entric

BLACK STYLES, ANTI-FASHION AND PROTEST MESSAGING IN CLOTHING

By Jordan Taylor, Paul Addae
and Dr Shaun Danquah

A Literature Review

About the Authors

Paul Addae (BA, MA) is a graduate of The School of Oriental and African Studies. He has conducted research over the last 15 years in some of the most challenging and volatile environments.
He has co-produced research with professors from Georgetown University, Exeter University and St Andrews University. He has also worked on EU projects around effective solutions to some social phenomena. Paul is also a fluent classical Arabic speaker and has translated many works into English.

Dr Shaun Danquah (BA, MA) is the founder and Director of Innovation at Centric. He has 15 years' experience in conducting research across hostile environments. This began in 2004 with his involvement in founding the Clapham Park Project, which was part of a £56 million regeneration scheme. He also worked on government programmes and on Los Angeles gang intervention initiatives, delivering workshops on best practice. His work led him to partner with Google, Ideo and YouTube. As a result of his work, he has successfully established networks across various underserved communities.

As the founder and owner of VAMP SNEAKER CLEANING, Jordan Taylor has developed a premium Sneaker business in Brixton which centers itself around sustainability while providing opportunities for young people. This has then led to the evolution and inception of Cenethics where Jordan's goal is to take that one step further by creating opportunities for young people that support the development of skills, entrepreneurship, health and well-being.

Paul Addae
Head Of Research

Dr Shaun Danquah (BA, MA)
Founder/ Director Of Innovation

Jordan Taylor
Founder and Director (Cenethics)

Background and Context

What you wear can be a statement about yourself, your identity, culture and your worldview, and can act to define the symbolic boundaries between people. Fashion and clothing is a field where one's attire has utility to construct and reveal socio-cultural identities. Fashion is an essential component of how one engages with the world around them and is a creative form of expression which, as Entwistle (2015: 80-81) retorts, "always and everywhere situated within a society and culture".

Clothing, and the very fabrics and material themselves, can even symbolise a myriad of connotations and codes depending on community, (sub)culture, gender, locale etc. Materials and garments, and the embroidery, sewing, cut, hemming etc. can all denote an expression of identity and at times more succinct messages convey a specific message. Clothing is therefore more than mere cloth, Virginia Woolf once retorted in chapter 4 of her book Orlando (1928: 187-188):
Vain trifles as they seem, clothes have, they say, more important offices than merely to keep us warm. They change our view of the world and the world's view of us… There is much to support the view that it is clothes that wear us and not we them; we may make them take the mould of arm or breast, but they mould our hearts, our brains, our tongues to their liking.

Timeline of Clothing Trends in the Black Diaspora

Uninformed early European accounts, largely from questionable accounts from ambitious explorers and pseudo-intrepid travellers, documented naked Africans and barbarous, unclothed, uncouth savages. The reality however was quite contrary to this stereotypical depiction, the coast of West Africa had already experienced, as noted by John Thornton (), considerable consumption of goods and trade from Central Africa, East Africa, North Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Europe. West African elites had included European, Asian or Middle Eastern cloth and fabric into their attire, and kings particularly did this in order to distinguish themselves from the lay people and to also bolster power, authority and dominion.

Miller (2009: 89-90) states:

The West African elite traded their textiles for those of the Europeans; in addition, they were given cloth and items of fancy clothing such as suit jackets, cloaks, and linen and silk shirts as gifts or in exchange for influence. Most African nobility incorporated discrete items into their ensembles rather than wholly adopting European dress. Foreign goods were rarely distributed to the folk, and aristocratic style and status became characterised by a combination of traditional and European dress. Though elite style (flowing caftan topped with a fitted long-tail coat) may seem representative of competing values, especially as contact mutated into exploitation, the aesthetic by which the look was put together was all African.

Kriger (2010) mentions in her paper "Silk and Sartorial Politics in the Sokoto Caliphate (Nigeria), 1804-1903" when discussing another West African empire, the Sokoto Caliphate in Northern Nigeria, that:

European explorers regularly commented on these characteristic 'tobes' or gowns which were commonly worn by the Caliphate's male elite. What made these robes so recognisable were three consistent features that they shared: the specific patterns or colours of locally-woven cloth form which they were made; the particular cut and style of tailoring; and the special design composition and stitching of the embroidery.

In regards to the black diaspora during Trans-Atlantic slavery, White and White (1998: 36) note that:

Slaveowners may have forced slaves to fashion their clothes, originally because of shortages during the Revolutionary era, and later, when most plantations were abundantly supplied with cotton and wool, in order to save money...

White and White (1998: 207) state:

Starting in the early years of the twentieth century, department stores had run fashion shows, and these had immediately proved successful. By the late 1910s and 1920s, the stores were putting on style shows organised by more than one establishment, screening fashion movies, and staging huge fashion pageants replete with models, orchestras and special effects.

White and White continue:

The black press informed its readers of fashion trends. Major black newspapers, such as the Amsterdam News and the Chicago Defender, ran Women's Page beauty columns that covered everything from tips on how to care for hair or fingernails to fashion advice.

Then over the last 100 or more years this has been even more pronounced. In the 1940s African Americans found solace in the jazzy vibes and zoot suits of the 1940s, about which Bonnie English states in her book A Cultural History of Fashion in the 20th and 21st Centuries represented a form of social commentary.

English notes (2013: 85):

Baggy pants and wide-lapelled jackets contravened fabric restrictions put into place during the war, but they also formulated a distinctive and defiant 'gangster look'. Rock and roll, derived from African American rhythm and blues, dominated the post-war generation music scene. This music was linked directly with youth, rebelliousness and societal change.

In regard to the significance of the zoot suit, Wilson (2001: 41; 2003, 198) explains:

Blacks, and other ethnic minorities, have also developed their own oppositional styles, but these usually had a consciousness and deliberate message. With the expansion of Harlem in the early twentieth century came many, often exaggerated versions of fashionable wear. By the 1940s the young urban blacks had evolved a highly distinctive style: the zoot suit. This had exaggerated, padded shoulders and peg top trousers narrowing to the ankle, and both jacket and trousers were lavishly draped. The word 'zoot' came from the urban jazz culture of the 1930s, but the origins of the style itself are uncertain, and several explanations have been suggested, but it seems possible that the style was first developed by the second-generation children of migrant Mexican workers.

The suit itself also gained the ire of white police officers and servicemen who often beat and stripped young African Americans and Latinos who wore the provocative attire of the zoot suit (White and White, 1998: 249). The 1950s witnessed the 'black bohemia' trend, while mainstream popular culture was becoming enamoured with the Rock and Roll craze. Interestingly, in the 1950s, the significance of clothing styles was pivotal for African Americans, yet it would be somewhat later that the same would apply to African-Caribbeans.

Grant (2019) in Homecoming:

Voices of the Windrush Generation notes that Caribbeans did not possess fashion sense prior and that it was upon arriving to the UK that they began to dress flamboyantly and in style.
During the Windrush era, immigrants from the Caribbean forged their own unique black diaspora aesthetic which would then go on to inform fashion and styles up until today. While McMillan (2022) has noted that the style of the Caribbeans was in fact initially based on Victorian bourgeois values around respectability.

The 1960s symbolised radical hip-garments which heralded the expression of black pride as not merely symbolic but also as "an emphatic proclamation of an oppressed people's psychological reorientation" (Powell, 1997: 121).

The early 1980s witnessed the arrival of the exuberant and confident streetwear pioneered by African-Americans and Hispanic youth influenced by the subculture of Hip-Hop with its graffiti artists, break-dancers and rappers of New York. This attire subsequently gained more brand recognition in the mid-1980s with Run DMC when Adidas became an official sponsor, the brand itself capitalising on the promotion of their brand which was exuberantly displayed and bragged about in what was a form of proto-hip-hop commercialisation.

1990s Hip-Hop styles began to adopt "freshness", which Moore (2018: 80) describes as being a "1990s-era black dandyism". Powell used the term 'sharp' to describe an ostentatiously dressed black person, saying,

> Many fashionable people have a precise and exacting edge …a sense of how to look, of how, figuratively speaking, to 'stand-out' and be 'a cut above' the dull and commonplace.

Moore suggests that this emphasis on being 'sharp' stems from overlooked and underrepresented bodies having that competitive edge when it comes to style, dress and fashion trends. Miller (2009) also elicits this in her book Slaves to Fashion: Black Dandyism and the Styling of Diasporic Identity when she discusses how degrading images of blackness are thereby reversed when black people take styles, flip them, reinvent them and grant them a new image. In the US this occurred, Miller suggests, when African Americans moved from the South to the North and were more able to express themselves and recast their image away from a racist and segregated environ. Black people were then able to exude confidence and self-respect, while at the same time setting trends, directly challenging marginalisation and stereotypical racist imagery. In this way, even the most mundane visible expression of appearance was for African Americans an act of resistance in and of itself.

Then through to contemporary couture of the 2000s which has seen a proliferation of the different, the unique, the original and the profane.

Fashion and Messaging

When consumers purchase clothes, they often have in mind how that clothing will be viewed and regarded by others. in this way, fashion can be used to classify and communicate social worth and status.

Consumers use brand images to construct and communicate their identities (Wikström, 1996) and as a result incorporate fashion brands into their personalities (Hokkanen, 2014).

Yet when consumers opt to construct alternative meanings for fashion this can change or undermine the intended marketplace identity (Barnard, 2007). Barnard in his book Fashion as Communication explains that while fashion designers may have a clear perception of the meanings they intend their clothing to articulate, individuals 'appropriate the meanings of garments and adapt them to their own intentions' (Barnard, 1996: 71).

Barnard (2010) discusses how communication is not merely the sending and receiving of messages but is also the cultural construction of meaning and then identity. If fashion is by its very nature meaningful it follows therefore that it is also about communication.

However, fashion does not necessarily communicate messages in a simple 'speaker-listener' or 'sender-receiver' rubric.

T-shirts have been particularly significant as a medium of communicating messages, McNair notes (2017: 6):

> t-shirts serve as yet another medium that challenged dominant media by making innovations in 1960s media culture and graphic design as a whole.19 Taking the lessons learned from the radical press and print culture of the 1960s and 1970s t-shirt printing transformed mass communication in form as well as subject matter with simple slogans and imagery designed by hundreds of independent and established artists.

The 'Anti-Fashion' Statement

The 'anti-fashion' aspect is particularly significant as Stan Cohen (1973), one of the 'Three Cohens of Subcultural Theory' (the others being Phil Cohen, author of Sub Cultural Conflict and Working Class Community, and Albert Cohen, author of Delinquent Boys) discussed how police and the media demarcate young people with certain distinctive styles in music and dress as folk devils and moral panics about them will abound.

Blake (2013: 232) explains:

> This routine of youth demonisation and consequent legislation has continued to operate, especially around events such as pop festivals; rave music and its parties were quickly demonised by the tabloid press in the late 1980s, and repressive legislation was enacted in 1994 to control them.

Hebdige (1979: 49) in his book Subculture: the Meaning of Style originally written in 1979 then reprinted repeatedly up until 2003, notes that the hipster style, of the 1960s-70s,

> …embodied the traditional aspirations (making out and moving up) of the black street-corner man, whereas the beat, studiously ragged in jeans and sandals, expressed a magical relation to a poverty which constituted in his imagination a divine essence, a state of grace, a sanctuary.

While the former Clash filmmaker, Don Letts, noted how the 1976 Notting Hill Carnival riot was not,

> …the black kids against the white police, it was youth at a black festival against the police. Don't forget this is 1976 you are talking about, a time when the country is in a bit of a state, there are no opportunities, there is depression, recession, a lot of unemployment. Then you have all this "SUS" stuff going on. [police stopping and searching individuals on suspicion of their being engaged in criminal activity]…This didn't affect the white guys as much as us. You'd get pulled up all the fucking time, because you looked suspicious. I used to drive quite a flash car in those days, an old Zodiac with fins. When I was going out to the movies, I used to give myself an extra half an hour so I could get pulled up by the police and asked "Who the fuck are you?"

It could be argued that most of the fashion trends which have been seen in the Western world since the 1920s were initially forms of anti-fashion, as they were all rejections of prevailing fashion norms and codes of conduct for clothing comportment, opting for styles of dress considered up until then to be repugnant, offensive and obtuse.

This was especially the case for African Americans as they were excluded from department stores and had to participate in fashion by establishing alternative and counter black fashion institution (White and White, 1998: 207).

Ford (2017: 32, 65, 159) brings attention to how the Afro hairstyle was a popular trend inspired by the natural hairstyles of Odetta, Nina Simone, and Mariam Makeba. While these styles were short, cropped, and not as full as the Afro, the unprocessed methods of hairstyling were seen as a rejection of Western beauty standards and associated with "Africanness" (32).

Representing the power of black women to influence the global market and narratives surrounding fashion and culture (Ford, 2017: 65), the Afro was exported around the world. By the 1970s, women from Harlem to South Africa were sporting the look to challenge notions of subjugation and feminine propriety (Ford, 2017: 159).

Anti-fashion, from a Marxist paradigm, is a demonstration of disdain of the hegemonic system of commodity fetishism. Cunningham and Lab (1991: 14) offer that anti-fashion functions as,
...a sign of rejection of the norm and hence the status quo, as well as an adherence to thought and ideas of fringe society.

Despite its subcultural or oppositional hallmarks, anti-fashion can get effectively rebranded for mass-consumption by large and luxury brands seeking the 'new haute couture', thereby commodifying working-class cultures, or rather underclass subcultures.

---

[1] Gilbert, P. (2011). Passion is a Fashion: The Real Story of The Clash. Aurum.

This also relates to the 'illusion of choice' within fashion and wherein "middle class people adopt working class style" (Polhemus, 1994: 24) when they 'dress down' on weekend events with colleagues. Monica Titton (2019) has delved into the dialectic relationship between fashion, feminism and radical feminist protest. Titton discusses the intricacies which emerge when fashion becomes political, and conversely when politics become fashionable. Looking at high-fashion feminist slogan t-shirts and style codes of current feminist movements #NiUnaMenos and #NonUnaDiMeno.

Titton indicates that fashion within feminism has been a cause for dissension and over the decades there have been varying attitudes. Titton (2019: 754) notes in regard to when feminist messages are reproduced beyond spaces of protest that,

> Their appearance on fashion shows is ambiguous, and situated in a space where neoliberal cooptation and the manifestation of political solidarity overlap.

There is also an example of this with jeans in the US, which Gordon (1991: 31-36) notes were worn by those working in physically demanding jobs and manual labour in the late 19th century. Jeans delineated agricultural work and hard labour, an item of clothing for the lower classes. Jeans then became an icon of anti-fashion in the 1920s. During the Second World War years jeans were in the middle of the fashion/anti-fashion continuum. In the post-war era, jeans then became more overtly an anti-fashion item, highlight the "prerogative of youth" and reflected concepts such as freedom, independence, adulthood and individuality (Fiske, 1989).

The 1980s brought with it the style of ripped jeans which could be construed as a rejection of materialism and capitalism, and to give value to clothing even if it was in disrepair, worn-out or ripped (Fiske, 1989). It was a way to both reject the bourgeois way of dressing and demonstrate that young people could express their non-conformist fashion (Smith, 2003).

However, this style was then commercialised globally and jeans would be mechanically torn, artificially bleached, and commercially torn – for the benefit of upper classes who wanted to adorn themselves with this style with its origin in labour and the lower classes.

In this way, Miles notes (1998: 41) that popular culture is often inherently contradictory as it expresses aspects of domination (consumerism and commercialisation) on one hand, and resistance identities and associated attire and accessories on the other. Jones (2021: 56) has also discussed this in regard to the popularity among young leftists in the West of Che Guevara imagery and iconography on t-shirts purchased by those who wanted to be associated with a radical revolutionary, despite the "inherent irony of promoting a radical communist on a shirt they bought from a shopping mall." Indeed, the irony with Che Guevara would persist through to the present, and wealthy rappers who have become symbols of capitalism can be seen donning t-shirts with Che Guevara's image.

As Bartlett emphasises (2019: 50) in his paper "Can Fashion Be Defended?":

Sporting his unkempt beard, long-hair, red-starred beret, green fatigues and his mud-covered military boots, he was an exemplary romantic hero on the walls of student bedsits in the West.

This can also be clearly observed with the history of the Rockers in the mid to late 1960s, heirs to the 'ton-up' motorbike subculture of the 1950s. This image gained prominence among young white boys due to imagery from Marlon Brando's depiction of the Johnny character in the movie The Wild One. The film would later be banned in Britain with the attire demonised as delinquent and the lifestyle as alien, adding to the aura of the Rocker image and anti-fashion trend of jeans, black leather jackets and motorcycle boots. Rockers decorated their leather jackets with studs, badges, chains, emblems etc. Childs notes (1999: 188):

Rocker, as their name implies, were culturally committed to the fast and uncompromising rock 'n' roll idiom of Billy Fury, Eddie Cochran and Gene Vincent, in opposition to both the mainstream sound of British pop and the rival fashion culture and preferred musical idioms of the mods. In 1964, tensions between mods and rockers broke out in a series of spectacular bank holiday battles in southern coastal towns.

Punk anti-fashion merged a menagerie of post-war British youth street styles as exemplified by Johnny Rotten whose couture represented the subcultural markers of teddy boys, mods, rockers, skinheads and glam rockers and "combined them into iconoclastic and anarchic sartorial assemblages" (Childs, 1999: 188-189).

Hence, the "'DIY' aesthetic of punk articulated a collective dissatisfaction with and conspicuous rejection of mainstream fashion styles" (Childs, op.cit.). Punk culture, Wilson (2003: 197) opines, aspired to be outsiders alongside black youth culture of the 1970s with a subcultural style which, although not a substitute for politics or real-world engagement for the most part, reinterpreted conflicts in wider society. Though Geczy and Karaminas (2016: 85) suggest that

> "punk and the designs of Vivienne Westwood are labelled anti-fashion because they make a statement at a particular historical moment of anti-establishment."

Street styles therefore have substantial influence on designers, such as Westwood, who simply market popular subcultural dress and then create visual and material culture around working-class items (Winge, 2012: 106). Indeed, fashion designers "appropriate ideas from how people put their looks together and show them on the fashion runway, where they are much pricier" Kaiser (2012: 105). Hence, Westwood and Malcolm McLaren in the 1980s began to promote "confrontational clothing made of cheap and untraditional materials" which represented anti-fashion protest styling which included (English, 2013: 86),

> T-shirts with rips and tears and offensive slogans and other pieces of clothing overlaid with social references – symbols of resistance – to mainstream culture.

While in regard to skinheads, Childs (1999: 188) mentions that they:

> rejected the fastidious style and narcissistic attitude of the mods and crafted an insistently chauvinist and proletarian 'hard mod' image consisting in tightly cropped hair, jeans, boots and braces. The early skins were overwhelmingly young, urban and white working-class males, although many 'crews' had black British members.

Polhemus identified the dynamic of the co-option, commercialisation and repackaging of street styles for the mainstream, whence such styles were the preserve of the quirky, eccentric, idiosyncratic outlier. Polhemus highlights (1994: 8) in his book Streetstyle: From Sidewalk to Catwalk:

> Styles which start life on the street corner have a way of ending up on the backs of top models on the world's most prestigious catwalks.

Miles (1998: 41-42) likewise discussed how designs lauded as individualistic, independent and quirky merely become monetised by the market when the demand is identified among specific social groups, and thereby leading to consumer capitalism to reproduce itself as profits are maximised. Pitts (2003: 144) outlines the problem when anti-fashion gets co-opted by the mainstream as a new aesthetic to be commercialised:

> Anti-fashion is the charge of authenticity, resistance and rebellion that is seen to emerge from street-level subculture, but it has been easily packaged for high-gloss consumption.

While Moore (2018: 81-82) also identifies this, saying,

> The irony is that this "brick" – the brick of street style – eventually gets swallowed up by market forces and repackaged as "hot", making emblems of street cool available for purchase by anyone who shops in the right stores or reads the latest fashion magazines.

Elizabeth Wilson (2003: 240) alludes this phenomenon, saying,

> If liberated dress meant doing your own thing, no one ever commented on how strange it was that everyone wanted to do the same thing.

Braithwaite (2019: 49) also discusses this and highlights:

> The street was to set the scene for different styles to be observed and appropriated for the mainstream fashion industry, creating a shift in the traditional hierarchal nature of a trickle-down system. The fashion industry turned from fashion designer and the catwalk and looked to the street and the youth subcultures for alternative inspiration and the next season's trends, a process the cultural anthropologist Ted Polhemus termed as 'bubble up'.
> What transpired was the more modernist system that the fashion scholar Sarah Mole refers to in her chapter on fashion bloggers, featured in this volume. Subcultures were integral in showing how style was not something superficial but was instead a 'visible tip of something much greater.'

Braithwaite superbly notes in continuation:

> Youth subcultures have paved the way for street style to move from being a subversive cultural movement towards becoming a global phenomenon. The street is the place where style and identity can be played out from the perspective of the individual. Street style is the visual mode of self-expression and the urban environment serves as the creative space that enables the creation and performance of individuality. The crowded urban metropolis is defined by the fleeting encounters between strangers. As individuals pass by each other on the street they seek to acquire information that will reveal something about these anonymous faces, and it is their clothing which is the most accessible source of information.
> Clothing choices may lead observers to make certain assumptions about a person's identity, but it is what the individual says that will reveal who and what they really are.
> Clothes are the visual medium through which individuals can communicate something about themselves, but how that message is received by the observer may in reality be quite different. This further emphasises the significance of how people narrate their style choices in understanding how clothing is used to construct identity.

This has impacted black styles, and hairstyles such as the Afro also has succumbed to this commercialisation since the 1970s, and then at specific points up until present.

Mercer (2000: 125) states:

> Clearly, this analysis is not to write off the openings and effective liberations gained and made possible by inverting the order of aesthetic oppression...

The Afro hairstyle was one of the hallmarks of rejection of both white and Eurocentric beauty standards and also marginalisation of black frames of reference for natural appearance, Vargas states (2009: 97):

> Another element of fashion that emerged from the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements that served both a political and cultural purpose was the Afro hairstyle. The Afro was so named because it is a way for African Americans to wear their hair in its "natural" state, expressing pride in their "African" features rather than altering or concealing them to conform to white beauty standards, as was the societal norm (Giddings 1990, 152). This new way to show and embrace black identity and pride especially impacted the lives of African American women who had long conformed to white beauty standards. The Afro symbolically rejected those white beauty standards and redefined beauty standards for African American women. Afros became part of a beauty standard that grew out of political struggle and sent a powerful message of change to American society (Walker 2007, 169).

Yet later even the Afro had been subsumed by market forces and the ever-encroaching role of commercialisation of the symbols of resistance and colonialism, Mercer continues,

> Nevertheless, the limitations underline the diasporic specificity of the Afro and Dreadlocks, and ask us to examine, first, their conditions of commodification and, second, the question of their imaginary relationship to African and African cultures as such. Once commercialised in the marketplace, the Afro lost its specific significance as a 'black' cultural-political statement. Cut off from its original political contexts, it became just another fashion: with an Afro wig anyone could wear the style. Now the fact that it could be neutralised and incorporated so readily suggests that the aesthetic interventions of the Afro operated on terrain already mapped out by the symbolic codes of the dominant white culture.

Despite these dynamics Vargas (2009: 98) still clarifies:

> Though approval varied and the Afro as a symbol of African pride and identity became complicated by white corporations and fashion magazines, it does not change the fact that the Afro hairstyle served a great and significant purpose during the Civil Rights and Black Power era. It gave African American women confidence and security in being themselves when they had been told by white society for years that their "blackness" was substandard and should be concealed where possible. The Afro was instrumental in awakening American society to a new tradition of beauty and was an impressive visual display of racial identity.

---

2. Childs, P. (1999). "Fashions, youth." Peter Childs and Mike Storry (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Contemporary British Culture.* London and New York, NY; Routledge. 187-189.
3. English, B. (2013). A Cultural History of Fashion in the 20th and 21st Centuries: *From Catwalk to Sidewalk.* Second Edn. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Mercer then emphasises that the same thing which happened to the Afro, also happened with the long hair of the white hippies,

> The Afro not only echoed aspects of romanticism, but shared this in common with the 'countercultural' logic of long hair among white youth in the 1960s. from the Beatles mop-tops to the hairy hippies of Woodstock, white subcultures of 1960s expressed the idea that the longer you wore your hair, some-how the more 'radical' and 'right-on' your lifestyle or politics. This far-out logic of long hair among the hippies may have sought to symbolize disaffection from Western norms, but it was rapidly assimilated and dissimulated by commodity fetishism. The incorporation of long hair as the epitome of protest, via the fashion industry, advertising and other economies capitalist mediation, culminated at one point in a Broadway musical that ran for years - Hair. Like the Afghan coats and Kashmiri caftans worn by the hippy, the dashiki was reframed by dominant definitions of ethnic otherness as 'exotica': its connotations of cultural nationalism were clawed back just as another item of freakish exoticism for mass consumption.

Geczy and Karaminas (2016: 85) describe anti-fashion as "oppositional dress" which describes "dress styles that are contrary to the fashion of the present". Childs (1999: 188) outlines:

> Like the mods, skins appropriated Jamaican music, especially ska, rocksteady and reggae as well as the cool attitude of the rude boy. For example, Symarip's 'skinhead Moon-stomp' became an anthem for skins while rude-boy styled mohair or 'tonic' suits, Ben Sherman shirts and loafer shoes became evening substitutes for collarless shirts and rolled-up jeans worn over 'bovver boots'. By the early 1970s, skinhead culture began to mutate into the variant 'white ethnic' styles of the suedeheads and smooths.

Brand association however also became the mire of well-known brands and labels. Burberry during the 1980s became associated with football hooliganism and in 1997 Selfridges decided not to stock Burberry attire. Burberry responded by scaling back particular items, such as its check-patterned caps which it completely axed and black-and-tan check clothing, which had become football hooligans brand of choice. Chief executives from Ralph Lauren sought to immediately disassociate themselves from Mexican drug barons who had been seen wearing their attire. Similarly today, brands seek to extol their 'green' credentials and their commitments to ethical production and sustainability.
Even ethical fashion can be co-opted by the mainstream fashion industry, leading to greenwashing in some cases, Gaugele (2014: 206) states:

> ...ethics have been incorporated into the traditional segments of the garment industry. In parallel with their fast fashion production, the apparel industry launched double strategies trying to change their image by also coining the new terms of "social fashion," "ethical fashion," "eco fashion," "sweatshop-free fashion," or "planet-friendly" fashion.

We will later explored the coalescence of brand awareness and responsibility in fashion and how spaces can be created for environmentalism and sustainability away from middle-class monopoly over the green agenda and climate change agenda. The urban contribution to this has been effectively class-washed, as it were.

Protest and Fashion

Clothing and specific forms of attire as resistance has been the case whenever a people face hegemonic domination or military encroachment from an opposing force, empire or nation. The West African empires had a strong cultural tradition and a part of this was having a distinguishing attire which was different from outsiders, and foreigners and, in the case of Ancient Mali in the 13th century, the Songhay Empire in the 15th and 16th centuries and the Sokoto Caliphate in the early 19th to 20th centuries, from unbelievers and polytheists (Kriger, 2010: 143-176).

In sixteenth century Britain, the Irish were prohibited from wearing their traditional dress by the English. While in the eighteenth century after the Battle of Culloden and the pacification of the Scottish Highlands, the Highlanders were also forbidden by the English from wearing the kilt and the plaid (Wilson, 2001: 26). Navickas (2010) discusses how in the 18th and 19th centuries in England clothing could assume political meaning,

> Political clothing existed in numerous types that enabled all classes to voice their opinions about their place within the constitution. Furthermore, symbolic clothing evolved in its uses and meanings during this period. Though many forms of dress shared a long history of political symbolism, the French Revolution and renewed debates about parliamentary reform and the "rights of man" gave new meanings to traditional emblems and colors.

Likewise, the suffragettes in England in the early 20th century used their bodies, accessories, and importantly, their clothing to visualise the challenges they were facing. Lisa Tickner (1987) in her book The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-14 noted that suffrage protestors expressed their assertions for their liberties on banners, brooches and sashes to gain publicity and let their presence be felt. This approach is being utilised again in more recent years, Wilson mentions (2003: 223):

> Another form of protest against unjust luxury, privilege and exploitation has been the refusal of formal, 'correct' wear in high places or on official occasions.

She continues:

> More recently, schools, professions, prisons and the church have all engaged in the struggle over relaxation in dress. It is the radical doctor who dresses informally, the most 'progressive' prisons that abandon uniform.

Fashion, clothing and certain styles can therefore evoke, in Gramscian terms, a counter-hegemonic dynamic, what Manuel Castells in Power of Identity (1997: 9) posits that a 'resistance identity'

> …constructs forms of resistance against otherwise unbearable oppression on the basis of clearly defined identities making it easier to essentialize the boundaries of resistance.

Defensive and resistance identities can emerge around certain styles, and Castells suggested that as people rejected contemporary individualism there was a move towards finding identity within cultural communities with defensive identities in the face of globalisation. Hence, clothing, fashion and particular styles became weaponised and was a tool by which to subjugate a people and effectively erase their culture, traditions and identities. It was to directly challenge this that over the last 60 years clothing and fashion has been a tool of resistance, protest, struggle and identity. All of this against the backdrop of an imposed, imperial, and colonial approach to removing the identities of other people, sometimes by force and coercion.

Gaugele (2019) examines how since the early 2000s far-right political movements in Europe and the U.S. have sought to colonize the fashion industry as part of their modernization and digitalisation strategies. Her paper assessed samples of right-wing infiltration of fashion within a theoretical framework which merged the political philosophy of the Frankfurt School with Roland Barthes' rhetoric of fashion concepts and also Stuart Hall's "double syntax" notion of cultural politics.

Gaugele suggests that the Far-Right appropriated style codes of left-wing and liberal protest movements, youth subcultures and street styles resulting in a "new obscurity in style" which serves to disguise white supremacist, authoritarian, violent extremist metapolitics.

Vargas (2009: 96) in her paper "Fashion Statement or Political Statement: The Use of Fashion to Express Black Pride during the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements of the 1960s" elaborates on how Kente cloth of Ghana was popularised in the 1960s which conveyed the palpable message of African roots and heritage and hence served as a "productive instrument in conveying to the public one's pride in their African identity. The cloth was often accompanied by slogans such as "Black Power," and "Black is Beautiful"." The then-Heavyweight Champion of the World Muhammad Ali, during a highly publicized trip to Africa in 1964, was adorned in kente cloth wrap throughout much of his visit.

During the Black Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 60s, activists wore smart attire, 'the Sunday Best' with its Christian associations of wearing one's better garments when going to church on Sundays. The 'Sunday Best' attire was a protest as it depicted smartly-dressed, middle-aged, middle-class, respectable, hard-working people possessing all of these traits – yet still being attacked by the police and racist mobs while protesting (Ford, 2022). This helped to demonstrate the moral high ground of the civil rights protestors in face of the barbaric and intolerant racist mobs and police. This juxtaposition of calm, smartly-dressed respectability on one hand, i.e. the civil rights activists, and then the rabid, savage racists and brutal police on the other, i.e. Jim Crow segregation supporters – served to give increased credence to the black civil rights movement. Ford (2013: 631) highlights in this regard,

> Like their predecessors, African Americans activists in the early years of the civil rights movement purposefully constructed the movement as based in the black church and rooted in histories of black respectability. This approach made black ministers the natural leaders of the movement and the arbiters of black morality, though it was often church- and clubwomen who spearheaded early protests and boycotts. Using Christian rhetoric helped African Ameri cans in the movement depict segregationists as amoral and ungodly and, thus, poor citizens. By maintaining dignity and Christian values, even against the brutality of police billy clubs, attack dogs, and water hoses, African Americans aimed to expose the savagery of both white segregationists and segregation itself as it denied "well-behaved" African Americans their full citizenship rights.

Then were some younger people who decided to wear denim to convey that their cause was to the black working poor and black sharecroppers, rather than an affiliation just to the black bourgeoise – which was sometimes conveyed with the smart suits of the civil rights movement. Adopting the denim of the labourers was quite a statement as it directly placed one's identity with that section of the black underclass in the South of America. Ford (2013: 626) says about black women who formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the 1960s, such as Anne Moody, Debbie Amis Bell and Judy Richardson, also began to consider new ways of dress and fashion as performative political tools during the early years of the black civil rights movement.

Ford says,

> The women used the uniform consciously to transgress a black middle-class worldview that marginalized certain types of women and particular displays of blackness and black culture. Therefore, changes in SNCC women's clothing represented an ideological metamorphosis articulated through the embrace and projection of real and imagined southern, working-class, and African American cultures.

With regards to the SNCC women, there was a dynamic similar to what was identified by Parkins (1995) in her paper "What to Wear to a Protest March: Identity politics and fashion in the suffragette movement" when discussing the suffragette styles and colours (purple, white and green). Parkins further states in her paper "'The Epidemic of Purple, White and Green': Fashion and the Suffragette Movement in Britain, 1908-14" (2002: 99):

> Through the use of fashion and specific colours…the suffragettes forged a public identity for themselves in the public spaces of the city" and pushed their message "into the sphere of political communication.

SNCC women also aimed to blur prescribed gender roles and notions of feminine propriety and also both protect themselves from sexual assault and desexualize their bodies. Interestingly, the SNCC over witnessed the birth of the imagery for the Black Panthers and McNair discusses that in 1965 the SNCC, led by Stokely Carmichael, began using the panther image created by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO) in Alabama on pamphlets, posters, and t-shirts and sweaters.
The LCFO was required by electoral law to have a symbol represent the organization, so they called the organization the "Black Panther Party." Huey Newton recalled seeing one of these pamphlets and being inspired by this powerful image, so Newton suggested to Bobby Seale that use the symbol of the snarling panther as their for the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPFSD).
It was during the 1960s that certain fashions then became associated with these contrarian black activist politics. Then came the flamboyant, slick and smooth styles of the 1970s, which also gave more notoriety to more casual garments such as the t-shirt, McNair (2017: vi) said in her thesis:

> The 1970s emerged as the Golden Age of the t-shirt through innovation in design, printing technology as well as the fashion industry's drive toward promoting individual expression in clothing and style. Artists like Diana Ross and Marvin Gaye incorporated the t-shirt into their public persona onstage and off. Ross' appropriation of the t-shirt was perhaps more influenced by recent fashion trends and elements of an urban edge than inner city turmoil. Her self-titled debut solo album, Diana Ross (1970), featured the artist on the album cover wearing a simple white t-shirt, a wig in a "pixie" cut, and cut-off (raveled) shorts. For the 1973 album Lets Get It On, Gaye traded in his tailored suits for Army green, and dressed down his wardroom from the glitz of Motown to the everyday working-class t-shirt as seen in publicity photos.
> This sartorial gesture mirrored his evolution in songwriting and music, as well as the political currents of the time among black youth and disenfranchised communities.

Tulloch (2000: 224) regards the 1970s as the "high point of anti-fashion" in which African Americans sought to impose their own cultural disunion and deliberately create a solid countercultural identity based on being 'black'. The result was "an electrical charge of creativity on all cultural levels for the community, not least through dress and self-image" (Tulloch, 2000: 23).

Regarding this, Tulloch states (1999: 64):

> The 1970s was a momentous period in the development of the African diaspora and black identity, when the cumulative activities of the civil rights, Black Power and black consciousness movements had a crucial influence. African-Americans looked at their segregated world with new eyes. In 1968 they were encouraged by black activists and musicians to 'Think Black, Talk Black, Create Black, Buy Black, Vote Black and Live Black'.
> Thus the African American community aimed to take control of and impose their own cultural disunion, as a people who were all too well aware of the crippling emotional, social and economic effects of the official American segregation laws. This reverses, self-imposed form of segregation came at a time when the segregation laws were being dissolved. It was a strong, deliberate backlash designed to create a solid counter cultural identity based on being 'black', which at the time was translated to mean of African origin, not a displaced, invisible 'negro'.

It was during the 1970s, although flares, platforms and flamboyant styles were prominent, that anti-fashion fused more palpably with radical politics (Steele, 1997) as per the urban guerrilla leather of the Black Panthers. Mercer (2000: 123) highlights:

> The Black Panthers' 'urban guerrilla' attire – turtlenecks, leather jackets, dark glasses and berets – encoded a uniform of protest and militancy by way of the connotations of the common denominator, the colour black. The Panthers' berets invoked solidarity with the violent means of anti-imperialist armed struggle, while the dark glasses, by concealing identity from the 'enemy', lent a certain political mystique and a romantic aura of dangerousness.

Spencer (2016: 41) articulates therefore that the Black Panthers,

> devised chic and stylish uniforms: black slacks, a powder blue shirt or turtleneck, a black leather jacket, and a black berets, rakishly tilted to one side.

While Erika Doss observed (1999: 177-178):

> With their black berets and leather jackets, their Afros, dark glasses, raised fists, and military drill formation, the Panthers made great visual copy.

Additionally, Vargas (2009: 96) notes:

> Though the Black Panther's were not comfortable with the commodification of kente cloth, they themselves significantly influenced American fashion and popular culture with their revolutionary attire. Founders of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, developed a uniform for the Black Panther members to adorn.
>
> This uniform included a black leather jacket, powder blue shirt, black pants, black shoes, black beret, and optional black gloves (Ogbar 2004, 118). Newton and Seale decided that the black beret would be an essential part of the ensemble after watching a movie about the French resistance to Nazis during WWII. The resisters donned black berets and they felt that it was a strong symbol of militancy and such militancy was what they wished the Black Panther Party to convey.

According to Panthers cofounder Bobby Seale, the outfit represented what Spencer labeled "a symbol of powerful masculinity to be emulated." Indeed Alexandra Shulman, the former editor of the British Vogue, in her book (2020) Clothes…and Other Things that Matter alludes to how the Black Panthers and how their imagery was itself a statement which attracted the attention of photographers, writers and film directors at parties for socialites. This was not merely a hypermasculine 'black macho' image for the pursuit of vain desires which is how some commentators have described the Black Panther male image (Wallace, 2015; hooks, 1982), it rather created opportunities for African American men to "fashion new definitions of manhood" (Estes, 2005: 88). Yet Mercer (2000: 125-126) brings attention to how Black Panther style represented the 'inherent semiotic instability of militant chic', in that the Black Panther imagery could be said to have tapped into themes which were also replete with white male youth subcultures of the 1950s, i.e.: black leather jackets and dark glasses while dark colours did not necessarily have any racial connotations.

Mercer articulates:

> Dark, sombre colours (as well as the occasional French beret) featured in the downbeat dress statements of the 1950s boho-beatniks to suggest mystery, 'cool', outsider status, anything to alienate the normative values of 'square society'. The fact that these white subcultures themselves appropriated elements from black American culture (rock 'n' roll and bebop respectively) is as important as the fact a portion of the semiotic effectiveness of the Panther's look derived from associations already embedded by previous articulations of the same or similar elements of style. The discourses compete for the same signs.
> It shows that, for style to be socially intelligible as an expression of conflicting values, each cultural nucleus or articulation of signs mush share access to a common stock or resource of signifying elements.

The beret had particular significance, as both Ogbar (2004: 118-119) and Vargas emphasise (2009: 96):

> The Black Panther Party uniform sent a powerful message to white society that African Americans fully embraced their "blackness" from head to toe and that they were completely committed to their heritage and cause. The uniform unmistakably made the Black Panther members stand out and be recognized no matter where they were and their appearance, to a great extent, helped them succeed in conveying their seriousness and revolutionary ideal.
> The uniform also, like kente cloth, surpassed its initial cause and became a prominent symbol of black pride throughout America. The black beret became an iconic symbol of Black Power and came to imply implicit support of the Black Power Movement and the Black Panther Party, even for non-members (Ogbar 2004, 118). It could be found on the heads of college students and inner-city youths throughout the nation who were moved to show their support for the cause of African American pride and equality. The beret even transcended the cause of Black Nationalism, becoming a revolutionary icon for Latino, Asian and various radical political organisations, though each group chose a distinct color for their beret (Ogbar 2004, 119).

The Black Panther imagery permeated black youth culture and had a particular resonance in urban locales for several decades way after the 1970s even up to this day, Vargas (2009: 97) explains,

> The Black Panther uniform, in entirety or parts, also appealed to inner city street tough youth who were not at all participating in the struggle for black liberation and equality. The militancy of the uniform made these youths feel confident, strong and brave. The adoption of aspects of the uniform also brought increased police attention and confusion as to whether young inner city men were gang members or Black Panther members, though in many cases either was equally vilified by the police and white society (Ogbar 2004, 108). The Black Panther uniform succeeded in intimidating adversaries and clearly sent a message of black pride and power though it surpassed its initial intention of communicating solidarity among the Black Panther Party members. Another example of elements of the Black Panther uniform transcending its militant organization occurred at the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City. After winning the gold and bronze medals in the 200-meter race, African American Olympians Tommie Smith and John Carlos gave clenched, black leather gloved fist salutes on the award stand with bowed heads (Hartmann 1996, 549). Though neither Smith nor Carlos was associated with the Black Panther Party, their actions declared their solidarity with the Black Power Movement and African American struggle.

T-shirts then became part of Black Panther attire, McNair (2017: 3) notes:

> In the late 1960s, the utilitarian character of the t-shirt as a symbol of the working class would prove to be a practical alternative to the famed Panther uniform seen in national news reports in print and televised media. By 1968, the Party had incorporated a graphic t-shirt as an alter native to the collared powder blue buttoned down shirt that was often accompanied by the iconic black leather jacket, black dress pants and shoes, and the black beret. This is definitely worth noting since the t-shirt had recently evolved from undergarment to outerwear around the same time the Black Panthers started wearing t-shirts for outreach purposes. As an increasingly ubiquitous item of clothing, it helped Panthers shed their "chic" (i.e. read fashion able within the mainstream media) image and embrace an image that reflected a class-consciousness and desire to not set themselves apart from the community they served. As mass produced items they were more affordable than black leather jackets; and the circulation and purchase of these t-shirts by non-members also illustrated the growing number of Party supporters in black communities nationwide.

Importantly, McNair highlights how t-shirts can become a captured moment, or a documented receipt in time, she explains,

> The race of black wearers signified a history of racial conflict and communicated to viewers (black and white) a self-determination birthed out of black power ideology. The t-shirts not only express the politics and societal status of the wearer but also refer to the time in which the t-shirt existed. The images have obtained iconic status for those who were not present for the original events yet venture into Internet archives for images to replicate such t-shirts. In this way t-shirts become memory objects that graphically depict and reimagine the Black Power Movement for audiences during the Internet era.

Hence, the protest was dressed, not merely while on demonstration and this was when fashion took on a distinct subversive agency. Fashion as a form of protest became prominent facilitating the actual physical donning of the political statement and sentiment. Almila (2017: 17) notes that a range of T-shirts for specific communities have emerged for "those seeking to communicate their identity through verbal or image messages". While Jones (2021: 34) has discussed how the "T-shirt allowed the wearer to create a direct but non-verbal link between themselves and the causes they cared about, a silent protest that could be acknowledged by those passing on the street."
Additionally, McNair (2017) has explored t-shirts and the black protest tradition noting that in North Carolina t-shirts in the late 1990s and early 2000s were a means by which historic figures who had intricate roles in radical United States and Third World liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s would be represented. Those who wore these t-shirts were often people who were part of black consciousness activism, and the t-shirts evoked feelings of familial inclusion and generational exclusivity.

This, McNair posits (2017: iii), is:

> evidence of a handing down of inheritance and embracing of the period of 1960s black power militancy and political resistance.

McNair explains in her PhD thesis (2017: iv):

> The t-shirt is a significant artifact of not only American fashion but also of the African American experience. In the mid to late 1800s, precursors to the t-shirt were made by hand.
> For most African Americans, this luxury meant having access to tailoring which most slaves and the recently emancipated did not. However, in the early twentieth century during the Jim Crow era, manufactured cotton became available to the masses. Textile factories whose cotton was supplied by sharecroppers and former field hands made this possible.
> Shirts became a mass produced commodity item available through mail order in the 1930s as an undergarment. It wasn't until the 1950s that the t-shirt became a visible outer garment.

Ericka Huggins, former leader of the Los Angeles Panthers and former political prisoner, mentioned, as relayed by McNair (2017: 12-13), that both men and women wore t-shirts,

> Everybody had t-shirts, even those who were in support of the movement. [W]e dropped the uniform [after the first couple years] because it separated us from the very community we served… because people said they didn't want to feel separate from us… This was after people realized who we were and what we intended..

Huggins also said (McNair, op.cit.):

> [T]he t-shirt was the way we recognized each other and that we needed to do something.
> For me it was apart of the African oral tradition, and we recognized ourselves... Maybe they make money, but not much. Maybe we make them so we can see ourselves.

In 2019, the special issue of Fashion Theory – The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture entitled "Fashion as Politics: Dressing Dissent" explored the links between contemporary politics and fashion. It examined fashion's role in advancing and disseminating political goals, resistance and dissent on a regional, national and global scale. Gaugele and Titton (2019) have noted that this special issue discussed a range of ways in which fashion partakes in, shapes and intervenes in contemporary global political and societal developments such as migration, technological progress, decolonization, neoliberalism and globalization. This contribution was part of a broader discourse in the literature on fashion and global politics (Bartlett 2019; Behnke 2017; Lemire 2010), on decolonization and style activism (Gaugele and Titton 2019; Tulloch 1999, 2000, 2016, 2019; Root 2010) and on the dressing of dissent (Association for Art History 2019; London College of Fashion 2014).

For instance, Flavia Loscialpo looks at how fashion and fashion studies can foster the understanding of immigration as constitutive aspect of contemporary society. This is against the backdrop of the political climate of the pro-Brexit vote and the 2018 "Windrush scandal" in the UK. Loscialpo discusses how fashion and fashion theory can dispute fabrications of cultural homogeneity, overcome identitarian ideologies, and situate the immigrant as "an existential and political act on the other" and as ontological category "beyond restrictive references to borders or nationality."

Laura Beltran-Rubio explores the Colombian fashion scene's political activism after the 2016 peace agreement with the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces FARC. Her article looks at the role of fashion as an essential player for reconciliation and how fashion bloggers contributed to the ongoing societal polarization during the presidential elections for Ivan Duque in 2018. Colombian fashion designers create memories of the forced displacement of indigenous groups, femicide and the role of fashion to heal and cope with over 50 years of trauma due to violence.

In the last few years, protest fashion could be said to have completed opted out as it were, as many people now make and create their own fashion and unique attire separate from the fashion industry. This is becoming more popular with social media and people able to share their own designs, patterns, creations and ideas. This is what will be discussed in the next section.

The Inequities of Fast Fashion, and the Tangibility of Sustainable-Ethical Alternatives Devoid of Colonial Assumptions

Over the last decade, British consumers have purchased more clothes and shoes than ever before as online stores, websites, social media, TV, magazines and shop windows present people with a daily barrage of items to buy. Major brands offer almost disposable cheap clothing expected to be worn only a few times and fashion with 'planned obsolescence' (Davis, 1994: 16; Barnard, 2002: 165; Easey, 2009 :4; Hawley, 2012: 144), but with the rise of online shopping people often make purchases with little reflection.

In 2017 the average person in Britain spent over £1,000 on new clothes every year, and although this figure in 2022 has somewhat dropped as consumer spending has reduced with the cost-of-living crisis, it still indicates a concerning trend in society and dire repercussions for the environment. Especially when Britain throws away 300,000 tons of clothing a year, most of which goes into landfill sites. Data from the Office for National Statistics reveal that the price of clothes has increased since January 2021.

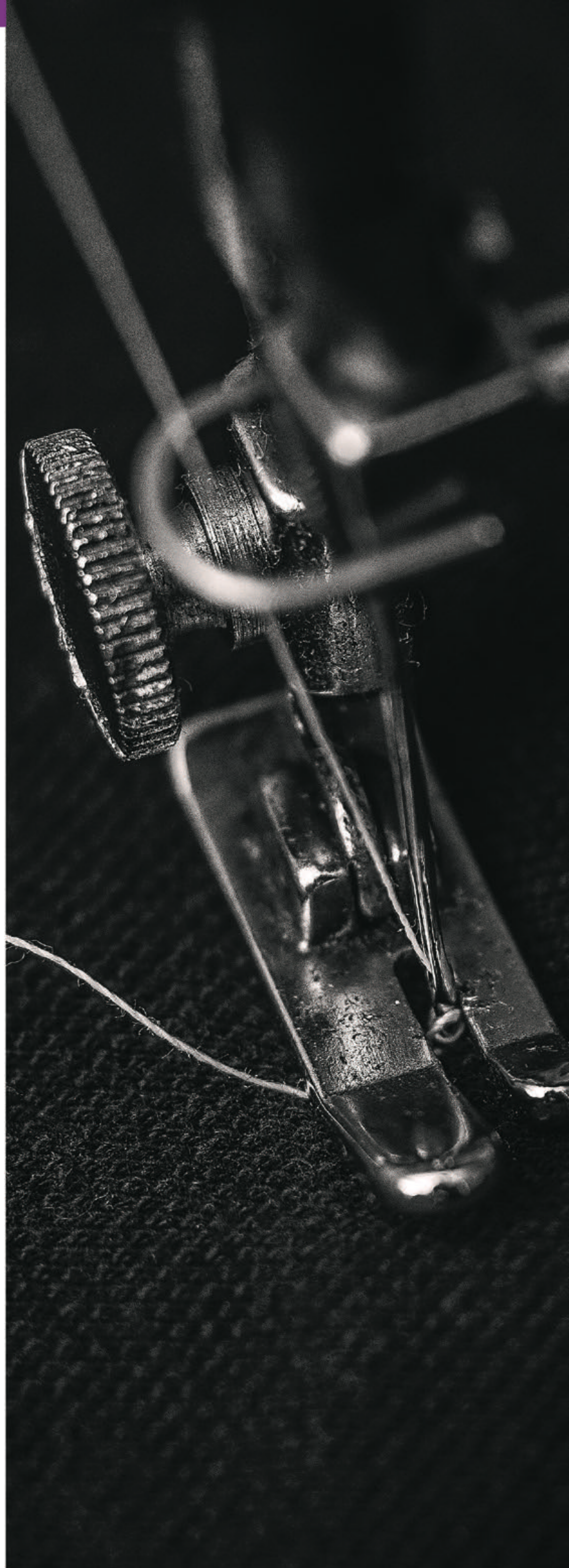
While the price of clothing may have generally decreased in recent years, conversely the human and environmental costs have increased.
It has been due to such concerns that the 'Buy Nothing' trend began to voice opposition to gross consumerism and over-consumption. The notion developed in the early 1990s in Canada and then gained traction in the US. On 'Buy Nothing Day' people organise protests and cut up their credit cards, while throughout the year Buy Nothing groups organise the exchange and repair of items they already own.

The 'Buy Nothing' sentiment has conveyed to large companies that people are no longer willing to accept the environmental and human cost of overconsumption. This has impacted fashion and the kick-back against fast fashion.

The 'Fast Fashion' industry has in recent years been called out for being highly unethical, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) suggests that there are over 170 million children engaged in child labour, often in clothing.

Ozdamar-Ertekin (2017) has discussed how there are high levels of inequality and addresses the fact that we are increasingly disconnected from the people who make our clothes. Global fashion brands are now part of an almost 3 trillion-dollar industry and are increasing their profits by outsourcing production to low-cost economies where the wages are very low such as Bangladesh, Cambodia and India.

Big corporations exploit cheap labour and violate workers' rights and safety to rake in huge profits, which means that garment workers are among the lowest paid in the world, some earning only few dollars a day. Most workers face losing their jobs if they demand their rights and have no voice to air their views in the larger supply chain.



The economic benefits are often touted as the justification for this (Ozdamar-Ertekin and Atik 2015), and despite the risks of factory disasters, unsafe working conditions and low wages, the lack of viable employment opportunities for many in the Global South means that these conditions are entirely favourable and a dire necessity.

This vicious fast fashion cycle means that those at the top of the value chain decide where products are made and have the volition to switch to any producer who offers to make the products at a lower price, thereby minimising costs and maximising profits.

Price deflation, disposability and speed are the hallmarks of the modern fast fashion process, and this has resulted in considerable casualties of late (Cavusoglu and Dakhli 2016; Ozdamar-Ertekin and Atik 2015; Ozdamar-Ertekin 2016; Siegle 2015).

For example, the 2013 Rana Plaza disaster in Bangladesh where 1129 employees died when an unsafe factory building, where workers were moreorless forced to work in, collapsed.

To reduce international retailers' chance of relocating the production to other low-cost countries, governments in the Global South hold down wages and avoid enforcement of local employment laws.

Big companies do not want to support a law which defends decent working conditions and fair competition. This is despite claiming, in their codes of conduct, that they do take responsibility for the conditions under which their products are made.

This is exacerbated by the fact that major brands prefer to maintain voluntary codes of conduct as they do not employ the workers or own any factories. This means that they are free of responsibility of the effects of abuse of workers, factory disasters and low wages.

There are also several human health risks and environmental hazards associated with leather production. Yet with growing demands for cheap leather, major western brands source cheap materials while avoiding accountability for the growing cost to health and the environment (Garg, 2020: 414). For instance, workers can be exposed to harmful chemicals, waste generated pollutes natural water sources and disease increase in neighbouring areas as a result. This has occurred in India and elsewhere, all as a result of the fast fashion industry.

As the way people purchase clothing has radically and rapidly changed over recent decades, there also must be radical rethinking about the consequences of this increased consumption.

Every year 80 billion new pieces of clothing are consumed by the world every year, which is estimated to be 400% more than the amount people consumed in the 1990s. This has meant that over the last ten years the amount of textiles and clothes being discarded as increased in tandem with the increasing speed of consumption (Ozdamar-Ertekin, 2016).

With increased clothing consumption because of fast fashion, the cotton plant, which represents almost half of the entire total fiber used to make clothing, is being artificially reengineered in order to keep up with the pace. Garg (2020: 413) in her paper "Introduction to Fast Fashion: Environmental Concerns and Sustainability Measures" has highlighted that this has meant that in recent years the vast majority of cotton has been genetically modified using vast amounts of water along with insecticides, pesticides and other harmful chemicals which are detrimental to human health (possibly even causing brain tumours, cancers, autism and hormone disruption), land and the environment.

This has caused concern that such harmful chemicals may even pass through the human bloodstream while wearing such clothing. Moreover, fertilisers and pesticides contaminate soil yet unethical seed companies who plant such GM cotton give scant attention to the repercussions for both farmers who face the prospect of losing their land when they cannot pay the seed prices and the impact on soil.

In India for example, most of its cotton is grown in the Punjab region which has also become the largest user of pesticides in India. Moreover, suicides among farmers in India has increased over the last 20 years as a result of the costs of the seeds and chemicals (Garg, 2020: 413). Synthetic fibers such as nylon, rayon, polyester, spandex, Lycra, acrylic are made from carcinogenic petrochemicals that contribute to health and environmental harm, yet comprise 70% of the world's entire riber production. Which means that non-biodegradable, carcinogenic synthetic materials pollute the air, water, soil and wildlife (Garg, 2020: 415).

Donating clothes to charity may also not be the solution, as there are also concerns that most donated clothes, which are made from non-biodegradable materials, end up in landfills where they will languish for 200 years and then merely release harmful gasses into the atmosphere.

When charities cannot sell donated clothes in local charity shops, second-hand shops or thrift stores, they may get sent to third world countries where the clothing can both pollute land and water if merely dumped and weaken local clothing industries (Hawley, 2012: 146).

Various fashion theorists have focused on ethical fashion, characterizing it from a paradox (Black 2008) to a utopian promise (Clarke 2008); as celebrity activism (Winge 2008; Church Gibson 2012), an oxymoron (Clarke 2008), a green commodity fetish (Winge 2008), a precarious pedestal (Thomas 2008) and a necessity (Beard 2008). Gaugele states (2014: 212):

> Apparel is regarded, right after food, as the key market of green economics and its sales increased tenfold since 2000. In 2012 the Ethical Consumer Markets Report refers that sales in ethical clothing have risen in the UK from £5 million in 2000 up to £150 million in 2012. In the interest of ethical consumerism, market researchers also recommend the neo-regionalization of products because this should foster the meaning and sensuality of commodities.

Yet it is important for the climate crisis agenda, eco-activism and environmentalism to be situated in ways which carry meaning for minority communities in the West and more broadly, the Global South. Often with the Eurocentric paternalistic approach of environmentalism and the climate agenda, the Global South is situated as the burning hotbed of climate backwardness, conflict and environmental hazards which threaten the sanctity of the Green forward-thinking and acting northern hemisphere. This can even be seen in so-called eco-fashion and Viviene Westward's Climate Revolution shirt. Gaugele (2014: 214) brings attention to the fact that the shirt depicts a "sketch of a map outlining a global order, where the northern European and Northern American space is marked as green. Here the climate of the green Northern space seems to be threatened by global warming, represented by a much bigger South which is coded as red hot, explosive, and politically charged." Gaugele continues (2014: 215):

> Westwood's T-shirt thus highlights the centrality of the Western world by expressly underlining the graphic design of a green Northern Europe and America by the term "peace" and the word "yes" that is even enhanced by a checkmark. These landmarks of her politics of style transport a Western mission to green up and thereby pacify the southern hemisphere. This supremacy could be set also in the political context both of Agenda 21 and the United Nations fashion programs.

Spivak (2004), Brooks (2015) and Lyn Carter (2017) have problematised this, with Spivak highlighting that the subordinate subaltern is regarded as being unable to help itself without the sustained supervision, apparent benevolence and charity of the Eurocentric helper and her/his burden of continued intervention in the Global South. Hence, as Gaugele highlights (2014: 221) "ethical fashion as well as ethical consumption with its modes of producing ethical capital can be seen as part of a new spirit of global capitalism characterized by ethical, political, and moral values, which at the same time creates new forms of supremacy." While Carter (2017: 1075) has noted regarding Westwood's Ethical Fashion Initiative (EFL) and its work in Kenya that "lurking within the project is a modernised colonial paradigm of contemporary saviour, even if it is something to which EFI and Westwood would not overtly subscribe." Carter superbly opines,

> Development projects like EFI within unconscious Eurocentric frameworks, do not seek to dismantle dominant hegemony, hierarchies, and concentrations of power and control. Instead, cultural translation and representation reproduce stereotypical views of Kiber an life that can be further marginalise and disempower, simultaneously enabling the already privileged North with a 'feel good' factor from corporate or individual philanthropy.

Hence, there has also been observed a distinct sanctimony within the so-called 'ethical' and 'sustainable' fashion industry. Brooks (2015) in his book Clothing Poverty: The Hidden World of Fast Fashion and Second-Hand Clothes is also critical of the bold assertions of 'ethical consumption' highlighting that despite its lofty aims merely serves to sustain the "smooth functioning of global capitalism rather than being a brake on an exploitative mode of production."
He continues (2015: 231),

> Buying ethical clothes…is an individualized form of 'political' consumption which represents a limited force for social change that focuses attention only on convenient ethical topics. The maintenance of individual consumer sovereignty fits perfectly with extreme notions of liberalism whereby social relations are becoming 'purely atomic' and civic responsibility is rejected in favour of the 'apotheosis of the individual'. This type of positional ethical consumption as class differentiation feeds into the reproduction of inequalities.

Yet Goodman (2016) suggests in his review and critique of Brooks, that the anti-sweatshop movement which gained popularity worked to bring attention to, and question, the social, labour and ecological relations of fast fashion and fast capitalism and then formulate this into a set of production standards which large corporations began imbibing in their operations.

Making Clothing and Forging Hybrid Styles

Considering what has been discussed previously more sustainable ways are being considered which are also more ethical. Hence, re-use in fashion is becoming more popular of late both due to a conscious anti-fashion choice but also to contribute to conservation and the sustainability of the planet's finite resources and allow humans and industry to divert waste from landfills. Reusing good quality clothing is fundamental for eco slow fashion as it minimises the fashion footprint although the fashion industry contributes significantly to water usage, general waste, land clearing and material depletion (da Silva, 2020: 305). Da Silva (2020: 300-301) explains:

> While fast fashion describes clothing that is cheaply made and intended for short-term use, ethical fashion is the opposite and is sometimes even referred to as slow fashion. The fashion industry uses a constant flow of natural resources to produce fast fashion garments, constantly contributing to the depletion of fossil fuels, used, for example, in textile and garment production and transportation. Fresh water reservoirs are also being increasingly diminished for cotton crop irrigation. The fashion industry is also introducing in a systematic way, and in ever-greater amounts, manmade compounds such as pesticides and synthetic fibers, which increases their persistent presence in nature. Slow fashion takes into account the full lifecycle of the product – from the design, sourcing and production processes- and looks at everyone and everything being affected by it, from the environment, to the workers and communities where it's produced, to the consumers who purchase it. Slow fashion represents all things eco, ethical and green in one unified movement. It was first coined by Fletcher (2014), from the Centre for Sustainable Fashion, when fashion was compared to the Slow Food experience.

Gaugele (2014: 205) remarks,

> Fashion set up a new arena of aesthetic politics, where designers and labels seem to compete as activists demonstrating and struggling against climate change, the ecological crisis, overconsumption, and exploitation of labor.
> Therefore, a new paradigm of fashion has to be outlined. After many small fashion labels followed models of social entrepreneurship and introduced alternative production, material, and consumption strategies ranging from "upcycling," "cradle to cradle," "social design," "eco-textiles," "vegan" clothes and "D.I.Y.," ethics entered con temporary fashion.

Alongside reusing clothes is also repairing clothes, which is also gaining popularity at present and sustainable design brands are beginning to offer repair services during the products lifecycle and demonstrates that they are committed to design clothing of high quality, which lasts and is made with high levels of craftsmanship. Da Silva (2020: 305) states:

> Repairing is where fashion footprint gets creative, presenting new ways to extend the life of the fashion products. This is not totally new, because this was something that previous generations knew too well. This approach not only generates new possibilities for fashion items' life, but also contributes to save consumers' money, leading us to new possibilities of co-design or products customization.

Making one's own clothes and merging a range of garments, used, vintage, second-hand, is also now a form of protest fashion. Yet in the history of West Africa and black diasporic identity, there has often been an emphasis on the intrinsic power of blending and merging forms of fashion as more a display of status than as a form of protest. Miller states in Slaves to Fashion (2009: 90):

> In general, West African aesthetics allow for the "embrace of the new and unusual" and include an "ability to inventively manipulate and blend the traditional and novel"; this adaptive and creative impulse permeated all aspects of style, from combining of actual items of African and European dress to the reworking of cloth that composed that dress. Transported to the other side of the Atlantic, West Africans remembered and reinvigorated the importance that European fancy dress had had in communicating nobility, authority, respect, especially for fellow Africans, and, most important, a deeply ingrained cultural predisposition to exploring hybridity, syncretism, and displays of con spicuous consumption. Cultural exchange by means of clothing existed before the middle passage and, as we will see, continued well after it. Exchange was both cultural and material, as it was common for slaves to be bought from African traders with currency in the form of bolts of cloth.

For young people in contemporary societies, Gen Z, this merger of attire indicates a marked disassociation from fast fashion, the mainstream and dominant political discourses and is also is a hallmark of one's unique identity and even politics. Jungnickel (2021) identifies this in her paper on women's clothing inventions in late Victorian England and the disruptive nature of designing and making new forms of clothing even during this period, saying:

> Inventors and their supporters were not waiting to be granted equal rights but were claiming them via the making, wearing, and commercialization of new forms of clothing.

While in the 1960s and 70s, states Elizabeth Wilson (2003: 240):

> In pioneering thrift-shop styles and retro-chic, feminism was innovative rather than anti-fashion. The hacking jacket worn with a flower skirt (1977), the trilby hat (1979) and the old-fashioned handmade sweaters were fashions that feminism initiated and the mainstream copied.

This explains why at present in many Western cities a hybrid of styles are present, all emphasising individuality and personal idiosyncrasies. Hence, Bennett (2005: 103) rather than viewing fashion within the lens of 'class in a pre-determined structural sense, youth fashions allow for far more reflexive expressions of identity'. While Miles (2000: 138) suggested that young people are experts in reading cultural indicators, "putting together a jigsaw of consumer goods" in order to demonstrate their lifestyle preferences and identities. Naomi Braithwaite (2019) in her 'Fashionmap' study on street styles around the city of Nottingham demonstrated that there are people had deep relationships with clothing and fashion. She notes (2019: 50):

> Whereas youth subcultures used style to conform to a group identity, the twenty-first century saw a turn away from this towards identity as 'individual idiosyncrasy'. This can be attributed to globalisation, which has meant that cultural homogenisation is no longer typical. The accelerated growth of the internet and digital communication has also been integral to this change.

Braithwaite posits in this regard (2019: 59):

> Difference can stem from a multiplicity of looks that have bene sourced from different places. Many of the individuals will have purchased their skinny jeans from Topshop, but the belt and coat may be vintage and the woolly jumper belonged to a family member, meaning it has specific memories and associations. Through this assembling of different items, clothing creates a specific look that is unique and individual to that wearer.

Braithwaite states (2019: 59):

> Being different is something that develops more specifically through each image's supportive interview. This further validates the need to look beyond the superficial surface image of fashion through the unpacking of the narratives to really understand why, and how, things means to individuals.

Moore (2018: 80) also notes that,

> daily fashion choices therefore are more about a poetics of the self than what look or designer the fashion industry says is hot. Street style excites the eye because it is anti-fashion, an expression of identity, a going against the grain of social norms and the marketplace.

Conclusion

Operating as a key communicative means for demanding social reform and political activism, clothing occupies a uniquely affective, declarative and performative capacity, as Tulloch (2019) describes, 'style activism'. Clothing therefore as a form of 'non-verbal resistance' (Crane, 2000) in the current context is both popular and appealing, Crane emphasises in her book Fashion and its Social Agendas: Class, Gender and Identity in Clothing (2000: 3):

> Changes in clothing, and the discourses surrounding clothing indicate shifts in social relationships and tensions between different social groups that present themselves in different ways in public space.

As Umberto Eco (1973: 100) introduced the concept of "semiological guerrilla warfare", i.e. 'semiotic disobedience', to identify performances of dissent that relied on the resignification of various signs thereby giving new meanings to symbols. The symbolic meaning of fashion in the current context is no longer the sole preserve of the fashion industry to reproduce and assign symbolic meaning. Davis in 1992 brought attention to how there is an "unending succession of styles" created by mainly male designers for female consumption and are items which are seldom functional and are require great amounts of time and attention. Davis argues (1992: 175):

> They are costly to have cleaned and require much attention to keep presentable. All of this is seen as investing women's lives with a fastidiousness bordering at times on the comically frivolous (Foltyn 1989).

Rocamora and O'Neill (2008) state that street style therefore is an "apparent disregard of dominant fashion codes", as people create their own looks regardless of what the fashion industry and consumer trends dictate. As outlined by Meamber et al. (2017: 435), consumers can create meanings for themselves to,

> incorporate or subvert the dominant fashion discourses created by designers and marketers. By extension, consumers are able to appropriate fashion discourses and generate unique fashion identities while at the same time resistant dominant fashion narratives.

We also posit that the current adoption of protest fashion is both a rejection of mainstream fashion and of fast fashion and its environmental inequities. This is significant as fashion is a cultural product which consumers appropriate for not only their functionality but also the symbolism which they imbibe, leading to clothing to create a bridge between the cultural meaning of objects and an individual consumer's self-concept. In this way, fashion contributes to a person's self-definition.

Davis (1992: 5) has explored the social construction of meaning in fashion and how individual choices communicate social status, identity, conformity and a range of social characteristics, hence clothing is clearly a form of communication as emphasised by Barnard (1996, 2007, 2010). Although it is prone to change as per time and trends among different groups of people, 'low semanticity' as coined by Davis (1992: 5). We therefore opine that clothing has a quasi-code which ambiguously draws on visual symbols so that the meanings evoked are continuously changing, i.e. colours, fabrics, textures, occasion etc.

The unique use of clothing has been prevalent in the last two centuries as a tool in socio-politico-environmental protest. From the suffragette movement through to the black civil rights movement to the 1960s protest movements to the contemporary ethical and sustainable fashion trends, clothing and associated accessories assumed symbolic forms of expression, resistance and rebellion against unjust societal traditions and rules.

Bibliography

- Almila, A.M. (2017). "Introduction: The veil across the globe in politics, everyday life and fashion." Anna-Mari Almila and David Inglis (eds.), The Routledge International Handbook to Veils and Veiling Practices. Abingdon, Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge. 1-29.
- Association for Art History. 2019. "Dress and Dissent: Embodying protest." Session led by Annebella Pollen and Louise Purbrick at the Annual Conference, Brighton, April 4–6, 2019.
- Barnard, M. (1996). Fashion as Communication. London and New York: Routledge.
- ___________(2007). Fashion Theory: A reader. London: Routledge.
- _________(2010). "Fashion Statements: Communication and Culture." Ron Scapp and Brian Seitz (eds.), Fashion Statements: On Style, Appearance and Reality. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. 23-34.
- Barthes, R. (1983). The Fashion System. (M. Ward & R. Howard, Trans.). New York, NY: Hill & Wang. (Original work published 1967).
- _________(2006). The language of Fashion. Sydney, AU: Power Publications.
- Bartlett, D. (2019). "Can Fashion Be Defended?" Djurdja Bartlett (ed.), Fashion and Politics. New Haven: Yale University Press. 17-61.
- Beard, N. D. (2008). "The branding of Ethical Fashion and the Consumer: A Luxury Niche or Mass-market Reality?" Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture, vol. 12, 447–68.
- Behnke, A. (2017). "(Un)dressing the sovereign: fashion as a symbolic form." Andreas Behnke (ed.), The International Politics of Fashion: Being Fab in a Dangerous World. London: Routledge. 115-146.
- Bennett, A. (2005). Culture and Everyday Life. London: SAGE Publications.
- Black, S. (2011). Eco-Chic: The Fashion Paradox. London: Black Dog.
- Blake, A. (2013). "Popular Music since the 1950s." Clive Bloom and Gary Day (eds.), Literature and Culture in Modern Britain, Volume Three: 1956-1999. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. 224-239.
- Braithwaite, N. (2019). "Fashionmap: Situating Style in a Shifting Landscape." Laura Petican (ed.), Fashion and Contemporaneity: Realms of the Visible. Leiden and Boston: Brill. 42-69.
- Brooks, A. (2015). Clothing Poverty: The Hidden World of Fast Fashion and Second-Hand Clothes. London: Zed Books.
- Butler, J.M. (2021). ""The Epitome of Black Masculinity": Issac Hayes, Black Moses and the Long Freedom Struggle." Journal of American Struggle, 55(5), 1019-1045. Accessed Online August 2022: "The Epitome of Black Masculinity": Isaac Hayes, Black Moses, and the Long Freedom Struggle | Journal of American Studies | Cambridge Core

- Carter, L. (2017). "A Decolonial Moment in Science Education: Using a Socioscientific Issue to Explore the Coloniality of Power." Revista Brasileira de Pescquisa em Educação em Ciências, 17(3), 1061-1085. Accessed Online August 2022: (PDF) A Decolonial Moment in Science Education: Using a Socioscientific Issue to Explore the Coloniality of Power (researchgate.net)

- Castells, M. (1997) The Power of Identity. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Cavusoglu, L. and Dakhli, M. (2016). "The Impact of Ethic Concerns on Fashion Consumerism: A Review." Markets, Globalization & Development Review, 1 (2), Article 5. Accessed Online August 2022: The Impact of Ethical Concerns on Fashion Consumerism: A Review (uri.edu)

- Church Gibson, P. (2012). "Sustainable Fashion in the Age of Celebrity Culture." Sandy Black (ed.), The Sustainable Fashion Handbook. London: Thames & Hudson. 20–24.

- Clarke, H. (2008). "Slow+Fashion – an Oxymoron – or a Promise for the Future…?" Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture, 12: 427–46.

- Crane, D. (2000). Fashion and its Social Agendas: Class, Gender and Identity in Clothing. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Da Silva, F.M. (2020). "Sustainable Fashion is Ethical and Circular." Daniel Raposo, João Neves, José Silva, Luisa Correia Casilho and Rui Dias (eds.), Advances in Design, Music and Arts: 7th Meeting of Research in Music, Arts and Design, EIMAD 2020, May 14-15 2020. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. 299-311.

- Davis, F. (1992). Fashion, Culture and Identity. Chicago, IL and London: University of Chica go Press.

- Doss, E. (1999). ""Revolutionary art is a tool for liberation": Emory Douglas and protest aesthetics at the black panther." New Political Science, 21(2), 245-259. Accessed Online August 2022: doss.pdf (carbonfarm.us)

- Easey, M. (2009). "An Introduction to Fashion Marketing." Mike Easey (ed.), Fashion Marketing. Third Edn. Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.

- English, B. (2013). A Cultural History of Fashion in the 20th and 21st Centuries: From Catwalk to Sidewalk. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

- Entwistle, J. (2015). The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory. Cambridge: Polity.

- Estes, S. (2005). I Am a Man! Race, Manhood and the Civil Rights Movement. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- Fiske, J. (1989). Understanding the Popular Culture. New York: Routledge.

- Ford, T.C. (2022). "The History of Protest Fashion: The Clothes Make the Movement." Past Forward, American Experience|PBS. Accessed on Youtube August 2022:

- ________(2019). Dressed in Dreams: A Black Girl's Love Letter to the Power of Fashion. St Martin's Publishing Group.

- ________(2015). Liberated Threads: Black Women, Style and the Global Politics of Soul. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- ________(2013, August). "SNCC Women, Denim and the Politics of Dress." The Journal of Southern History, 79(3), 625-658. Accessed Online August 2022: SNCC Women, Denim, and the Politics of Dress (squarespace.com)

- Garg, E. (2020). "Introduction to Fast Fashion: Environmental Concerns and Sustainability Measures." Vertika Shukla and Narendra Kumar and (eds.), Environmental Concerns and Sustainable Development. Volume 2: Biodiversity, Soil and Wate Management. Singapore: Springer. 409-429.

- Gaugele, E. (2014). "On the Ethical Turn in Fashion Policies of Governance and the Fashioning of Social Critique." Elke Gaugele (ed.), Aesthetic Politics in Fashion. Berlin: Sternberg Press. 204-227. Accessed Online August 2022: 9783956790799.pdf (oapen.org)

- Gaugele, E. and Titton, M. (2019). "Letter from the Editors: Fashion as Politics: Dressing Dissent." Fashion Theory, 23:6, 615-618. Accessed Online August 2022: (PDF) Letter from the Editors: Fashion as Politics: Dressing Dissent | published in Fashion Theory The Journal of Dress Body & Culture (researchgate.net)

- Gaugele, Elke and Monica Titton, eds. (2019). Elke Gaugele and Monica Titton (eds.), Fashion and Postcolonial Critique. Berlin: Sternberg Press.

- Geczy, A. and Karaminas, V. (2016). "Walter Benjamin: Fashion, Modernity and the City Street." Agnès Rocamora and Anneke Smelik (eds.), Thinking Through Fashion: A Guide to Key Theorists. London and New York: I.B. Tauris. 81-97.

- Goodman, M.K. (2016). "Capitalism is Pants: Comments on Brooks' Clothing Poverty." Antipode, Accessed Online August 2022: (PDF) Capitalism is Pants: Comments on Brooks' Clothing Poverty (researchgate.net)

- Gordon, B. (1991). "American Denim: Blue Jeans and Their Multiple Layers of Meaning." Patricia Anne Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab (eds.), Dress and Popular Culture. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press. 31-46.

- Grant, C. (2019). Homecoming: Voices of the Windrush Generation. London: Random House.

- Hawley, J. (2012). "Textile Recycling Options: Exploring What Could Be." Alison Gwilt and Timo Rissanen (eds.), Shaping Sustainable Fashion: Changing the Way We Make and Use Clothes. Abingdon, Oxon: Earthscan. 143-165.

- Hebdige, D. (1979/2003). Subculture: The Meaning of Style. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Hokkanen, S. (2014). Fashion brands and consumption in postmodern consumer culture: The construction of self and social identities (Unpublished Masters thesis). Swedish School of Textiles, University of Boras, Boras, Sweden.
- hooks, b. (1982). Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism. London: Routledge.
- Jones, E. (2021). Politics Through T-Shirts: A History of Protest. A Study of Digital Public History Methodologies and Open-Source Curating. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Waterloo. Accessed Online August 2022: Jones_Elaine.pdf (uwaterloo.ca)
- Jungnickel, K. (2021). "Clothing Inventions as Acts of Citizenship? The Politics of Material Participation, Wearable Technologies, and Women Patentees in Late Victorian Britain." Science, Technology and Human Values, September 2021. Accessed Online August 2022: Clothing Inventions as Acts of Citizenship? The Politics of Material Participation, Wearable Technologies, and Women Patentees in Late Victorian Britain - Kat Jungnickel, 2021 (sagepub.com)
- Kaiser, S.B. (2012). Fashion and Cultural Studies. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Kawamura, Y. (2004). Fashion-ology: An Introduction to Fashion Studies. Oxford and New York: Berg.
- Kriger, C.E. (2010). "Silk and Sartorial Politics in the Sokoto Caliphate (Nigeria), 1804-1903." Beverly Lemire (ed.), The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society: Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times. London: Routledge. 143-174.
- Lemire, B. (2010). "Fashion and the Practice of History, A Political Legacy." Beverly Lemire (ed.), The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society: Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times. London: Routledge. 1-21.
- Lewis, R. (2017). "Modest Fashion and Anti-Fashion." Anna-Mari Almila and David Inglis (eds.), The Routledge International Handbook to Veils and Veiling Practices. Abingdon, Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge. 139-152.
- Lewis, S.P. (2017). The Black Dandy and Street Style. Aperture.
- London College of Fashion. (2014). Fashion & Politics. The second annual LCF Research Hubs conference held on June 4, 2014 at London College of Fashion, University of the Arts London.
- McMillan, M. (2022). "Daddy Cool: Aging Black Male Bodies and Embodied Stylin'." Vicki Karaminas, Adam Geczy and Pamela Church Gibson and (eds.), Fashionable Masculinities: Queers, Pimp Daddies and Lumbersexuals. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

- McNair, K.L. (2017). Cotton-Framed Revolutionaries: T-shirt Culture and the Black Protest Tradition. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Berkeley, CA: University of California. Accessed Online August 2022: McNair_berkeley_0028E_17043.pdf

- Meamber, L.A., Joy, A. and Venkatesh, A. (2017). "Fashion in Consumer Culture." Margit Keller, Bente Halkier, Terhi-Anna Wilska and Monica Truninger (eds.), Routledge Handbook on Consumption. Abingdon, Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge. 431-441.

- Mercer, K. (2000). "Black Hair/Style Politics." Kwesi Owusu (ed.), Black British Culture and Society: A Text Reader. London and New York, NY: Routledge. 117-129. The article was originally written in 1987.

- Miles, S. (1998). Consumerism: As a Way of Life. London: SAGE Publications.

- _______(2000). Youth Styles in a Changing World. Buckingham: Open University Press.

- Miller, M.L. (2009). Slaves to Fashion: Black Dandyism and the Styling of Black Diasporic Identity. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

- Moore, M. (2018). Fabulous: The Rise of the Beautiful Eccentric. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Navickas, K. (2010, July). ""That sash will hang you": Political Clothing and Adornment in England, 1780-1840." Journal of British Studies, 49(3), 540-565. Accessed Online August 2022: Microsoft Word - Political Clothing and Adornment in England final MS.doc (herts.ac.uk)

- Ogbar, J. (2004). Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press.

- Ozdamar-Ertekin, Z. (2017). "The True Cost: The Bitter Truth Behind Fast Fashion." Markets, Globalization and Development Review, 2(3), article 7. Accessed Online August 2022: The True Cost: The Bitter Truth behind Fast Fashion (uri.edu)

- Ozdamar-Ertekin, Z. and Atik, D. (2015). "Sustainable Markets: Motivating Factors, Barriers, and Remedies for Mobilization of Slow Fashion." Journal of Macromarketing, 35 (1), 53-69. Accessed Online August 2022:

- Parkins, W. (1995, March). "What to Wear to a Protest March: Identity politics and fashion in the suffragette movement." Southern Review: Communication, Politics and Culture, 28(1), 69-82.

- __________(2002). "'The Epidemic of Purple, White and Green': Fashion and the Suffragette Movement in Britain, 1908-14." Wendy Parkins (ed.), Fashioning the Body Politic. Oxford and New York: Berg. 97-124.

- Pitts, V. (2003). In the Flesh: The Cultural Politics of Body Modification. New York, NY and Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Polhemus, T. (1994). Streetstyle: From Sidewalk to Catwalk. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Polhemus, T. and Procter, L. (1978). Fashion and Anti-Fashion: Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Powell, R. (1997). Black Art and Culture in the 20th Century. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Rocamora, A. and O'Neill, A. (2008). "Fashioning the Street: Images of the street in the fashion media." Eugénie Shinkle (eds.), Fashion as Photograph Viewing and Reviewing Images of Fashion. London: I.B. Tauris. 185-199.
- Root, A.R. (2010). Couture and Consensus: Fashion and Politics in Postcolonial Argentina. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Shulman, A. (2020). Clothes...and Other Things That Matter. London: Octopus.
- Smith, N.M. (2003). The Classic Ten: The True Story of the Little Black Dress and Nine Other Fashion Favorites. London: Penguin Books.
- Spencer, R.C. (2016). The Revolution Has Come: Black Power, Gender, and the Black Panther Party in Oakland. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Spivak, G.C. (2004, Spring/Summer). "Righting Wrongs." The South Atlantic Quarterly 103, no.2/3, 523-48. Accessed Online August 2022: Righting-Wrongs.pdf (georgetown.edu)
- Steele, V. (1997). "Anti-Fashion: The 1970s." Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture, 1(3). 279-295.
- Thomas, S. (2008). "From 'Green Blur' to Ecofashion: Fashioning an Eco-Lexicon." Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture, 12: 525–40.
- Tickner, L. (1987). The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-14. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Titton, M. (2019). "Afterthought: Fashion, Feminism and Radical Protest." Fashion Theory, 23(6), 747-756. Accessed Online August 2022: (PDF) Afterthought: Fashion, Feminism and Radical Protest (researchgate.net)
- Tulloch, C. (2000). "That little magic touch: the headtie and issues around Black British women's identity." Kwesi Owusu (eds.), Black British Culture and Society: A Text Reader. London and New York, NY: Routledge. 221-235.
- __________(1999). "That little magic touch: the headtie." Amy de la Haye and Elizabeth Wilson (eds.), Defining Dress: Dress as object, meaning and identity. Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press. 63-79.

- __________(2016). The Birth of Cool: Style Narratives of the African Diaspora. London: Bloomsbury.
- __________(2019). "Style Activism: The Everyday Activist Wardrobe of the Black Panther Party and Rock Against Racism Movement." Djurdja Bartlett (ed.), Fashion and Politics. New Haven: Yale University Press. 85-195.
- Van Den Bergh, J. and Behrer, M. (2013). How Cool Brands Stay Hot: Branding to Generation Y. London: KoganPage.
- Vargas, M. (2009). "Fashion Statement or Political Statement: The Use of Fashion to Express Black Pride during the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements of the 1960s." Undergraduate Review, 5, article 19, 95-99. Accessed Online August 2022: Fashion Statement or Political Statement: The Use of Fashion to Express Black Pride during the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements of the 1960's (core.ac.uk)
- Wallace, M. (2015). Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman. Brooklyn: Verso Books.
- White, S. and White, G. (1998). Stylin': African American Expressive Culture from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Wikström, S. (1996). "The consumer as co-producer." European Journal of Marketing, 30, 6–19.
- Wilson, E. (2001). "Oppositional Dress." Daniel Miller (ed.), Consumption: Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences. London and New York, NY: Routledge. 26-50.
- __________(2003). Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Winge, T.M. (2008). "'Green Is the New Black': Celebrity Chic and the 'Green' Commodity Fetish." Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture, 12: 511–24.
- ___________(2012). Body Style. London and New York, NY: Berg.
- Woolf, V. (1928). Orlando: A Biography. New York: Crosby Gaige.

Want to get involved?

GET IN TOUCH
partnerships@centric.org.uk

www.centric.org.uk