KEEP IT SIMPLE MAKE IT FAST!

AN APPROACH TO UNDERGROUND MUSIC SCENES (VOL. 4) 2019

U. PORTO
FLUP FACULDADE DE LETRAS
UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO

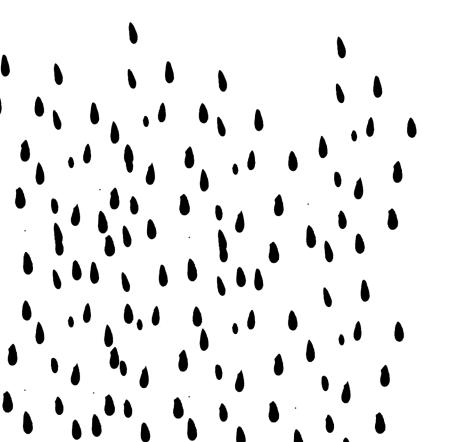EDITORS: PAULA GUERRA & THIAGO PEREIRA ALBERTO

KISMIF © 2018

8.5. The Soho Scene and the aesthetic transformation in British fashion in early 90s

Henrique Grimaldi Figueredo[215]

A b s t r a c t

The 1990s were marked by a profound change of capitalism in its neoliberal format, which instigated a visible retraction of public policies and a simultaneous expansion of markets. In England, these changes will have a strong impact on the working-class youth who are deprived of personal and professional perspectives. Thus, counterbalancing the moneyed generation of the university Yuppies, the children of the working class see in the arts a possible exit from their fixed social coordinates. In this context, Soho, which is made up large warehouses and abandoned studios, and a unusual economy (sex shops, BDSM houses, gay nightclubs and saunas, etc.), begins to welcome young designers and artists - mostly from the working class - who will start a new countercultural aesthetic revolution.

Keywords: *Soho, British fashion, nightclubs, Leigh Bowery, Alexander McQueen.*

215 Juiz de Fora Federal University - Postgraduate Program in Arts, Culture and Languages. Juiz de Fora, Brazil. E-mail: henriquegrimaldi@hotmail.com

1. To go ahead is necessary to come back: England in the 1980s

The 1980s in the UK were characterized by consolidation and crisis in their administrative policy. Margaret Thatcher's government, initiated in 1979, strongly opposed the set of public policies previously adopted and focused on a neoliberal economic approach, responsible for collapsing social realities primarily for working-class youth.

The mythology supported by British government marketing of the late 1970s (lasting throughout the 1980s), celebrated a neoliberal economic policy capable of self-regulation, a more just society freed from the old chains of state paternalism and a youth that grow under this new banner, would be able to create themselves through entrepreneurship. There is a kind of belief proliferated by the television media and radio that was certainly a quick economic recovery, so in the name of the neoliberal myth many sacrifices were made: this accreditation in a magical energy of youthful entrepreneurship that would change the scenario only simulated the lack of government support in public policies, the existence of a large group of young people who were deceived and lived without any job prospects (Beckett, 2010).

British historian Andy Beckett, reflecting on the British political scene in the 1970s will describe the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher[216] as a crudely disguised as utopia. Thatcher was conservative in opposition to trade unionism. In her government she worked to reduce inflation and improve the price of the pound, increasing imports, since the national sector - devoid of interventions to depreciate the exchange rate and make the import products artificially more expensive - had lost its position of competition in the world market. As a result, the UK experiences a retraction of its industrial production and an increase in unemployment rates, which has been steadily increasing in the post-war period, and has tripled throughout the 1980s. The recession was marked by the bankruptcy of large companies and banks, a process that Beckett points out as necessary to the economic reorganization of the English state machine, which maintained directly (subsidies, import tariffs and market reserves) or indirectly (exchange depreciation), a series of companies under its guardianship (Beckett, 2010).

Faced with the policy of budget cuts, Thatcher developed a program to reverse the English economic crisis by reducing state intervention and an extensive privatization plan, whose central postulate was Neoliberalism and Monetarism. Thatcher's policy leads to the deep social conflicts of 1984, of which we highlight the miners' strike, marking the growing discontent with her government and culminating in her resignation in 1990 (Beckett, 2010). In general, the two decades of Thatcherism provide the ideal ground for the social and economic revolution that would begin in the late 1980s and which was marked in the field of the arts by a movement of revival of poetic practice under innovative and thematic support in philosophical (death) and social (economic crisis) subjects. For McRobbie it will also be the moment of awareness on the part of the political Left in Britain,

The Left had to reinvent itself by looking at what the population really wanted and what made Mrs Thatcher's initial popularity. More specifically, there was the perception that British society had become more fluid. It seemed that distinct social

216 The Iron Lady, an anecdotal nickname worthy of the harshness of her government, was British Prime Minister from May 4, 1979 to November 28, 1990, the date of her resignation; being replaced by the also conservative John Major (Beckett, 2010).

> *groups began to break the anchors that bound them to the old class structure. Of course, classes continued to provide a whole map of opportunities, expectations, and outcomes, yet they continued to operate as a macrostructure, but now as a mobile macrostructure, cooling down in the face of new generational, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality configurations* (McRobbie, 1998, p. 3-4).

Therefore, the intense social crisis of the last years of the Thatcher Age can be read from three perspectives; politically stimulated the English Left in its struggle for a demolition of the stratified and low-mobility class system, culminating in the election of leftist candidate Tony Blair in 1997 and a consequent change in the treatment of public policies; aesthetically, the second half of the 1980s is associated with what Baudrillard argues as a resizing of consumption from the new ways in which the media and culture began to focus on the subjects and how they lived, at a turnaround in which suddenly everything happened, be considered more cultural (Baudrillard,1988); economically, culminates in the creation of a new type of economy that McRobbie claims to be a response to post-Fordist production logic, that is, through "flexible specializations in production that have raised consumption, leading to highly specific conscious consumers" (McRobbie 1998, p. 4).

For the sociologist, this new commercial dynamic coupled with the intense social crisis will allow the production of two economic specializations, the first of them, the result of this new mode of consumption that oscillates between culture and the media, is directly associated to the universe of innovations aesthetics and its commercialization, a new economic typology that

> *It directly feeds this new type of society in which we live, where there is a certain predilection to consume images at the expense of the objects or products to which these images refer. The expanded image market created the need for a new workforce of imagery producers* (McRobbie, 1998, p. 4).

Parallel to the imagetic market, there is another alternative, a market that arises from fear of the unknown, from the lack of prospects of a seemingly futureless youth, is what McRobbie calls "hidden economies", converging from "street markets at weekends, (...) sale of stolen goods, drug trafficking, and, increasingly, jobs directly associated with the emergency nightclub scene "(McRobbie, 1998, p. 4). This duality between an economy of the visible materialized in the images and a peripheral economy, which lives from subterfuge and contravention, interests us deeply. As we look further into this new generation of creators emerging from the newly structured art schools, we will see a constant convergence between these two universes, so that there is a certain inseparability between them: whether in the underground parties of gay clubs in London's Soho or in warehouses transformed into workshops in the East End, the creative youth of the 80s and 90s will live between both realities, often using one as an element of inspiration for the other: it will be the aesthetic drag suitable for designers such as Alexander McQueen and John Galliano and transferred to the catwalk, but also constant comments on drugs, sex and death in the works of artists like Tracey Emin, Sarah Lucas and Damien

Hirst; the grunge look of the new rock and the transgressive and addicted attitude of models like Kate Moss and photographers like Corinne Day.

This dimension that aligns the economy and culture, organizing them as joint forces, is based on the paradigm shift in which, initially, "culture ceases, (...) it becomes a decorative addendum to the hard world of things and of production, the covering of the cake", but later becomes apprehended so that "the material world of commodities and technologies becomes deeply cultural" (Hall 1988, p. 128). This comment of Hall indicates a rapprochement between the cultural and economic dynamics, the economy can no longer be understood as a pure state, independent and disconnected from cultural phenomena. McRobbie thinking in English scene will reaffirm this approximate operation by analyzing the work of sociologist Sean Nixon,

> *Nixon argues that economic decisions are, in fact, increasingly present in cultural discourse, and that cultural knowledge wielded by creative professionals commonly produces new economies. The results of this reconnection are fundamental to contemporary society* (McRobbie, 1998, p. 5).

In England, and specifically in London, we will see two distinct moments in this process, an initial set of experiments in the first half of the 1990s devoid of a substantial insertion in the economic universe, and then, from the second half of the decade, a radical change in this scenario, transmuting some of these marginal experiences into elements of high monetary value. As we shall see, the fashion economy and avant-garde art in London in the early 1990s oscillated between complete informality and submission to creative and / or cultural priorities. In *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993), Bourdieu will define by anti-economy this modality of initiative, in which integrity and artistic success are used to mask the fragility of the business and the explanation for its failure. The lack of sales would be rationalized as an artistic success (it is not sold because that society is not prepared to receive this type of creation, that's the chorus of these creators), unfolding in a model of "disinterested" economy.

Will be the few labor possibilities added to a scenario of social and economic crisis to produce the effects of this disinterested economy; when confronted with inexistent future perspectives, this generation would commercially serve an urban subculture with creations that were both directed to them and also producing from the movement itself, as McRobbie points out, "many of these creators who fed this market, were, in fact, recruited from within" (McRobbie 1998, p. 8). In *Zoot Suits and Second Hand Dresses* (1989), a preliminary book on this subject, McRobbie argues that this generation will find ways of survival serving the urban subculture through sales in popular markets, alternative outlets and the economy that comes with the clubs in East London; a phenomenon that McRobbie calls "subcultural entrepreneurialism" (McRobbie, 1989) in which this "self-management of self-employed professionals demonstrates the existence of a growing network of microeconomies within juvenile subcultures, extending beyond them" (McRobbie, 1998, p. 8).

2. Subcultural youth, subcultural economies

In order to elucidate the role and expanded dynamics of this London subculture, we find it necessary to recover some concepts, that is, to point out questions that will be pertinent in the cartography of the transition from a marginal economy to the field of legitimation. In this sense, the study carried out by the London-based Canadian sociologist, Sarah Thornton, becomes pertinent. In a brief essay titled *The Social Logic of Subcultural Capital* (1995), Thornton proposes a genealogy of the idea of subculture from the rising London night scene, namely that of the underground clubs that emerged in the east of the city and its most representative enclave, the Soho's neighborhood.

This thematic clipping that focuses on the alternative musical scene and its activation spaces, is associated in Thornton's theory with an understanding that points the nightclubs as central nuclei of an endless number of marginal aesthetic experiences; whether in fashion, in the arts, in avant-garde theater or in music, everyone gathered there. The nightclub equaled such experiences, converging the most distinct cultural agents under a common ideology, these cultures of taste (club cultures are taste cultures), turned the night into a place of meeting, creation, recreation and exchange; creative feedbacks that collaborated with each other without ever losing the axes of their own (sub) identity.

> *Club culture can not be described as a unitary culture but rather as a set of subcultures that share a territorial affiliation and maintains their own dress codes, dance styles, musical genres, and a catalog of authorized and illicit rituals (...) by taking part in the culture of the clubs, we build affinities, where the socialization of its participants within a knowledge (and a belief), (…) allows us to perceive the senses and the values of the culture* (Thornton, 1995, p. 200).

By sharing these territorialities, different agents jointly compose a series of dismantles in the current culture, peering at alternatives and escape points to a reality that is not at all amiable to them. Subcultures are conceptually located in the thematic field of sociology of the imaginary, that is, in the subjective place of construction of social identities. They correspond to a dubious process of approximation and differentiation, since, in finding their similar and consolidating their ideologies, they affirm themselves as part of another universe, distinct from the totalizing narratives of mass culture. When Thornton describes such processes as "constructing meanings of how youth imagines itself and other social groups, refining their distinctive characteristics and asserting themselves as non-anonymous members of an undifferentiated mass" (Thornton, 1995, p. 201); she is describing exactly these new rising groups in British society in the late 1980s.

The theme of this economy of disinterest - the anti-economy in Bourdieu's terms - which characterizes the cells of counter culture and which characterizes the British scene from the second half of the 1980s to the first half of the 1990s, it becomes a theme to be analyzed. The cultural agents of this artistic renewal in London over the years have been tied to the experiences of restricted monetarization, often depending on state encouragement and support from

family members. By the other side, at the aesthetic level, the vanguards of fashion and the arts inscribed the city as a new world creative center, exploring and developing an accurate and critical point of view that gradually became recognized by the legitimized universe. Here we have the question: How does the traditional market absorb the marginal experiences of the subculture? It will be in the attempt to elucidate this questioning that we will come to critically describe the Soho night scene, its agents and capitalization processes.

3. The Soho Scene: from club to catwalk

Demographically the population of young Londoners involved in the new cultural practices that would trigger an aesthetic and economic renewal of the British cultural industry were between 22 and 26 years old, mostly Caucasians, many of them homosexual, some born outside of England but with a family history or that favored their migration (John Galliano was Spanish-British but born in Gibraltar, Hussein Chalayan, born in Lebanon, Junya Watanabe born in Fukushima, Japan), and from different social classes although many were located in more vulnerable economic strata, children of the English working class[217]. This new generation, who needs to enter the labor market early to ensure their livelihood (Alexander McQueen leaves the school as a teenager to become a trainee in one of the traditional suit stores on Saville Row[218]), that conform a another group, opposite to the moneyed generation of the Yuppies[219], when they arrive at their university age they see in the art education a formative possibility more comfortable to their economic realities and personal desires.

It is important to point out, however, that it would be reductionist to homogenize this whole generation to a single class perspective, in a romanticized point of view that sees the aesthetic revolution as a process of social redemption. As we saw earlier in our discussion of the formation of a subcultural capital at the heart of these groups, Sarah Thornton will shift the discussion of a given class homology by explaining these subcultures as young groups transitioning into their adult lives and continually negotiating forms of power and status within their own worlds. "They are subcultures since they are in a subaltern or underground position in relation to the dominant culture" (Gelder & Thornton, 1997, p. 4), but also they create power microstructures, and this subcultural capital which is negotiated by its agents is not associated with an idea of class, and can, in the opposite way, erase or obscure class differences (Thornton, 1995) For example, Stella McCartney, who will also study at Central Saint Martins at this time and will be the creative director of Clhoè, is the daughter of the Beatle Paul McCartney, heiress of one of the richest families in England.

In addition to their social position, there is something more representative that will be shared by the agents of this generation: the fact that they occupy the same physical spaces in the city, or in their academic formation (Central Saint Martins, for young designers, and Goldsmith's College, for the new generation of artists), working life (due to low costs and the need for large work spaces, they migrate to East London transforming abandoned warehouses into workshops, shops, galleries and clothing productions) or into their social life (they frequented the same underground scene of nightclubs, mostly in Soho). For McRobbie, such factors associated with government support via EAS will have a strong impact on the city's urban dynamics, since, "the EAS provided little help to practicing artists during the Thatcher years, which has

217 Data obtained through the analysis, in the context of the research, of our sampling to be analyzed, taking into account complementary material that characterizes in this way these agents.

218 Traditional London Street dedicated to tailoring. It concentrates shops and men's tailoring workshops with centuries of experience. It was in one of these stores that McQueen began his training and where he learned part of his technique, a characteristic associated with him throughout his career (Knox, 2010).

219 Terminology used to describe the generation of English university students from the late 1980s. The Yuppies, in most of, from more stable family situations, have stylistic characteristics that contrast with working youth and its subcultures (Watt, 2012).

had notable effects, in particular, in revitalizing the city of East End, where most of these artists settled from the 1980s" (McRobbie, 1998, p. 84). Therefore, in order to understand more fully the aesthetic and later commercial dynamics of the alternative scene in London in the 1990s, we must ask ourselves: How did the East End conform and what is the role of culture in its revitalization?

The East End, London's popular and informally defined region, lies to the east of the ancient city and north of the River Thames, which is administratively composed of seven districts (Tower Hamlets; Newham; Waltham Forest; Barking & Dagenham; Redbridge; Havering; the greater part of the Hackney district) (Image 3), extending from the medieval walls to the metropolitan green belt, covering the old area of the counties of Middlesex and Essex, being Aldgate its geographical limit. Its growth dates back to the first decade of the nineteenth century, driven by the policy of enclosing the fields for sheep breeding - whose wool was to be used in the newly inaugurated textile industry - and which triggered an intense rural exodus and the consequent formation of a new urban population group, the working class (Marriot, 2012).

Historically associated with the working class, the East End faces, in the 1970s and 1980s, an intense process of decadence, seeing over these two decades, the impoverishment of its population due to the economic crisis originating from the neoliberal and anti-union politics of Thatcher management. It will be the neighborhoods of Shoretich, Hoxton and Haggerston - in the administrative region of Hackney - to present the greatest urban traumas, going through a period of brutal growth of crime rates and territorial evasion, thus becoming a semi-desert region full of abandoned warehouses (Marriot, 2012).

This will be the critical scenario in which British aesthetic renewal develops. Born in East London's residential neighborhoods (McQueen, for example, was born south of London in Lewisham, but was raised in Stepney, Tower Hamlets region), creative working-class youth move to the more centralized regions of New Cross , Kensigton and King's Cross (Goldsmith's College, Royal College of Arts and Central Saint Matins, respectively), in search of formation, and once completed the cycle of studies, they impelled to return to the districts of East London due to them financial limitations linked to the indispensability of large work spaces; other young people with more money voluntarily carry out the same movement, aiming at a physical proximity as the new creative enclave of the city. In the words of Sarah Lucas, artist representing the Young British Artists generation, "East London suddenly became the place to be" (Whitley, 2015, p. 171).

Zoe Whitley, curator and researcher associated with Tate Modern, a specialist in contemporary British art, will review the importance of this new generation of artists and designers in reactivating the urban vitality of East London, and will delineate the first spasms of avant-garde art and fashion in direction to one, still precocious, monetarization. In his words,

> *Unrecognizable as the current fashionable enclave,*
> *the East End was in complete disarray: 193 Grove*
> *Road was one of the last rooftop houses of the*
> *neighborhoods before being demolished by real estate*
> *speculation. That same year, artists Tracey Emin and*
> *Sarah Lucas opened at Benthal Green Road, the store*
> *The Shop, selling both, collaborative and individual*
> *works. The Shop was part of Shoreditch's revolution*
> (Whitley, 2015, p. 171).

Soho, strategically located in the transition with the east of the city, has become a meeting point, converging for its streets and nightclubs a large part of this generation of creatives and as many representatives of the London underground scene coming of the most distinct city regions. There was a perceptible pendulum movement, during the day only a few old pubs, small ateliers, swallowed up by the vastness of abandoned houses and decrepit warehouses, few people wandering the streets; At night, however, Soho was transfigured as clubs opened, masses of young people crowded into the bars' doors awaiting the appropriate time to dance. A region of very low population density in the mornings, Soho became overpopulated in the evenings, especially between Wednesdays and Sundays. Until the early 1980s, the neighborhood was constituted by local bars frequented by older audiences, sex shops and a few private BDSM clubs, the region began to transmute itself from the middle of the decade, Stela Stlin - drag person of Dr. Stephen Brogan - in an interview for historian Judith Watt, argues that

> *It started at Legends on New Burlington Street and lasted until the summer of 1994. With a year of its inauguration it became the most prominent London club, having brought a burst of drag culture to the sound of house and disco music, all of it served in a festive and carnival atmosphere. The mass of regulars were dragging men, drinking freely and warming themselves up for real fun; Kinky Gerlinky also attracted many well-dressed women, both heterosexual and gay, muscle queens, fetishists, skaters, curious heterosexuals - just to name, they were all there* (Watt, 2012, pp. 67-68).

While these two clubs are crucial in revitalizing Soho's nightlife, the movement had emerged in the middle of the decade. Legends, inaugurated in the 1990s, and Kinky Gerlinky (Image 1) in 1989 by the former model of Comme des Garçons, Michael Costiff, were only viable experiments due to the foundations made by Taboo party, organized by the important figure of the night scene Leigh Bowery and the subsequent inauguration of the homonymous house in 1985. Standing out as counter-cultural experimentation venues in London, gay clubs in Soho represented a kind of refuge for everyone who somehow felt displaced or disowned by that society, regardless of their identification and sexual orientation. These spaces of resistance became environments of aesthetic exchange where the dimensions of subcultural capital - as defined by Thornton - were continually experienced, reactivated, and symbolized.

Figure 8.5.1 - *Kinky Gerlinky*, December/1988
Source: farfetch.com.

The centrality of Leigh Bowery in the underground scene of Soho eclipses the participation of other culturally important figures such as the antidrag Divine David (a character created by the English performing artist and film director, David Hoyle), and the aforementioned Stela Stlin. Bowery, Australian born but settled in London throughout his adult life, Bowery assumes at the same time role of pioneer in the activation and circulation of this subculture, although also of an iconographic personage, whose plasticity of the clothes and the aggressiveness in the attitudes has great value for the generation of artists and stylists who were inserted in this movement. As promoter he was responsible for the idealization of Taboo, which soon became the place to be: in the drug environment, particularly ecstasy, the regulars lived in an environment that defied sexual conventions, a space celebrated for embracing poly-sexuality. It will also be in Taboo (Image 2) that Bowery will develop some of his most iconic performances and will later spread in film productions such as Wigstock (1995) directed by Barry Shills (Wilson, 2015).

As a performance artist, Bowery circulated among the vanguard of his generation. In a vernissage in the gallery of Anthony D'Offey in 1988 (important figure in the commercialization of this new crop of artists), appeared personified like a great lady, presented himself for the visitors of the show and later staged to give birth to a small naked woman, Nicola Bateman, his assistant at that time. He was the inspirational muse of the painter Lucian Freud - grandson of Sigmund Freud - who represented it systematically and relentlessly; and worked as a stylist, having showed fashion collections in Tokyo, New York and London (Wilson, 2015). His horizontality in the London underground scene was not only voluminous during his years of acting, but also perceived sensibly in the creation of young artists and stylists who saw in Bowery a type of visual manifesto: from the prosthetic structures and deformed mannequins of the Jake and Dinos Chapman to the Alexander McQueen and John Galliano catwalks, there is a club-to-catwalk movement

that will represent a popularization and entry into the mainstream universe of this underground aesthetic, that fashion journalist and researcher Dana Thomas will call of Clubland Couture (Thomas, 2015).

The idea of a Clubland Couture is aligned, in this context, with the perception that we brought at the beginning of this chapter about the territorialities in Stuart Hall, since these spatially shaped cultural identities establishing a sense of community, and creating in consequently, their virtual borders, their languages, their ways of being and also their artistic and aesthetic expressions, differentiating elements, stigmas that allow them to attend and operate within the subculture. The passage from Bowery's aesthetic to the catwalk can be seen at different moments in the creation of Alexander McQueen: the stamped masks in collections such as *Dante* (1996), *Joan* (1998) and *The Horn of Plenty* (2009); the use of feathers and multi-layered organza for the creation of huge silhouettes is also reworked in *Voss* (2001), as well as the traditional tartan constantly visible in *Bowery* and taken up by McQueen in a similar way throughout his career (Image 3). Caroline Evans argues that the transposition of the club aesthetic into English fashion in the 1990s could be felt on different fronts, but mainly through the imaging market that has formed around this industry in the last years of the century - consolidated by a commercialization of the image and no longer the object - a visual policy that coincides with the genesis of the new experimental fashion magazines, the most appropriate vehicle for this dialogue.

Figure 8.5.2 - Leigh Bowery (left) in Taboo party (1986)

Source: farfetch.com.

The mocking gesture of London's post-punk club culture produced extreme forms of self-stylization that regrouped cultural themes, such as

club culture and magazine poses by Leigh Bowery and Trojan from the mid-1980s, creating a certain ephemerality in this model of self-representation, as when Trojan cuts off his ear and uses blood that drips like lipstick, in a clear allusion to Van Gogh. From this same group emerged an urban and tattered visuality, popularized by young stylists who will work in magazines such as i-D and whose aesthetic will recover these cultural debris by recycling them as a new imagery policy for these publications. This aesthetic bricolage that characterized the British culture and subculture in this period also provides a new model of creative process for designers such as Jean-Paul Gaultier in Paris and Westwood and Galliano in London, (...), is the urban subject who finds himself in London from the 1980s, at the same time produced and defined by the streets, and mediated by new fashion magazines such as Blitz, iD, (...), and The Face. To varying degrees, these magazines reconfigure the cultural geography of the city through stories that privileges street aesthetics and club scene innovations rather than traditional editorials (Evans, 2012, p. 25).
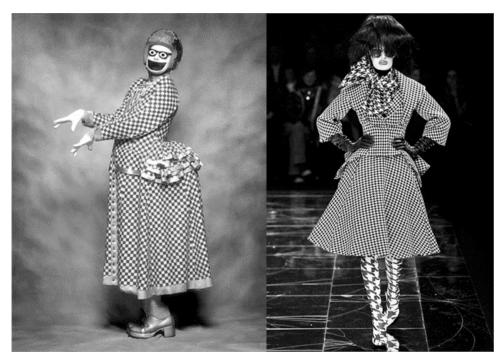

Figure 8.5.3 - Leigh Bowery in 1986, look from collection *The Horn of Plenty* (2009) by Alexander McQueen

Source: farfetch.com and vogue.uk, respectively.

Figure 8.5.4 - Leigh Bowery, 1993 and *Dante*, 1996, by Alexander McQueen

Source: farfetch.com and vogue.uk, respectively.

Parallel to the nocturnal revival of the East End, there is also a rediscovery of its daytime potential. It will be other creative businesses - shops, galleries and restaurants - founded and run by this same generation reminiscent of art schools, also frequenters of the Soho night scene. *The Shop, Pharmacy, White Cube and Factual Nonsense,* just to name a few, become important elements of the cultural and urban revitalization of the region, expression of resistance by a young generation struggling to survive in the midst of the economic crisis. Once a constituent of East London's urban revitalization, the club scene - its spatialities, its aesthetic irreverence, but mainly its participants - become central in the creation and subsequent consolidation of an alternative economy, which will at the same time be responsible for inflating the first signs of a capitalization in the avant-garde practices of art and fashion at that time, constituting, in perspective, a political scenario of its circulation.

References

Baudrillard. J. (1988). *Selected Writing*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beckett, A. (2010). *When the Lights Went Out; Britain in the Seventies*. London: Faber & Faber.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field of Cultural Production*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Evans, C. (2012). *Fashion At The Edge*: *Spectacle, Modernity and Deathliness*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hall, S. (1988). *The Hard Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the crisis of the Left*. London: Verso.

Marriot, J. (2012). *Beyond the Tower: a history of East London*. New Heaven: Yale University Press.

McRobbie, A. (1998). *British Fashion Design: Rag Trade or Image Industry?* London: Routledge.

McRobbie, A. (1989). *Zoot Suits and Second Hand Dresses*. Basingstoke: McMillam.

Thomas, D. (2015). *Gods and Kings: The Rise and Fall of Alexander McQueen and John Galliano*. New York: Penguin Books.

Thornton, S. (1997). The Social Logic of Subcultural Capital. In K. Gelder & S. Thornton (Eds.), *The Subculture Reader* (pp.200-209). London: Routledge.

Watt, J. (2012). *Alexander McQueen*, *The Life and The Legacy*. New York: Harper Design.

Whitley, Z. (2015). *Wasteland/Wonderland*. In C. Wilcox (Ed.), *Alexander McQueen*. New York: Abrams.

Wilson, A. (2015). *Alexander McQueen: Blood Beneath the Skin*. London: Simon & Schuste