A Potential Dichotomy: Clothing, Fashion and the UK Apparel Industry

Abstract
The research focuses upon the production of apparel in the UK, in order to explore a potential dichotomy between *clothing* and *fashion*. Both the terms suggest ways in which the body can be dressed and are used liberally within industries that produce apparel. I consider the currency of sociologist, Georg Simmel's theory, which identified no fundamental links between the clothing and fashion. In fashion. Clothing is usually constructed with textile materials worn on the physique and is worn by human beings, in the majority of societies. The quantity and style of clothing depends on bodily, societal and environmental considerations, including gender. In contrast fashion is a common term for a popular style in clothing, footwear or accessories and is usually, the newest collection or creation produced by a designer or retailer. The UK designer, Jean Muir regarded herself as a dressmaker and implied there was conflict between the production of clothes and the role of the fashion designer in this process. The investigation seeks to offer new insight into existing research related to clothing and fashion, by centering upon the production of apparel in the UK and the specific needs of the highly developed, UK fashion and clothing educational system. In so doing it identifies how the terms are perceived today, in both the UK and global apparel industries.

Key Words: clothing, fashion, production, sewing, skills, dichotomy, Simmel

Introduction
In order to explore a potential dichotomy between clothing and fashion, it is necessary to consider the different interpretations of both terms. Items of clothing for instance, can be worn as uniforms, which communicate authority, signify professional roles or be ceremonial. They can protect from the elements, keeping the body warm and cool and can enhance safety during perilous activities such as climbing and diving. They can protect the wearer by providing a barricade between the skin and the elements shielding against; burns, scratches, insect bites, prickles and thorns. Clothing also provides a sterile barrier, keeping toxic materials from the body. Fashionable clothing or clothing appropriated as fashionable items can have functional purposes but have a different logic. This is invariably due to the application of design and aesthetics to the clothing that conforms to a fashionable ideal. Arguably an item of clothing can only be considered modish when it is appropriated as a fashionable item. Fashionable clothing however can be repatriated as clothing once their status as fashionable items has ceased. The fashion show (as illustrated in figures 1, 2 and 3) is the ultimate theatre to present the dreams and vision of the fashion designer to potential buyers and it usually features items of apparel, styled on the body in order to make a fashionably aesthetic statement. Invariably it is an enticing distillation mounted upon a platform of set design, choreography, music and lighting, concocted for an expectant audience to be seduced and bewitched. Groomed by hair and make-up teams who create a look to enhance the theme of

the show or collection, the models preen and pose in the garments, inviting the audience to step into their captivating world. Items of clothing are promoted and sold in less ostentatious ways, through static displays at trade shows, online or through agents and specialist suppliers for uniforms or corporate clothing outlets.

Figures: 1 – 3. Fashion garments presented in a fashion show, 2013. Photograph courtesy of Kevin Almond.

A dichotomy between clothing and fashion could be the consequence of a lacking of distinction between design and production, a lack that in the UK clothing and fashion system is bound up with the decline of manufacturing and the outsourcing of the apparel industry. The UK apparel industry began to decline in the early 1980's, before much of the spread of ready-of-wear and more recently fast fashion. It could therefore be conjectured that both clothing and fashion production are incompatible however I would argue this is a localised condition within the UK. It is not necessarily the case in other Western countries such as, USA, France and Italy, where there is little contradiction between clothing and fashion, the fashion system being a circumscribed part of the clothing industry and the clothing and fashion industry being closely amalgamated. The academic, Emanuela Mora, discussed the outcome of an ethnographic research project at the centre ModaCult (Milan), conducted inside six Italian fashion/clothing companies, at the beginning of the 2000's. It was a comparative analysis, which considered three types of influence on creativity; strategic, technical and procedural. Mora recognised that "The continuous negotiation of meaning at different levels of the organization led to "a diffuse creativity production process" in which managers and employees with many different types of skills participated." (2006). The research considers if there is a similar diffusion, or amalgamation of skills within the UK and in the specific needs

of the highly developed UK educational system that supports the clothing and fashion industries.

Producing clothing is an activity that requires great skill. A skill is ultimately a learned ability to carry out pre-determined results often with a minimum outlay. Within the clothing industry, garment-making skills are craft based and a measure of the amount of a worker's specialization and expertise, a craft being a pastime or profession that requires some particular kind of skilled work. Fashion designers utilise a wide variety of clothes making skills yet also need to anticipate the spirit of the times and predict shifting consumer tastes through the three dimensional realization of their designs. The role of the fashion designer in popular culture has assumed grandiose proportions and often celebrity status. A star-system in which, the "Mythical conception of a designer as a 'creative genius' disconnected from social conditions" (Anonymous, 2011), has evolved. This iconic rank glamourizes both the designer and the fashionable clothing they produce. Arguably the prevailing theme of the fashion collection, its colours, silhouettes, fabrics, patterns and styles divorces the designer, in the consumers eyes from the craft based activities involved in making clothes, therefore the role of the clothing designer is often perceived as less exalted. This is discussed further in the literature review.

Deeper analysis of the history of the UK fashion industry reveals many fashion designers who embrace the activities involved in clothing production and consider them a valuable asset in the creation and marketing of their brand. The list of UK designers who value manual skills, sewing and craftsmanship include names such as, Ossie Clarke, Alexander McQueen, John Galliano, Betty Jackson, Vivienne Westwood, Edward Molyneux, Hussein Chalayon, Jean Muir, Charles James etc. Closer examination of the work of Muir and James, reveals how garment making technologies have influenced their design practice. Jean Muir (1928 – 1995), whose dress is illustrated in figure 4, "Was in love with the process and craft of dressmaking and always used very high quality materials and details" (Soutar, 2008). As discussed, Muir preferred to be known as a dressmaker and was passionate about improving technical skills and the standards in garment production. She said, "The things most dear to me are art and craft and design and the upholding of standards and quality, maintaining them and setting new ones" (Stemp, 2006). The structured clothes produced by the UK born designer, Charles James (1906 – 1978), often relied on a layered infrastructure of nylon mesh, feather-boning, buckram, and horsehair braid to create and hold their silhouette. Garments such as his four-leaf clover dress from 1953, did not require hoops and crinolines to hold their form, their infrastructure and close adherence to tailoring techniques, helped to maintain their shape.

Figure: 4. Jean Muir black rayon jersey cape dress, approx. 1980. Photograph courtesy of Leeds Museums and Galleries.

A clothing designer generally produces more functional garments such as corporate wear, sports clothes or uniforms such as the *Boy Scout* uniform, illustrated in figure 5. The general principles of design and production would not necessarily differ from those utilized in the manufacture of fashion garments, for example: an understanding of what constitutes good or poor design, consideration of balance and harmony in a garment, how to use colour and fabrics appropriately etc. The clothing designer may develop substantial technical knowledge about the construction of particular types of garments. This would sustain a reputation as a skilled specialist in the industry, such as those who produce waterproof clothing or clothing that uses a bullet proofed fabric such as Kevlar, etc. A sportswear designer for instance, creating wetsuits, may develop a passion for the use of the neoprene fabric used in these types of garments, which has to be bonded in a particular way in order to hold seams together. The sociologist, Yuniya Kawamura, argued that the technology and personnel involved in clothing and fashion production do not necessarily differ. She said, "While clothing production manufactures items of garments, fashion production perpetrates the belief in fashion" (2005). The difference in fashionable clothing is in the aesthetics, which flaunt a modish appeal. I would further argue that production processes are similar, however clothing exists without fashion yet fashion cannot really exist without clothing. Kawamura stated that, "Items of clothing must go through the process of transformation to be labelled as fashion" (2005), therefore specific types of clothing manufacturing procedures are relevant to fashion when particular items of clothing are deemed to be fashionable.

Figure: 5. A Boy Scout uniform, 1967. An example of a clothing orientated garment. Photograph courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum.

The research revealed that contradictions between clothing and fashion have been widely discussed within fashion studies and the relationship between both terms is a very ambiguous topic that requires the management of subtle distinctions. This work attempts to offer new insight into the accepted knowledge by focusing upon the production of apparel in the UK and the specific needs of the highly developed UK fashion and clothing educational system. In order to do so I discuss my personal experience developing fashion design and clothing courses that serve the needs of the apparel industry and the challenges you have to face in order to organize and lead them. Through close examination of the craft and skills involved in producing clothing and fashion, the research also aims to extricate their purposefulness within garment manufacture and in so doing considers whether a dichotomy exists between the terms within the UK apparel industry. This is analysed through the objectives below that aim to:

- Investigate the currency of Simmel's theory, which deliberates the social phenomena of clothing and fashion and makes a distinction between both terms, emphasizing no fundamental links between the objects termed clothing and fashion.
- Consider the skills involved in producing both clothing and fashion and identify how they are perceived in the UK apparel industries and the highly developed UK education system.
- Identify if a dichotomy between the terms clothing and fashion exists within the UK in comparison with the wider USA and European apparel industry.

Methodology
Through conducting this enquiry I expanded my knowledge of clothing and fashion garments in order to explore a potential dichotomy between the terms. Drawing on my own experience as a fashion designer and lecturer, I focussed on qualitative investigations through contemporary and historical research and an in-depth literature review. Primary research included, object based enquiry, which considered how clothing and fashion items are designed, produced and worn, through close examination of different types of garments and analysis of the technologies involved in producing them. This included examination of apparel in retail outlets, museum collections, photography and in design studios, both in industry and education. Action research working both as a designer and with designers, considered the activities involved in physically creating clothes. Through this research I attempt to disentangle the terms clothing and fashion in order to discuss the activities involved in producing many different types of apparel, which convey practical, functional or fashion orientated messages to the world. I also suggest that a greater merging of the activities involved in producing and sewing clothing and fashion garments within the UK, similar to the "diffuse creativity production process" suggested by Mora (2006), could be a way to amalgamate notions of both terms.

Secondary research considered literature that examines the semiotics of clothing and fashion and it focuses upon Simmel's analysis of both. Unlike other fashion thinkers he never fully describes how and why clothes are adopted, rather he considers the aesthetics of clothes in relation to their functional needs. He argues that fashion often ignores such needs and is "Something borne out by the way in which it delights in ignoring all forms of objective appropriateness" (Carter, 2003). Simmel's theory emphasizes clear distinctions between the terms clothing and fashion. Several classical, scholars consider ways in which clothing is appropriated as a fashionable item and *vice versa*. Writers such as Tarde, (1903) consider fashion as a constant cycle of imitation. Clothing, appropriated as fashion is imitated and once imitated it evolves into a new style and the process of imitation is repeated again. This "Social process of imitation" (Kawamura, 2011), has arguably evolved into the trickle-up, trickle-down theory of fashion, first devised by the American economist and sociologist, Thorstein Veblen, in his work, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* in 1899. He argued that fashions worn by the upper class were then imitated by the lower class. In contemporary society, with the shift from high culture to popular and sub- culture as a major influence on fashion trends, this theory is reversed as the garment styles worn by members of these subcultural or street style groups *trickle up* to influence designer and haute couture styles. Today the bottom end of the market emulates the top end and *vice versa*. This scenario involves a mish-mash of clothing and fashion objects only considered fashionable when appropriated as fashionable items and then often repatriated as clothing (or other forms of dress) once their status as a fashionable item has ceased. According to Simmel,
"As soon as an example has been universally adopted, that is, as soon as anything that was originally done only by a few has really come to be practiced

by all – as is the case in certain portions of our apparel and in various forms of social conduct – we no longer speak of fashion. As fashion spreads, it gradually goes to its doom" (1904).

The emphasis here is on the extinction of the fashionable garment however fashion trends can be inspired by items of clothing such as military uniform, such as the Russian coat by Rifat Ozbek, illustrated in figures 6 and 7. Once such trends are exhausted as a fashion look, their sources of inspiration (in this case military clothing) remain as clothing items. Extinction only applies to the condemned status of the fashionable style, not the durability of the clothing style.

Figure: 6. Russian military uniform. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum.

Figure: 7. Long, full skirted coat inspired by Russian military wear, by UK fashion designer, Rifat Ozbek, 1993. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Literature Review
The literature review unearthed a variety of works, which considered a potential dichotomy between clothing and fashion. These focus upon either the production of clothing and fashion garments (see for example: Fischer, 2008; Gardiner, 2010; Haynes, 2014; Musheno, 1975; Nudelman, 2009; Prendergast, 2014; Shaeffer, 2007) to those which explore the theory and culture of fashion (see for example: Barnard, 2007; Bruzzi & Church Gibson, 2013; Davis, 1992; Entwistle, 2000; Kawamura, 2005; Kawamura 2011, Kaiser 2011; Rouse, 1989; Wilson 1985). Kawamura's work, *Fashion-ology: An Introduction to Fashion Studies* (2005), provides a literature review on fashion in the social sciences, from the nineteenth century to the present. This coincides with the institutionalisation of fashion as a system in the mid nineteenth century, within Europe and the USA and her analysis focuses on this system. She states,
"Clothing is material production while fashion is symbolic production. Clothing is tangible while fashion is intangible. Clothing is a necessity while fashion is an excess. Clothing has a utility function while fashion has status function. Clothing is found in any society or culture where people clothe themselves while fashion must be institutionally constructed and culturally diffused" (Kawamura, 2005).

Dressing in apparel could refer to both clothing and fashion items however to decorate something is arguably more akin to the way a body is *fashioned* with garments (or accessories). Clothing is considered in relation to the ways it influences fashion, such as counter cultural, sub cultural or utopian clothing and

clothing reform. The fashion historian, Elizabeth Wilson's examination of subculture and clothing, describes how "The beatniks exaggerated their pale lips, straight hair and black clothes into a uniform of revolt, while Mary Quant turned it into the latest fashion" (1985). The sociologist, Joanne Entwistle, defines *dressing* as an, "Activity of clothing the body" (2000), and 'fashion as a 'Specific system of dress" (2000). Entwistle also highlights the social anthropologist, Elizabeth Rouse, who describes fashion as, "An attribute with which some styles are endowed. For a particular style of clothing to become fashion it actually has to be worn by some people and recognised and acknowledged to be fashion" (1989). Her work also discusses how classical theorists, including Simmel, utilized little empirical research to support their ideas. These were mostly based on anecdote and intuition. She noted how contemporary scholars (for example: Bourdieu, 1980; Craik, 1994; Davis, 1992; Entwistle, 2000; Rouse, 1989) have begun to conduct empirical study as a basis for their study of clothing and fashion.

There are several recent publications (1988 – present), which comprise of edited essays relating to different aspects of clothing and fashion (see for instance: Ash and Wright, 1988; Ash and Wilson, 1993; McNeil and Karaminas, 2009; Riello and McNeil, 2010; Welters and Lillethun, 2007). It is noteworthy that the majority of essays in these publications, discuss fashion, only a minority discuss clothing. For instance, Barnard's work, *Fashion Theory: A Reader* (2007) includes essays, which consider how a wide range of disciplines including cultural studies, sociology, gender studies and fashion history have used different theoretical frameworks to discuss the variety and complexity of fashion and to a lesser extent clothing. Works in the reader cover a 130, year period, during which the theoretical consideration of clothing and fashion has changed considerably and the study of clothing and fashion as a viable academic discipline has gradually led to the expansion of a diversity of methodologies. These developments can be recognized within the essays, which are split into twelve sections and analyse topics, ranging from production to, communication, identity and difference, consumption and imagery. Only two sections discuss clothing, part 4, 'What Fashion and Clothing do?' and part 7, 'Fashion, Clothes and the Body'. The clothing discussed here is distanced from fashion through analysis of both the functional and social purpose of the actual garments. Part 4 includes, John Carl Flugel's essay, which considers the protective function of clothing that shields us from elements such as heat and cold or protect us from human or animal enemies. Flügel (1874-1955) was an English psychologist and a member of the Men's Dress Reform Party. He published *The Psychology of Clothes* in 1930, in which he advances the idea that clothing is a form of compromise that intervenes between the desire to show the body and cover it for the sake of modesty. This contrasts with the later approach of Elizabeth Rouse, whose essay considers the wearing of clothes in relation to modesty and sexual attraction.

The literature review included an Internet search, which investigated global perceptions of the roles of both clothing and fashion designers. As a

methodological tool the internet is fluid and ever changing because, "Information is everywhere, existing in large quantities and continuously being created and revised" (Watson, 2004). This fluidity can quickly reflect changing opinion however it is less reliable because sources for the information can sometimes be erratic. It does provide a platform for ongoing dialogue and I discovered a large proportion of websites and blogs, which discussed the differences between a fashion designer and successively, a tailor, stylist, costume designer, seamstress, textile designer and interestingly a designer of *designer clothes* and *normal clothes*. In the blog, *What's the difference between designer clothes and normal clothes*, (http://www.mylot.com/post/2088668/whats-the-difference-between-designer-clothes-and-normal-clothes.html) the author who gave himself the name 'Bluesinjid' declared,

"I find that designer clothes are really nothing amazing except that they are really expensive and have their logo splashed all over them. I really think it's not worth it as a teen myself to buy a shirt from Abercrombie for $75 and instead go to Wal-Mart for example, and get a shirt there for $5. Basically they are made in the same place so it has nothing to do with price, but with marketing" (2009).

The different marketing of both brands suggests ways to distinguish between *normal* clothing and *designer* fashion however the manufacturing unit and the skills used to produce both the discount and the designer brand were almost identical.

In Lisa Carlson's article, *Difference between a fashion designer and a clothing designer* (http://www.work.chron.com/difference-between-fashion-designer-clothing-designer-4556.html), she attempts to define the differences between both roles. In fashion she outlines the designer's role as being, "…on the cusp of cutting-edge trends and constantly keeps up on current tastes and sensibilities" (2014). The fashion designer is also involved in every stage of designing, producing and showing clothes as well as styling. They also work with public relations teams and buyers to showcase designs through the arena of the fashion show in order to sell to stores. She defines the role of the clothing designer as less "tumultuous and exciting", unlike fashion designers who bring their "visions to life through art as clothing" (2014). The clothing designer creates, "Pieces that are suitable for everyday wear and usually are not independently employed. They generally work with a team of designers reporting to a creative director or fashion executive" (2014). Seemingly, Carlson defines the clothing designer as a less ostentatious version of the fashion designer who still reports to a manager described as a creative or fashion director. This suggests close links between the two roles.

Further Internet searches revealed additional blogs, which continue the debate (see for example: Fashion vs Apparel, http://www.stitrightnow.com/2012/02/fashion-vs-apparel.html, Clothing vs Fashion, http://www.thevine.com.au/fashion/opinions/clothing-vs-fashion-20110921-236645/). The majority of this literature consisted of small groups of individuals as opposed to those blogs, which are professionally edited for large

numbers of authors. Although the commentary in the blogs can be read in different ways, by different readers, at different times, it generally proved useful in gauging differing opinions and was helpful in suggesting ways in which concepts of the terms clothing and fashion could be potentially amalgamated. In *Clothing vs Fashion*, Nadine Von Cohen explained,
"I was at a dinner party recently and a dear friend's father was interrogating me about why I love clothes so much. I explained to him that my sartorial obsession is based more on an appreciation of fashion than of clothes. 'Fashion,' I explained, trying not to sound like a dickhead "is art. Clothes are simply a means of covering your rude bits" (2012).
Cohen's statement suggests that fashionable clothing be considered akin to art as it can engage onlookers aesthetic sensibilities, or draw the onlooker towards contemplation of a more refined or *finer* work of art. Clothing is denigrated to attire whose sole purpose is to cover the genitals.

The skills involved in producing clothing and fashion
This section analyses the historical development of clothes making skills. Whilst focusing on the UK as a case study, it also references wider developments in the USA and Europe in order to explore ways in which clothing and fashion garments have been produced. The development of historical clothing is widely documented, both in pictorial literature and through historical analysis. The historian, Naomi Tarrant's work, *The Development of Costume* describes the structure of European clothing from the perspective of the development of clothes making skills. It traces the history of clothing from the earliest times to the modern day, showing how fabrication, adornment, structure and silhouette reflect culture and technology and relate to the social and physical aspects of clothes. Interestingly Tarrant focuses upon the term *costume*. This hints at theatrical or historical garments however in Tarrant's work, costume refers to both items of clothing and fashion and is used to define styles of dress from a particular people, class, or period. She describes how,
"Clothing is the outward and visible sign of taste and discrimination, social attitude and status. In every culture, men and women pay enormous attention to the minutiae of dress and appearance, and even in the least status-conscious societies, clothes are immediately revealing of how people see themselves" (1994).
The example of the Victorian mourning costume from the 1880s, in figures 8 and 9, arguably crosses the boundaries of clothing and fashion production. A person dressed in mourning wears symbolic clothing that represents grief and the 1880's costume is significant because it also conforms to the fashionable bustle silhouette of the decade in which it was made.

Figures: 8 and 9. Victorian mourning costume from the 1880's, which incorporates the fashionable bustle silhouette. Photograph courtesy of Kerry Taylor Auctions.

Sewing is the craft of securing objects using stitches made with a needle and thread. It dates from the prehistoric period and until the 19th century all sewing was done by hand. The mass production of sewing really accelerated after the invention and patenting of the sewing machine in the late 19th century and an example of such a machine is illustrated in figure 10. The rise of computerized manufacturing in the late 20th century is a further technological development that has accelerated the production of clothing and this has greatly abetted the rise of fast fashion. Fast fashion is a term used by fashion retailers and describes how designs from the catwalk are quickly adapted into high street trends. These trends are designed and manufactured quickly and cheaply so the consumer can purchase fashionable styles at a lower price. Large, global retailers such as, Zara, Topshop, Peacocks and H&M, have developed and maintained lucrative businesses based on these ideas of quick production at affordable prices.

Figure: 10. Early sewing machine produced in the UK, circa 1880 (unknown production). Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum.

In the nineteenth century, there was a huge increase in garment manufacturers and networks of home-workers who produced clothing and fashionable attire both in Europe and the USA. These were predominantly women who made up garments at home for merchants. They received poor pay and as a result worked long hours in harsh conditions. Numbers vastly accelerated during the middle years of the century only beginning to decline before its end. Arguably, due to this sweated labour, the skills of sewing by machine and by hand reached their finest achievements and the remains of these skills can be found in the bespoke tailoring and haute couture industries. Couture is an important although rarefied division of the fashion industry, whereas the bespoke tailoring industry has traditionally produced structured apparel for consumers of both clothing and fashion. Garments are made to measure for individual customers and are often created from luxurious, quality fabrics, sewn with great attention to detail by highly proficient seamstresses. Tailoring and haute couture is produced by numerous UK and international fashion designers who instil an appreciation for garment making in the discerning customer, a passion that was advocated by UK designer, Jean Muir when she said,
"The way the girls push the cloth through the sewing machine and how they know what the cloth has got to do and when to hold it tighter or when to stretch it slightly. And it's innate in their fingers and I think it is something we need to appreciate infinitely more in this country – all the wonderful skills" (Semp, 2006).

In the last twenty years several manuals have been published, which examine couture dressmaking skills, (see for example: Nudelman, 2009; Shaeffer, 2011).

These publications share the craftsmanship of the highly skilled artisans, who have worked for celebrated couturiers such as: Balenciaga, Chanel, Dior, St Laurent, Schiaparelli and Valentino. The level of craftsmanship in couture is often absent from mass produced clothing and fashion (due to cost implications) and until recently there has been a gap in literature dedicated to the manufacture of garments for the lower echelons of the fashion industry (designer ready- to-wear and the high street, including fast fashion, etc). Some recent publications seek to redress this, (see for example: Fischer, 2008; Prendergast, 2014). These works are presented in a contemporary, stylish and highly visual way and encourage budding designers to develop a passion for the processes involved in sample and garment construction. This can result in designs based on a more experimental and imaginative approach applied during the manufacturing process.

Clothing or Fashion: An Education
In order to gain a perspective on the ways in which both clothing and fashion are taught, I analysed the UK higher education market. This information increased my understanding of how students are groomed for the garment making industries and how these industries are described and clarified to them. I considered my experience as a teacher and manager in clothing and fashion departments within three different institutions and was able to embody the theoretical ideas related to the interconnections amongst these two practice fields, in the corpus of education. I reflected on my own experience and the body of knowledge acquired in education and considered the educational aims related to interconnections between clothing and fashion within pedagogy, the objective being the spreading of awareness and related habitus.

I had first become aware of a potential dichotomy between clothing and fashion when I worked for a clothing/fashion department at Leeds College of Art and Design in the UK, from 1994 - 1996. The clothing department, as it was then called had evolved through its active involvement with the vast garment and tailoring industries in the city of Leeds and its surrounding area. The college had developed both training and further education courses that supported these industries, producing pattern cutters, garment technologists and designers. By the 1990's however the clothing business in the city was in decline, termed by the banks as a "Sunset Industry" (Zimmerman, 2012). The UK higher education sector (undergraduate and postgraduate) had also begun to evolve and expand, with educational institutions investigating new ways to attract students through tantalizing course headings. Statistically courses with clothing or clothing technology in the title were not recruiting however by incorporating the word fashion, student applications flooded in. The word fashion was enticing, it made the design and production activities involved in making clothes appear *sexy*. My job description at the college was *Fashion Director* and the mandate was to develop the fashion sensibility, within design and technology, in all the clothing/fashion courses, both in further and higher education. The majority of staff in the department had been clothing technologists, within industry and had a

plethora of garment making abilities that were steeped in the concept of *clothing*. I struggled to repatriate an understanding of these skills within a fashion context. One of my directives was to develop a degree programme named: BA (Hons) Clothing/Fashion. I was initially presented with a document for validation written by the clothing technologist staff from the college department. The real challenge evolved when I had to negotiate a fashion pathway with these highly skilled, yet clothing entrenched professionals. Although challenging at first, it was interesting to learn from each other in order to enhance our understanding of both clothing and fashion and how both terms could be amalgamated to develop an exciting, new programme. For instance the course afforded the students a greater opportunity to comprehend body sizing and how this relates to the accurate fit of clothing, therefore enhancing stronger clothing and fashion design. Students also had a greater opportunity to appreciate fabrics and their properties in relation to design, through the introduction of textile testing used in the clothing industry.

In his analysis of fashion related degree courses in the UK, the journalist, Steve Anderson described a seemingly endless list of course titles including, "Fashion; fashion design; fashion studies; textiles; clothing engineering; contour fashion; fashion accessories; fashion communications; fashion design management; fashion design promotion; fashion textile tailoring; fashion design technology; fashion embroidery; fashion imaging" (2011). The emphasis is almost totally on fashion, only one clothing related course is mentioned. He went on to describe the different career routes a student could take ranging from,
 "….hugely popular design courses for budding Alexander McQueen's to marketing and management courses for those that fancy giving Sir Philip Green a run for his money. Not everyone sees their products gracing the catwalk on London Fashion Week, but whether you end up working for Primark or a Parisian couturier, you have to start somewhere" (2011).
Figures 11, 12 and 13 illustrate typical fashion garments, produced on fashion design related courses, in this case the BA (Hons) Fashion Design with Marketing and Production, University of Huddersfield in the UK.

Figures: 11, 12 and 13. Typical fashion garments produced from BA (Hons) Fashion Design with Marketing and Production, University of Huddersfield in the UK. Photograph courtesy of Kevin Almond.

I decided to evaluate the London College of Fashion, course website in order to identify any undergraduate courses that focused upon clothing. The London College of Fashion is the largest provider of fashion education in the UK and it is interesting to note there is no equivalent *College of Clothing* in the capital city. I discovered 40 undergraduate courses and the majority of these had fashion in the course title, only BA (Hons) Bespoke Tailoring did not. This particular course described the programme of study as being a "Specialist degree for those who want a career in bespoke tailoring. Whether you aspire to Savile Row or alternative bespoke destinations, this is the course for you" (London College of Fashion, 2014). Refreshingly the description did not imply that bespoke tailoring was solely for fashion, which intimates that the skills acquired could potentially be applied to career paths in tailoring across the spectrum of clothing and fashion industries.

The UK based, *Universities and Colleges Admissions Service* (UCAS) is the British entrance provision for students applying to university, (including post-16 education as of 2012). The UCAS website makes it possible to view courses by typing in key words. I decided to focus on all undergraduate and postgraduate courses in the United Kingdom in order to ascertain the percentage of those orientated towards, either clothing, fashion, or both. By typing in the words clothing and fashion together, the search identified 111 undergraduate courses, all of which included the word fashion. Only two courses also included the word clothing, these being:
HND Fashion & Clothing Technology, The Manchester College.
HND Fashion & Clothing Technology, Wigan and Leigh College.

Several of the courses were listed as BA (Hons) Fashion but none as BA (Hons) Clothing. Repeating this pattern for postgraduate provision, the search unearthed a listing of 118 postgraduate courses. The findings were similar as 114 courses had fashion in the title, apart from the four listed below. Only one course included the word clothing whereas the other three refer to the technical process of pattern cutting, necessary to realize all types of garments three-dimensionally.
MA Creative Pattern Cutting, Doncaster College.
MSc Advanced Textiles and Performance Clothing, University of Leeds.
Postgraduate Diploma Pattern Design and Garment Technology, London College of Fashion.
Postgraduate Certificate Creative Pattern Design, London College of Fashion.

As a case study this investigation considers clothing and fashion courses in the UK. Further research could consider a more global dimension as different geographical areas and cultures could have different balances and categories of educational programmes. The conclusions drawn from the UK are that the term *clothing* in a course title is unlikely to attract potential students within the competitive market place of higher education. It also implies that the term *fashion* is a potent ingredient within the clothing and fashion industries for which these vocational types of courses produce future employees. A further conclusion to be drawn is that those students who seek employment in clothing orientated roles may need to develop transferable skills to bridge the gaps in their fashion focused education.

Conclusion
To conclude it is necessary to return to Simmel's ideas, suggesting there were no real links between clothing and fashion garments and our understanding of these terms. The research has identified various distinctions between both however ways in which they can be amalgamated, aesthetically and through the making process are also discussed. A clothing orientated garment is seemingly less exalted, when compared to the heightened profile of fashionable clothing. It can be considered fashionable when fashion dictates such an item to be so. The cycle of fashion is short lived in commercial terms, as retailers and designers produce new collections to satisfy market demand. It is suggested that the example of the Victorian mourning costume crosses the boundaries of both terms as this symbolic clothing orientated outfit, often conforms to the fashionable silhouettes of the period in which it is made. This could apply to other forms of uniform or corporate clothing. Further examples are the ostentatious coronation gown for Queen Elizabeth 11 (by designer Norman Hartnell, 1953) and the classic white shirt from fashion designers such as Calvin Klein. Arguably the boundaries of both terms become blurred because the coronation gown conformed to a fashionable 1950's silhouette. The white shirt is recognized as a fashion classic however it is also a basic garment included in many corporate clothing outfits. Also the making process for both garments is the same disregarding their status as clothing or fashion items. These examples could also

apply to forms of ethnic and national dress (clothing), which adopt elements of contemporary fashion and *vice versa*.

I would argue that a dichotomy between clothing and fashion production in the UK could be perceived as a localised condition when compared to their closer amalgamation in the USA, France and Italy. Here the separate notions of clothing and fashion are often considered through the diffused skills utilised in garment production. The research also identified new literature that is beginning to amalgamate the terms however it could also be achieved through a repatriation of the term clothing in general. Fashion appears to have a strong allure and is described with metaphors such as glamorous, stimulating and star system etc. Descriptions associated with clothing are more functional such as, technical, social and normal. In contrast metaphors such as, symbolic or iconic are used when describing uniforms and other forms of clothing orientated regalia. Defining the roles of clothing manufacturer and fashion designer is also revealing, as the former seemingly lacks the pizzazz of the latter in the imaginations of the consumer.

There are many examples of UK and international fashion designers who are inspired by the process and craft of clothes making skills. This passion has fuelled some creative and innovative garments and has helped to promulgate the joy of making to budding students of clothing and fashion. The example of higher education courses where the word fashion in a course title proves to be the magic ingredient for securing successful recruitment, demonstrates how potent fashion is, in attracting people to different careers within the garment industries. The repatriation of the word clothing in course titles seems unlikely, however further research into global higher education could seek to establish whether clothing has been consumed by the more dominant and alluring term: fashion, rendering it in danger of extinction. The currency of Siimmel's theory could be challenged through some of the ideas discussed. It could also be challenged through the suggestion by Kawamura (2005), that early writings on fashion and dress (including Simmel's work) are based on intuition and anecdote. Simmel's ideas (together with his contemporaries: Spencer, 1924; Tarde, 1903; Veblen, 1899, etc) were routed in concepts related to fashion as a form of social relationship. The emerging area of clothing and fashion as viable academic disciplines has led to the development and use of a wide variety of methodologies, which embrace a breadth of empirical study, yet significantly the ideas of early pioneers in fashion thinking (from the sixteenth century to the early twentieth century) are still discussed and analysed. Simmel was one of the first thinkers to identify a dichotomy between clothing and fashion. This influenced the ways both terms have been perceived: culturally, theoretically and aesthetically and it has also influenced the production of garments. The amalgamation of clothes making skills within the USA and European clothing and fashion industries, is beginning to influence production in the UK, encouraging a continuing negotiation of ways in which garments are designed, manufactured and ultimately perceived by the customer.

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