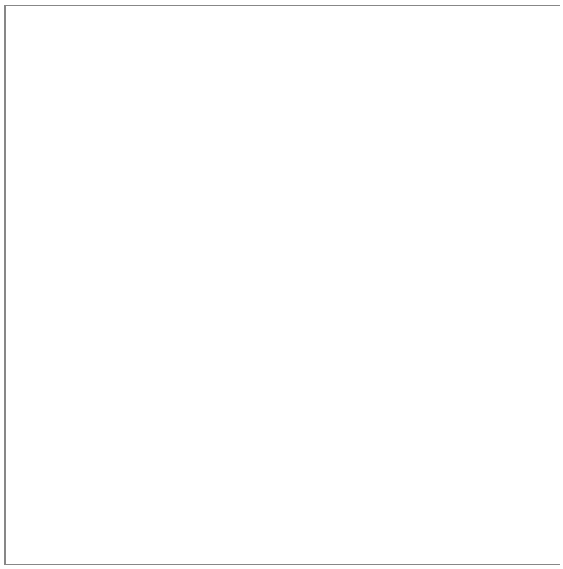

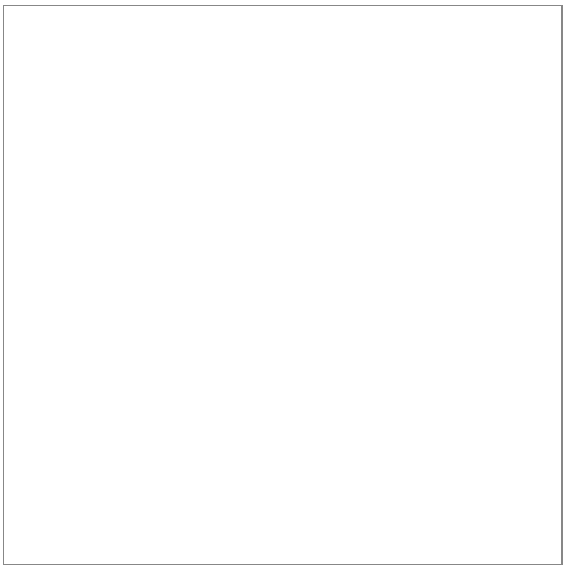
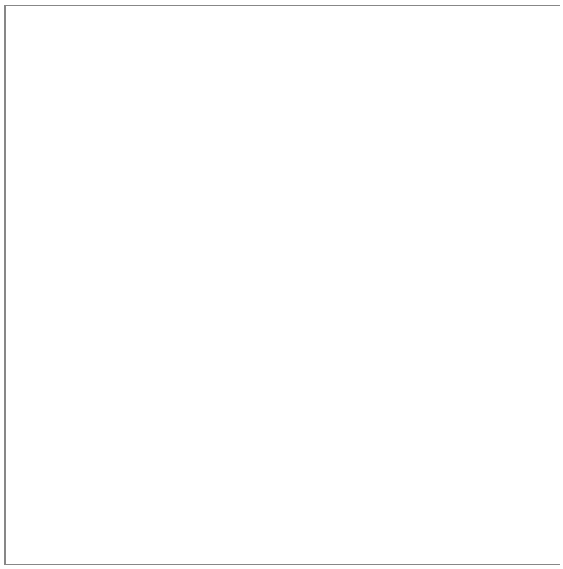
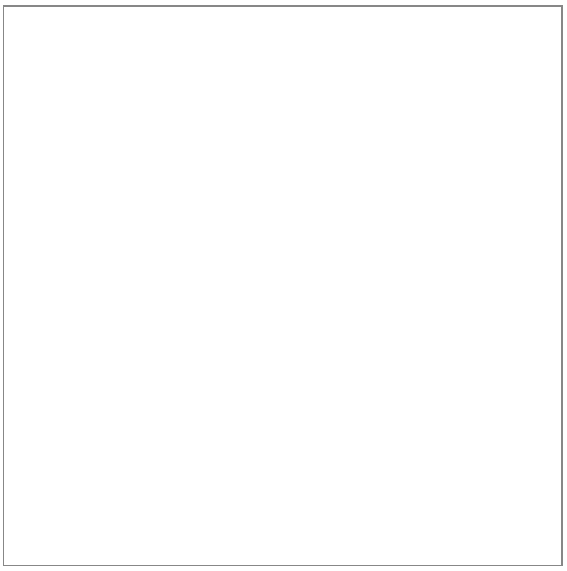

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Goth Music and Media — Book chapter
Dunja Brill
Source: *Goth Culture. Gender, Sexuality and Style,* 2008, Berg Fashion Library
As a music-based subculture, Goth and its gendered meanings call for an analysis of how gender is represented in Gothic music and the subcultural music press. However, there is a crucial difference between the self-representations of individual Goths in interviews or Internet forums, on the one hand, and the mediated, formally published sonic, textual and visual representations in Goth music and media, on the other hand. There exist different cultural fields in or through which the Gothic subcult

Fashion Change in the New Millennium: An Introduction — Book chapter
Annette Lynch and **Mitchell D. Strauss**
Source: *Changing Fashion. A Critical Introduction to Trend Analysis and Meaning,* 2007, Berg Fashion Library
Raised as a Roman Catholic, Madonna adopted the Hebrew name Esther … Madonna's interest in Kabbalah has been covered intensely by the media. She gained a surge in sales of Kabbalah red string bracelets, a red string or stone-studded bracelet used to ward of evil. She reportedly refused to work on Friday night and Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. Awareness of the Kabbalah Center has grown considerably.

Selling Goth? The Producers of Subculture — Book chapter
Paul Hodkinson
Source: *Goth. Identity, Style and Subculture,* 2002, Berg Fashion Library
As one might expect, non-subcultural producers varied considerably in wealth and influence, ranging from transnational major record companies to local independent shop owners. In the main, non-subcultural producers provided media, consumables and events oriented to a mass or large niche market (Thornton (1995): 122–60), but it is worth noting that they also played their part in certain products which, due to their highly specialist audience orientation or limited availability, could be described

DIY in DIY (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta): Everyday Production in the Indonesian Indie Scene — Book chapter
Brent Luvaas
Source: *DIY Style. Fashion, Music and Global Digital Cultures,* 2012, Berg Fashion Library
All the industries in Bandung emerged out of hanging out at first. The pioneers (of the indie scene) emerged out of the hangout spots…And it's still like that to this day.

Sex, Dress, and Power in the Workplace: 'Star Trek, The Next Generation' — Book chapter
Sharron J. Lennon
Source: *Appearance and Power,* 1999, Berg Fashion Library
French and Raven (1959) present a typology of the bases of social power in interpersonal influence which has been subsequently revised and updated several times (Raven, 1965, 1983, 1992, 1993). Raven (1992) defined social influence as 'a change in the belief, attitude or behavior of a person, the target of influence, which results from the action, or presence, of another person or group of persons, the influencing agent' (p. 218). Given this definition of social influence, social power is then de

Reel to Real Life: Re-Fashioning India from Bollywood to Street — Book chapter
Arti Sandhu
Source: *Indian Fashion. Tradition, Innovation, Style,* 2015, Berg Fashion Library
Cinema in India is an extremely influential cultural medium. India has the world's largest film industry with over 1,000 films produced every year in more than 20 languagesIbid. and over 14 million Indians go to the movies on a daily basis.In 2008 the industry was valued at approximately US$2.2 billion, and expected to grow by 9 percent p.a. till 2015 (Deloitte 2011 report: "Media & Entertainment in India Digital Road Ahead." www.deloitte.com/in [accessed June 4, 2013]) Many more watch them at ho

Events, Friendships and Commitment — Book chapter
Paul Hodkinson
Source: *Goth. Identity, Style and Subculture,* 2002, Berg Fashion Library
Before we address the importance of specifically goth-oriented or subcultural events, there is a need to examine the role played by more mixed events attended by goths. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, it was not uncommon for goths to form a reasonable proportion of the clientele for general 'alternative' events, which also accommodated punks, indie fans, crusties and others. Toward the early 1990s, however, the stylistic emphasis of many such events had moved away from goth, in favour of l

Buying Goth: Subcultural Shopping — Book chapter
Paul Hodkinson
Source: *Goth. Identity, Style and Subculture,* 2002, Berg Fashion Library
Whilst emphasizing the importance of consumer goods to subcultural styles, Dick Hebdige (1977, 1979) positions the creative use of these, prior to the moment of commercial incorporation at least, as resistant to hegemonic capitalism. More specifically, subcultural styles involved a 'semiotic guerrilla warfare', whereby external everyday consumer goods were appropriated into a subcultural context and took on new, subversive meanings (ibid. 1979: 105). This book has already questioned notions of st

Setting the Scene — Book chapter
Dunja Brill
Source: *Goth Culture. Gender, Sexuality and Style,* 2008, Berg Fashion Library
Spring 2003, Lowlife, a Goth clubnight in Brighton (England). More than a decade later I am again sitting in the corner of a smoke-filled club, watching people dance. The eerie guitar sounds have become rare over the years; the rhythms have got faster and harsher, and so have the dance styles. I spot a man with a crew cut, combat fatigues and a muscle shirt, stomping back and forth in a martial manner to the sound of distorted electronic beats. Next to him there is a girl dressed in a tight black

Television and Fashion in the 1980s — Book chapter
Patricia A. Cunningham, **Heather Mangine** and **Andrew Reilly**
Source: *Twentieth-Century American Fashion,* 2008, Berg Fashion Library
Editors' Introduction: The 1980s continued to be influenced by the importance of dressing for success. In fact, the cult of success was seen in the increased consumption of luxury goods by Americans. The Reagan years in America were indeed bountiful. Clothing became ostentatious and worn as a badge of achievement. A coterie of American designers – Donna Karan, Ralph Lauren, and Liz Claiborne – offered women padded shoulders and broad lapels to express their new-found position and commercial power

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