- 1. **Project information** (filled in on fact sheet IRIS)
- 1.1 Title: Dutch Fashion Identity in a Globalised World

1.2 Summary

In the creative experience economy of today innovation pertains to values, symbols, and culture. That is particularly true for dress and fashion, which are central to all forms of human identity construction, from the individual to the social level. In contemporary culture, dressing has become a vital element in performing one's identity. As such, processes of inclusion and exclusion are particularly strong in fashion; wearing the wrong dress can make one an outcast (the headscarf being a vexed example), while the right suit includes you in the group. Fashion is also at the heart of the dynamics between cultural heritage and innovation: culturally (e.g. clogs with stiletto heels by Viktor & Rolf); socially (e.g. the higher classes wearing jeans); and technologically (e.g. globalised organisation of the supply chain). The innovative contribution of this project lies in opening up the under-researched field of Dutch fashion from interdisciplinary perspectives. The project will assess the exchange between economic and cultural performance, which becomes increasingly important in the creative economy. The research hypothesis of the project is that the creative industry of fashion in the Netherlands is capitalising a unique cultural mix of individualism, innovation and (post)modern design. With the results of the research we aim to understand and reinforce the cultural innovation of Dutch fashion in an international context.

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4. **Previous and Future Submissions**: none

- 5. **Institutional Setting**: Radboud University Nijmegen, Faculty of Arts, Research Institute for Historical, Literary and Cultural Studies, the research programme 'Performances of Memory'.
- 6. **Period of funding**: 1-7-2008 31-12-2013
- 7. Composition of the Research Team

Principal applicant/supervisor: prof.dr. A.M. Smelik

Co-applicant/supervisor: Prof.dr. D. Jacobs Co-applicant/supervisor: Dr. M. Scheffer PhD student (Cultural History): vacancy PhD student (Cultural Studies): vacancy

PhD student (Social Economics and Business): vacancy

PhD student (Human Geography): vacancy.

NB: the project is matched by the fashion industry; see under point 14, the workshop; and point 18, the budget.

Advisors:

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8. Thematic Classification

The programme fits in with 'Creative Innovation' because fashion is at the heart of the dynamics between cultural heritage and innovation. Fashion is related to 'Intermediality' and 'Popular Culture', needing glossies, catalogues, internet, television, and the multimedia show for its promotion, while moving between *haute couture* and street culture.

9. **Brief description of the proposed research** (1984 words)

Starting points

By fashion we understand "a style that is accepted by a large group at a given time" (Solomon & Rabolt 2004: 6). In this programme we use fashion industry as synonymous with 'apparel industry', i.e. clothing and personal decoration. The concept of style refers to a way of expressing oneself which is characteristic for an individual, a period, a 'school', an identifiable group, possibly even a nation. A style may be a more or less explicit dress code, issued by certain (e.g. religious) authorities, or as an expression of an explicit group identity (e.g. punk or Goth), but mostly stylistic codes are a tacit element of a particular culture (Rubinstein 2001: 14-15).

Our objective is to identify specific styles and features of Dutch fashion through interdisciplinary research. As the programme of 'Cultural Dynamics' states, due to globalisation questions of individual, social or even national identity are increasingly urgent. By the term 'identity' we refer to an idealised construction of characteristics. Thus we follow the poststructuralist view of identity as fragmented, fluid and flexible without an essential core (Sim 1998: 367). Bauman (2000) has illustrated how 'liquid modernity' under the ethos of hedonism leads to an anxious quest for an 'authentic' and original identity. He argues that fashion and shopping provide material tools and ideal metaphors for a 'liquid' identity (Bauman, 2000: 82-83). In this research project we conceive of fashion as an important way of 'performing' one's diversified identity.

Theoretical background

The philosophers Lipovetsky (1987) and Svendsen (2006) claim that *fashion* is one of the most important economic, social, and cultural phenomena in contemporary culture. According to Lipovetsky (1987, 2004) social life is now increasingly 'cannibalised by fashion'. He argues that the logic of fashion dominates many realms, turning fashion into the largest impulse for cultural and aesthetic dynamics. It is a lifestyle, being part and parcel of a visual culture of spectacle and performance (Svendsen 2006). As a consequence, the symbolic value and signalling function of products have increased. The industry of fashion is one of the first where this became apparent.

The construction of national identities has been a relatively new phenomenon, coinciding with the emergence of modernism at the end of the 19th century (Anderson 1983), but in fashion this phenomenon is even more recent. It is only recently, since about a decade, that anything like a Dutch fashion identity is emerging or being constructed (Teunissen e.a. 2000). For a long time fashion was basically a French invention and monopoly, with the dominance of Paris as the capital of fashion lasting well into the sixties of the 20th century. The fashion system then radically changed through what Lipovetsky (1987) calls a 'second democratisation'. Fashion moved from *haute couture* to popular culture, and back again, until the borders between those two previously separated realms were eroded. Fashion was no longer determined by the major French couturiers, because street cultures launched new fashions, resulting in diversity and freedom of styles. Fashion thus changed from a top-down to a bottom-up system.

One of the main consequences of this change has been the establishment of new fashion centres in several countries (McDowell 2000; Teunissen 2005). This multiplication is further enhanced by globalisation, internet and the emergence of the creative economy. The growth of creative industries is connected to the rising importance of design and style innovation in economies where most of the basic needs have been fulfilled. Economic competition therefore leads to increasing product differentiation (Lipovetsky 1987; Jacobs 2007), which in turn requires ever larger diversity. A logical step for creative designers is to tap into local clothing styles and crafts for inspiration. This is reinforced by a growing preoccupation with local roots in times of globalisation, while at the same time people are still interested in local traditions elsewhere (Teunissen 2005).

In the field of creative design and innovation we therefore perceive at the supply level as well as the demand level a need for product differentiation in which local identities play an important role. Even when identities are idealised and temporary constructions, designers take local fashion as raw material for a reconstruction and deconstruction of styles. On the demand side styles are related to (sometimes trans-national) group identities beyond the local culture. Most fashion firms try to address several of these other identities, while also referring to and profiting from local roots, thus establishing a 'glocal' look.

In the quest for identity people can find inspiration in virtual communities, by which we mean loose communities that are inspired by similarity in style. Here we follow Maffesoli's (1996) coinage of the concept 'neo-tribes' to supplant the earlier term 'subcultures' (see also Polhemus 1994). With his concept of *tribus* or neo-tribes he aims at understanding groups with a high level of fluidity "... preferably to be expressed through lifestyles that favour appearance and 'form'" (Maffesoli 1996: 98). In this respect sociologists have also used terms as 'weak ties' and 'communities lite' (Duyvendak & Hurenkamp 2004: 219-221). Here we come back to Bauman's metaphor of the supermarket of identities in which individuals shop for the combination which best fits their needs. Media and experts play an important role in the constitution of these groups, both in their origin and in prolonging their lifecycle (Stahl, 2003: 31-32).

The Hypothesis of a Dutch Fashion Identity

The Netherlands were not especially known for its fashion, but recently Dutch firms (Mexx, Oilily, Gstar, GSUS, JustB., Sandwich, Cora Kemperman and Claudia Sträter) and Dutch designers (Mart Visser, Viktor & Rolf, Marlies Dekkers and Alexander van Slobbe) have been surprisingly successful, as recently demonstrated in the special issue of *Le Monde* on Dutch fashion designers ('Tendance Nord', nr 189, September 29, 2007). The hypothesis of this project is that the creative industry of fashion in the Netherlands has increasingly been able to capitalise its unique cultural background of individualism, innovation and conceptual design. Because creative innovation is embedded in cultural values (Jacobs, 2007), we want to understand the cultural roots of Dutch fashion in a globalised context. Fashion is typically a local/global phenomenon. We therefore test the hypothesis of the identity of Dutch fashion in different projects: historically (the post-war tradition of Dutch design), culturally (fashion as a performance of class, age, gender and ethnicity); socially (fashion as group identity in subcultures or neo-tribes), and economically (effects of globalisation on the organisation of manufacture of fashion).

Approaches

It follows from our view of individual identity as 'fragmented' and social identity as 'neo-tribal', that we will research Dutch fashion identity not as a solid, unchanging block of fixed features, but as a dynamic process that changes over time and is full of contradictions and paradoxes. We do so by researching the identity of consumers, designers, and fashion firms from two perspectives:

- The *demand* perspective: to what extent do Dutch consumers use fashion to construct an identity, individually and collectively?
- The *supply* perspective: do Dutch fashion designers and firms construct a specific identity that allows them to compete internationally?

To study the main question of this research programme we defined four subprojects, from four different disciplinary angles:

• Cultural history: to research the influence of the cultural heritage of Dutch design in its tradition of (minimalist) modernism on Dutch fashion designers;

- Cultural studies: to explore the dynamic relation between fashion and identity in contemporary society;
- Social Economics and Business: to unravel the co-creation of identities by producers and consumers of successful Dutch fashion firms and designers;
- Human Geography: to analyse the organisation of the production process by Dutch fashion companies in a globalised economy.

Coherence of programme

The four sub-projects are closely linked together. In collaboration the researchers will develop an instrument for analysing and interpreting Dutch fashion identity and test it on a cultural field and a corpus of case studies that has not been researched before. The PhD students and the supervisors will construct a theoretical framework that combines insights from the humanities and social economics, in cooperation with the representatives from the fashion industry. In this way students of the field of business and industry, and students of the cultural field will generate and exchange knowledge and theory on fashion that is usually not shared. This will lead to a broader and deeper understanding of fashion as a phenomenon.

In order to develop a common theoretical framework the research programme will analyse two collective case studies: first, the transition from the company Mac & Maggie in the seventies to Cora Kemperman in the nineties. This transformation allows us to understand the formation of Dutch fashion identity in its historical context. The second case is Marlies Dekkers, a Dutch conceptual modernist in lingerie who has become a world known brand. This firm will help us to understand Dutch fashion identity in its international context.

Scientific and social relevance

The **scientific relevance** of this research programme lies in developing a common theoretical framework that is based on several disciplines to tackle the complex issue of Dutch fashion identity. While each subproject will use its disciplinary methodologies, the multidisciplinary research programme aims at developing a common theoretical framework through a dialectical approach to the notion of 'performance'. While Performance Studies has become more or less a paradigm in itself in the Humanities, within Business and Management Studies the term refers basically to attaining profit, targets and results. However, McKenzie (2001) suggests that the different meanings of the term 'performance' are moving closer together. He argues that the experience economy puts creativity at the heart of the organisation and hence produces new meanings of performance (see also Florida 2002). We will therefore try to develop a theoretical framework that is based on this dialectical understanding of the term performance.

McKenzie postulates three forms of performance: cultural, organisational and technological, of which we will only address the first two. By cultural performance he understands "the living, embodied expression of cultural traditions and transformations" (p. 8). Cultural performance refers to two quite different theoretical backgrounds and disciplines, both of which are relevant for our analysis: firstly, the artistic performance as it takes place on stage or on screen in art and media. Secondly, "cultural theorists have researched the everyday workings of race, gender, and sexual politics in terms of performance" (p. 8). This notion relates performance to identity, inspired by Butler's work (1990, 1993) on performativity. As dressing happens literally on the body, our hypothesis is that fashion is an important way of performing identity in its many facets.

By organisational performance McKenzie refers to the shift in business management from uniformity, conformity and rationality, to diversity, innovation and intuition. The organisational practice of companies attunes itself to the creative economy that is "increasingly service-based, globally oriented, and electronically wired" (2001: 6). Hence, creativity is now also an issue for organisational management. The notion of performance thus allows us to address the identity of fashion as artistic style, as part of identity, and as an organisational tool in the creation of a brand.

Creative industries, of which the fashion industry is an important one, have been defined as one of the key industries in the Netherlands. The **social relevance** of this project lies in researching the relation between these industries and trends in demands as well as impact on manufacturing dynamics. A better understanding of socio-cultural dynamics in the creative sector of fashion is key to understanding innovation in the creative economy.

Quality of research group

The quality of the research group lies in its unique multidisciplinary interaction:

- By combining disciplines: cultural history, cultural studies, social economics and human geography.
- Between professors from universities and lectors from fashion academies ('hogescholen'), which will allow for bridging the gap that exists in the Netherlands between theory and practice in art education and research.
- Between academics and representatives from the fashion industry, thus bringing together theoretical expertise and practical experience, enhancing the relevance of the study and dissemination of its results.

The four subprojects

5.1. PhD project 1. Cultural History: Dutch fashion from the sixties till now (777 words)

NB: This Ph.D. student will receive 6 months extra salary for teaching for the Department of Fashion at ArtEZ College of the Arts.

The hypothesis that the creative industry of fashion in the Netherlands has increasingly been able to capitalise its unique cultural background of individualism, innovation and (post)modern design, will be researched in this historical subproject by looking at the recent history of Dutch creative innovation in fashion design. Creative design as cultural heritage is the central concept here. The hypothesis is that a Dutch fashion style has been constructed from the 1960s onward under the influence of the minimalist and conceptual form of Dutch modernism in art and design. The notion of cultural performance is the central theoretical concept that will inform the historical analyses.

This subproject will research the development of Dutch fashion in the last fifty years up till today, a period in which Dutch fashion design started to build an international reputation. This phase in fashion history is closely related to the societal rebellion that started in the 1960s, after the security of the 1950s (Schuyt & Taverne 2004). As we have mentioned above, the dominance of Paris as the capital of fashion lasted well into the sixties of the 20th century (Evans & Breward 2005, Lehmann 2000, Vinken 2005, Wilson 1985). The world of fashion then radically changed through a wave of democratisation (Lipovetsky (1987). Street cultures launched new fashions resulting in diversity and freedom in styles. Not only did fashion move from a top-down to a bottom-up system, but this development also allowed for the emergence of other fashion centres (London, Milan, New York) as well as the rise of small, yet successful companies in northern countries like Scandinavia, Germany and Holland. In this subproject the PhD student will make a comparative analysis of the developments in The Netherlands and its surrounding countries.

The project will analyse the effects of the demise of 'pillarisation' and of growing secularisation on Dutch fashion, addressing the question how fashion and dressing influence or express the emancipation of the individual and the further erasure of social classes. In the Netherlands the cult of individualism seems particularly strong compared to neighbouring countries, which may be (partly) due to the demise of 'pillarisation' and the effects of sustained secularisation (Righart 1995). One of the questions here is whether Dutch fashion embraced the democratic ideal of street and youth culture because it fitted smoothly with its burgher roots of equality, soberness and informality, or that this period, on the contrary, can be seen as an overthrowing of those typical Dutch qualities in a search for rebellion and spectacle. The project will address whether earlier egalitarian ideals are still persistent in contemporary fashion, or that they have given way to postmodern play in the blurring borders between art and fashion. A key question is the continuing influence of Dutch modernism on fashion design, which was the dominant style in the art academies for decades. Dutch fashion designers maintain the modernist idea of conceptuality and abstraction, taking it into a postmodern play of pastiche and performance. The PhD student will examine the context and influence of (minimalist) modernism on Dutch fashion designers.

By looking at specific case studies in each decade the PhD student will be able to trace the development of Dutch fashion design over fifty years. In the sixties the Dutch fashion industry and

retail was dominated by mostly Catholic (C&A, P&C, Kreijmborg, Hunkemöller, Van Gils) and Jewish (Bijenkorf, Bonneterie, Hollandia Kattenburg, McGregor) firms. In the seventies the industry broadened its focus from families to youth (e.g. Clockhouse in C&A, Mac & Maggie owned by P&C, and for men Van Gils). Generally, fashion turnover became much faster. Influential fashion boutiques emerged (e.g. Fong Leng, Jan Jansen, Puck & Hans). In the eighties and early nineties 'brand' firms like Oilily, Soap Studio, Cora Kemperman, and Mexx came into existence. The nineties also saw the international recognition of Dutch modernism (firms like G-sus and G-star, and designers like Mart Visser, Marlies Dekkers, Viktor & Rolf, Spijkers & Spijkers and Van Slobbe).

The genealogy of this recent period in Dutch fashion will be studied through a careful textual and visual analysis of cultural products such as magazines, catalogues, journals, newspapers, documentaries, films, and historical research in archives of Dutch designers, fashion companies and department stores. The *method* of analysis will be developed together with subproject 2, based on cultural history, semiotics and performance studies (Calefato 2004, Duggan 2006). Dutch fashion design is taken as an aesthetic and artistic as well as a commercial performance. The contribution of this subproject for the programme 'Cultural Dynamics' is to analyse fashion on the one hand as the material expression of cultural traditions and transformations, and on the other hand as the practice of continuous creative innovation.

5.2 PhD project 2. Cultural Studies: The performance of identity through fashion (782 words)

The central question of the programme to research how Dutch consumers use fashion to construct an identity, individually and collectively, will be addressed in this *cultural studies* subproject by looking specifically at the relation between identity and fashion. The central issue here is how the theoretical notion of cultural performance can help us to understand how fashion and dressing function in the construction of individual identity as an embodied practice.

The PhD student will analyse two levels of cultural performance. First, the *artistic* performance will be examined as it takes place on the stage of the fashion show and in the medium of fashion photography. This will be done by a detailed visual and textual analysis of fashion aesthetics, as the embodied enactment of cultural forces (McKenzie 2001: 8) The *methodology* will be developed in tandem with subproject 1, based on semiotics and performance studies, focusing on intermedial relations across disciplines: photography and internet sites (including image and text), television and fashion show (including image and music, as well as gesture and attitude). The analysis aims at answering the question how Dutch fashion design keeps cultural heritage alive through continual innovation, and hence creates a specific identity or style over a period of time. The case studies will draw upon the archival material that is researched in subproject 1.

Second, the PhD student will analyse the cultural performance of *identity* through fashion and dressing. This subproject will test Bauman's (2000) idea that fashion provides material tools for a 'liquid' identity. In other words, the PhD student will investigate how fashion functions in performing one's fragmented, fluid and flexible identity, both individually and collectively. The question here is how fashion plays an important role in the anxious, and fundamentally illusory, quest for an 'authentic' and original identity. This part of the analysis pertains to the notion of identity as 'performativity' as it has first been developed in terms of gender by Butler (1990, 1993) and elaborated upon by others for fashion (Davis 1992), in terms of class and gender (McRobbie (1999, Crane 2000), and ethnicity and gender (Thomas & Ahmed 2004, Dibbets 2006, Moors & Tarlo 2007, Yaqin 2007). As dressing happens literally on the body, our hypothesis is that fashion is an important way of performing identity in its many facets. By dressing the body, the individual constructs and performs an ideal self image. Hence, fashion should be understood in terms of embodiedness of a 'live' performance in everyday life.

The PhD student will test the hypothesis that fashion is an important way of performing identity through the aspects of class, age, gender, and ethnicity. To this end, the PhD student will take case studies from the choice of Dutch firms in subproject 1 and neo-tribes in subproject 3. Making use of the data of the third subproject, the same data will here be carefully analysed to understand the ways in which individuals within certain neo-tribes use dressing and fashion to construct 'liquid' identities in a globalised world. The methodology is here based on performance studies (McKenzie 2001, Carlson 1996).

The performance of *class* will be studied in the fashion design of three Dutch department stores: C&A, V&D and De Bijenkorf. It is obvious that dressing is one of the most important cultural ways of expressing one's *gender*; female and male fashion will be compared in the study of Dutch firms like Claudia Sträter and Van Gils, and Cora Kemperman and McGregor. *Age* will be addressed by comparing Dutch firms that are focused on youth (Mexx, G-sus and G-star), on middle aged women (Cora Kemperman, Claudia Sträter) and middle aged men (McGregor), and on older people (Gaastra). *Ethnicity* will be studied through the definition of neo-tribes from subproject 3, where specific urban groups of different and mixed ethnicities will be followed in their choices of fashion.

Next to a selection from the case studies of subprojects 1 and 3, the corpus will be expanded by a textual and visual analysis of fashion in recent intermedial phenomena, such as a) the fashion shows during the Amsterdam International Fashion Week and the Arnhem Fashion Biennale; b) Dutch glossies like *BLVD*, *Blend*, *Link* and fashion catalogues; c) the work of internationally renowned Dutch fashion photographers like Inez van Lamsweerde & Vinoodh Matadin, Vivian Sassen and Anton Corbier; d) Dutch television programmes like the recently started 'Project Catwalk' (RTL 5) and e) Dutch internet sites such as Spot-Fashion.com; f) the concept of PR and the design of the shop by certain brands.

The contribution of this subproject for the programme 'Cultural Dynamics' is to understand the dynamics of identity as it is expressed through fashion as an intermedial aesthetics as well as an embodied and creative performance.

5.3 PhD project 3. Social Economics and Business: The construction of brand identities by designers and consumers (776 words)

This *socio-economic* subproject will test the hypothesis that the creative industry of fashion in the Netherlands has increasingly been able to capitalise its unique cultural background of individualism, innovation and sober design, by relating brand identities and identities of 'neo-tribes' or 'communities lite' (Polhemus 1994; Maffesoli 1996; Duyvendak & Hurenkamp 2004). The PhD student will analyse the interactive way in which fashion firms increasingly co-create the collective identities of their audiences, appealing to the cultural values their consumers foster (Jacobs 2007). It is our hypothesis that economic performance of these firms is enhanced by participating in the identity performance of these groups, even when perfect interaction is more the exception than the rule.

Fashion firms have been struggling with what they see as the increasing volatility and unpredictability of their customers. On the one hand they observe a tendency of customers to look for 'authenticity', individuality and identity, but on the other hand these concepts in themselves have become multidimensional, open to many interpretations by their customers themselves and at different moments of the day. Within a few hours people may identify themselves as professionals, responsible parents, people who want to look sexy, adherents of a certain religion, ideology or music style, or as people who feel responsible for the environment.

Fashion firms have been trying to translate such cultural performances of volatile customers with liquid identities, into organisational performance in different ways, e.g. by trend analysis, qualitative consumer research, extensive data bases and number crunching data-mining. In this subproject we will research the more interactive 'postmodern' approaches, i.e. attempts of certain fashion firms to co-create identities of parts of their audience by appealing to values these customers especially foster. Thus, we hope to understand how certain 'communities lite' or neo-tribes come into existence and how they function. On the basis of ethnographic research, including the use of in-depth interviews, the researcher will analyse the interaction between the supply and the demand parties involved. The PhD student will also analyse how the organisational performance of the firm is supported by the use of new information technology, especially Web 2.0, the 'social web', and new design and prototyping technologies. The leading questions for this subproject are: what are the specific mechanisms for fashion firms to establish a co-creation relationship with specific customer groups; and what are the main value connections between the fashion firms and the customer groups? The following cases will be researched on the basis of predominantly ethnographic research:

- Streetwear youngsters: different strategies of GSUS, Quicksilver, Diesel and Deryl van Wouw:
- Elderly outdoor: Gaastra, Nomad;

- Co-evolution of a generation neo-tribe: from hippie youngsters/young mothers to alternative elderly women: Mac & Maggie evolving into Cora Kemperman; Oilily.
- Modern self-conscious affluent women: different strategies of Marlies Dekkers and Claudia Sträter.

The *methodology* partly relies on subprojects 1 and 2 in analysing texts, brochures and websites of these firms, but the method of research is mostly qualitative interviews with marketing people from these firms on the one hand, and at least ten people from the target group of each firm on the other hand. Part of the research is dedicated to developing different models or approaches to the analysis of the co-creation of identities. In this way the researcher will try to understand to what extent there is indeed co-development between a fashion brand and 'neo-tribal' identities.

In relation to the main theme of the whole project we will research which level of identification is strongest: local, national or international. Are there possibly competing identifications? What are the main value connections between the fashion firms and the customer groups: more general values (e.g. environmental awareness) or more specific identities (e.g. a certain fashion or music style)? The researcher will also look into the kind of relationship between firms and certain audiences: is it mostly bilateral (e.g. through websites); or does it also imply a role for third parties, such as certain retail chains (in case the shops are not company-owned) or fashion magazines. The third subproject will establish a crucial link between the cultural performance studied in the first two cultural subprojects and the economic-geographic approach of the fourth subproject. In this respect, an important hypothesis for the whole project is that economic performance of Dutch fashion firms is to some extent related to some characteristics of what is sometimes seen as 'typically Dutch': sober, creative and a bit rebellious. The contribution of this subproject for the programme 'Cultural Dynamics' is thus to achieve insight into the construction of fashion styles and identities (and their degree of stability), and also to gain a deeper understanding of the blurring boundaries between creative innovation and marketing.

5.4 PhD project 4. Human Geography: Dutch fashion industry in a globalised market (706 words)

NB: This Ph.D. student will receive 6 extra months of salary for teaching at Saxion Universities.

This project, rooted in *economic geography*, will analyse the organisational performance of Dutch fashion firms: how is the production of manufactured goods organised in a globalised trading structure? The subproject shall in particular examine changes in the organisation of production related to the gradual development of a distinct fashion identity as will be studied in subprojects 1-3. Production is considered as a set of routines or processes that are required to make fashion products as well as express a fashion identity. Taking the context of de-industrialisation that has occurred between 1967 and 2005, the key idea is that Dutch companies have constructed a fashion identity through trading activities, because the apparel industry was subjected to globalisation in a very early phase from the 1960s onwards. This allowed Dutch fashion designers freedom in the designing process and stimulated fashion firms to develop a conceptual to routines in the production process. The PhD student will test the hypothesis that fashion identity of brands has been enabled by a trading and sourcing logic, due to the disappearance of manufacturing firms in the Netherlands. This project will analyse how innovation processes in organisational routines create a specific production structure, thus helping to develop and transform a brand identity.

The project requires first a survey of the strategy and organisation of fashion firms in the Netherlands and their evolution over time. The PhD student will research how business practices are enshrined in tacit knowledge, skills and in routines. Tacit knowledge is both part of the values and culture of the firm as well as of the wider cultural context. Routines, a term used in institutional economics (Boschma e.a. 2002), are the set of procedures in companies and thus describe internal and external connections of firms. With the globalisation of production both the tacit knowledge and the routines change. These changes will be researched through case studies of firms covering the period 1967-2005 (Berghaus, Van Gils, M&S, C&A). These successful firms will be compared to companies that went bankrupt, by assessing the demise of companies that were still based on the industrial

paradigm (e.g. Stijlgroep Groningen, Love Fashion), and new companies that adopted a trading logic from the start in the 1970's (Secon Group, Freetex).

A next question that will be addressed is whether tacit knowledge and routines are merely reproduced and transformed within firms, or through individuals migrating from one firm to another. Here the PhD student will examine the personal history of people behind the organisation of brands such as Joep van Gent (Oilily), Gloria Kok (Mac & Maggie, then Cora Kemperman), Arnold Perizonius (Hunkemöller, then Marlies Dekkers). The subproject thus hopes to create an oral history supported by personal archives of around 10-12 key individuals covering a substantial part of the period 1967-2005. The researcher shall assess whether the tacit knowledge and routines is a 'collective good' present in clusters of firms linked by individuals, possibly in subcultures like the Jewish network in Amsterdam (the firms of Kattenburg, Neerschwam and Baruch). Here, the question shall be addressed to what extent the tacit knowledge and skills create a production environment that is enticing for newcomers who are either immigrant entrepreneurs (e.g. Mexx) or for established firms overseas that use the Dutch cultural context to set up their European activities (e.g. Tommy Hilfiger Europe). Thus design skills and routines in the organisation of global production become part of the attractiveness of the Netherlands as a hub for creative industries in a global economy.

The *methodologies* of this subproject are based on historical research in company archives, an economic analysis of company procedures over time, including bankruptcy files, and ethnographic indepth interviews with key people in fashion companies. The study shall be supported by databases from the alumni associations of AMFI and Saxion in order to create a genealogy of personal histories in the industry.

The significance of this subproject for the programme 'Cultural Dynamics' lies in understanding the necessary economic basis required for the production of cultural products such as fashion. The analysis of tacit knowledge and routines allows for reflection on changes and innovation in the market oriented business culture of the fashion industry.

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10. Word Count

Question 8: 49 words

Question 9: total = 5.025 (including main text and <u>four</u> subprojects)

11. Workshop

The full day workshop (Expert Meeting) took place on Friday, September 21 in the Sonsbeek Villa in Arnhem. The participants came from the fashion industry and fashion organisations, fashion departments in art academies, and costume curators from museums. After an introduction to the programme 'Cultural Dynamics' by professor Smelik and to the project proposal by professor Jacobs, a plenary discussion of one hour took place about the contents of the research proposal which was sent to the participants in advance. In the afternoon the (then) three subprojects were discussed in more detail in three smaller groups on the basis of specific questions. A fourth group of museum curators discussed a historical perspective in the project. The meeting concluded with a plenary discussion of the results from the four subgroups.

The participants were very positive, enthusiastic and constructive. They all agreed that this type of meeting dealing with the relation between academic fashion research and the professional field of fashion should occur on a regular basis. Lively discussions took place on fundamental questions like 'what is fashion', as well as on more practical issues like 'what type of dissemination activities are possible and desirable'. The participants concurred that the proposed research project is timely and necessary in view of the growing interest in fashion and the fashion industry in The Netherlands. They generally thought the topic was well chosen. They also pointed to the expected international interest in research on Dutch fashion. As most participants did not have an academic background, there was not much feedback on the theoretical and methodological framework.

The following points were made:

Representatives from the industry suggested to focus on middle-range companies in size,
quality and outreach, because these are the key to the success of the Dutch fashion industry.
Several suggestions were made for comparative research, e.g. to compare middle range
companies to either big Dutch companies that are internationally active (like C&A), or
international companies that are active on the Dutch market (like Nike or Tommy Hilfiger), or

- to conceptual high fashion designers (like Viktor & Rolf). For reasons of coherence and above all feasibility we have chosen to mostly (but not exclusively) focus on case studies of several middle range companies. The discussion on that day made us confident that such companies are indeed most representative of a Dutch fashion identity.
- Several participants quite rightly observed that the question of a Dutch fashion style and identity is not exclusively an issue for the youth; they advised us to also focus on groups of older consumers. We have incorporated this advice by choosing some middle-range companies that are specifically geared to middle-aged or older clients.
- Some participants will help us to approach companies to get access to the data of companies. In general, companies are willing to cooperate if the data are not too recent, that is, up to 2005 (for reasons of competition). We therefore narrowed our period of research to 1960-2005.
- Representatives from the fashion departments in academies indicated that they struggle with a paucity of teachers who both know the fashion industry and are theoretically and academically trained; hence they hope to profit from the qualitative improvement of staff that can be envisaged if the programme will be successful. We have therefore included PhD teaching for the academies (see workplan and budget).
- The participants had many ideas for dissemination of the results, all of which have been integrated in the present research proposal; see under 14.
- The fashion, costume or textile curators from the museums were concerned with the lack of a historical perspective in the research projects. Several suggestions were made: to add one historical project to the programme; to insert a historical perspective in each of the three projects; and to write a separate application for a research project on Dutch fashion history. For reasons of coherence and feasibility we have opted for the first suggestion.
- This last point was made possible by the following development. Several participants gave suggestions for financial matching, because they felt that the line of business of fashion industry should express its support for the research programme. Of course, we have actively pursued these suggestions with the result that we can now add a fourth PhD project, fully matched by several partners from the fashion industry and academies.

List of participants

Organisers	
Anneke Smelik	Professor Radboud University Nijmegen
Dany Jacobs	Professor University of Amsterdam and lector ArtEZ/HAN Arnhem
Michiel Scheffer	Lector Saxion Hogescholen
José Teunissen	Lector ArtEZ Arnhem
Fashion organisations	
1. Han Bekke	Director MODINT (Dutch Fashion Industry) and secretary- general International Apparel Federation
2. Bruni Hofman	Syntens
3. Mariëtte Hoitink	Director HTNK Matchmakers in Fashion
Companies	
4. James Veenhof	Director Amsterdam International Fashion Week
5. Judith ter Haar	Owner of Dutch fashion shop Jones (Arnhem)
6. Arnold Perizonius	Director Marlies Dekkers
7. Marjan Unger	Chief Editor Morf
8. Hans van de Willige	Publisher Flevodruk
Museums and art institutions	
9. Rosalie Sloof	Curator Municipal Museum The Hague
10. Bianca du Mortier	Curator Rijksmuseum Amsterdam
11. Sjouk Hoitsma	Curator Historical Museum Rotterdam
12. Gieneke Arnolli	Curator Frisian Museum
13. Hanneke van Zuthem	Curator Open Air Museum Arnhem

14. Lucie Huiskens	Kunstenaars & Co (Artists & Co)
Departments of fashion of art	Transferidate & Co (Trasts & Co)
academies (hogescholen) and	
academics	
15. Liesbeth in 't Hout	Director Amsterdam Fashion Institute
16. Nanda van de Berg	Teacher ArtEZ Arnhem and Amsterdam Fashion Institute
17. Jeroen van den Eijnde	Researcher ArtEZ Arnhem
18. Peter Godefrooy	Director Design Academy ArtEZ Arnhem
19. Jan Brand	Publisher ArtEZ Press
20. Ir. Ger Brinks	Lector Saxion
21. Oliver Schalm	Research coordinator Royal Academy of the Arts, Antwerp
22. Nele Bernheim	Researcher Royal Academy of the Arts, Department of
	Fashion, Antwerp
23. Monique Roso	Researcher TNO (Organisation of Applied Sciences)
24. Annelies Moors	Prof. University of Amsterdam, ISIM: International Institute
	for the Study of Islam in the Modern World
25. Els den Os	Research coordinator Radboud University Nijmegen
Interested in cooperation, but	
unable to attend	
1. Michel Hensen	Fonds Mr Koetsier (Fund established for the improvement of
	education in textile and clothing industry in the Netherlands)
2. Marlou Thijssen	Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences
3. Dr. Stephan Raes	Ministry of Economy
4. Dr. Robine van Dooren	Ministry of Economy
5. Drs. Marc de Kroon	City Council of Arnhem
6. Mirjam Westen	Curator Museum of Modern Art, Arnhem
7. Trudie Rosa de Carvalho	Curator Palace Het Loo
8. Annemarie den Dekker	Curator Historical Museum Amsterdam
9. Angelique Westerhof	Teacher Arnhem Fashion Institute, and director Dutch Fashion
10 7 1	Foundation
10. Rebecca Breuer	Teacher and researcher Amsterdam Fashion Institute
11. Els de Baan	Academies the Hague and Rotterdam
12. Piet Paris	Curator Arnhem Fashion Biennale
13. Dr Ton Wagemakers	Director Dutch Textile Museum Tilburg
14. John de Greef	Fashion journalist Elsevier

12. International perspective

Apart from international comparisons in the individual subprojects, we envisage international cooperation as we have submitted an application for an Exploratory Workshop with the European Science Foundation, to bring together European scholars in the field (still pending). If successful, this workshop shall form the basis for a formal network of research in history, sociology and economics of fashion. More specifically, exchange with similar research projects at the Copenhagen Business School and at the University of Florence will enable a comparative approach. Cooperation with the Fashion Academy in Antwerp has also been planned (Bernheim, Schalm, Spee). Subproject 4 will also benefit from a partnership with ongoing research on globalisation of clothing production at Duke University. Moreover, through Saxion we will create an association with the FP7 project on globalisation of creative industries (still pending).

13. Work programme

In the following work program we show that we want to try to coordinate the subprojects in order to stimulate interaction and to profit as much as possible from the results of the different researchers as early as possible. But of course, perfect simultaneity of each of the research phases is not possible and probably not even desirable. As the success of the programme relies on the four different multidisciplinary perspectives, the supervisors will take great care to develop a common

theoretical framework and to reflect on each other's methodology. To streamline the different projects we aim at meeting <u>once a week</u> in the first half year; <u>once a fortnight</u> in the second half year; and <u>once a month</u> in the third, and half of the fourth year.

Period	Subproject 1	Subproject 2	Subproject 3	Subproject 4	Applicants
1-3 (2008) Collecting data		Collecting data	Collecting data	Collecting data	Supervision
	on cases. Development of theoretical framework and translation into model of analysis	on cases. Development of theoretical framework and translation into model of analysis	on cases. Development of theoretical framework and translation into empirical protocol	on cases. Development of theoretical framework and translation into empirical protocol	
4-6 (2009)	Collective pilot studies Mac & Maggie and Marlies Dekkers. Evaluation of theoretical and methodological framework	Collective pilot studies Mac & Maggie and Marlies Dekkers. Evaluation of theoretical and methodological framework	Collective pilot studies Mac & Maggie and Marlies Dekkers. Evaluation of theoretical and methodological framework	Collective pilot studies Mac & Maggie and Marlies Dekkers. Evaluation of theoretical and methodological framework	Supervision; Organisation of expert meeting
7-9 (2009)	Writing first chapter	Writing first chapter	Writing first chapter	Writing first chapter	Writing international article, based on collective pilot study
10-12 (2009)	Analysis of case studies 1960s: pillarised retail	Analysis of case studies: performances of class: C&A, V&D, De Bijenkorf	Case study self- conscious affluent women (continued): empirical work; analysis.	Analysis of case studies: (Berghaus, Van Gils, M&S, C&A).	Supervision
13-15 (2009/10)	Writing chapter 2 and Dutch article	Writing chapter 2 and Dutch article	Writing chapter 2 and Dutch article	Writing chapter 2 and Dutch article	Supervision
16-18 (1010)	Analysis of case studies 1970s	Analysis of performance of gender: Sträter/Van Gils, Kemperman/ McGregor	Case study streetwear: empirical work; analysis	Analysis of case studies Stijlgroep Groningen, Love Fashion, Secon Group, Freetex	Organisation of international workshop
19-22 (2010)	Writing chapter 3	Writing chapter 3	Writing chapter 3	Writing chapter 3	Supervision
23-26 (2010)	Case studies 1980s;	Analysis of performance of age	Case study elderly outdoor	Case study Joep van Gent, Gloria Kok, Arnold Perizonius	Writing 2 nd , individual, article; (if possible with PhD student)
27-30 (2010)	Writing chapter 4	Writing chapter 4	Writing chapter 4	Writing chapter 4	Supervision
31-33 (2011)	Analysis of case studies 1990s	Analysis of performance of ethnicity (neotribes)	Case study generational neo- tribe	Case study: Mexx, Tommy Hilfiger Europe	Organisation of expert meeting
34-36 (2011)	Writing chapter 5, and international	Writing chapter 5, and international article	Writing chapter 5, and international article	Writing chapter 5, and international	Supervision

	article			article	
37-42 (2011)	Finalising draft	Finalising draft	Finalising draft	Finalising draft	Organisation
	PhD thesis	PhD thesis	PhD thesis	PhD thesis	of
					international
					conference
43-48	Teaching at			Teaching at	Writing
(2011/12)	ArtEZ			Saxion	academic
					monograph
49-60					Museum
(2012/13)					exhibition
					and writing of
					'glossy'
					monograph

- The main applicant has 0.4 fte fixed research time at her disposal that will be used for research in preparation of the monograph during the full period of the other projects; this time is added to the replacement.
- The planned period is diminished with a month per year for the benefit of holidays, courses, etc.

14 Planned deliverables and knowledge dissemination

Academic deliverables

- a) Articles
 - 2009:
- Jacobs, Scheffer & Smelik, "Dutch Fashion Identity: The Case of Marlies Dekkers" (and/or other article on Mac & Maggie and Cora Kemperman) in *Journal of Cultural Research* or *International Journal, Fashion Theory* or *Journal of Cultural Studies*.
- PhD students: each an article in Dutch for journals like *Link*, *Morf*, *Code*, *Items*, *Vormberichten*, *Texpress*.

2010:

- Jacobs, Scheffer & Smelik, "Dutch Fashion Identity: The Case of Marlies Dekkers" (and/or Mac & Maggie and Cora Kemperman) in *Journal of Cultural Research* or *International Journal, Fashion Theory* or *Journal of Cultural Studies*.
- PhD students: each an article in English for journals Fashion Theory: Journal of Dress, Body & Culture; Journal of Visual Culture or Cultural Sociology or Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management

2011:

- International Journal of Cultural Studies (Smelik), Cultural Sociology (Jacobs), and Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management (Scheffer); the articles may be written together with the PhD students.
- b) Four Dissertations in 2011/2012:
 - Dissertation: Dutch fashion from the sixties till now
 - Dissertation: The performance of identity through fashion
 - Dissertation: The construction of brand identities by designers and consumers
 - Dissertation: Dutch fashion industry in a globalised market
- c) In 2008 an international workshop will take place with fashion experts from abroad to discuss our theoretical and methodological framework, possibly connected to the International Apparel Federation in Maastricht.
- d) In 2012 an international conference will be organised to disseminate the results of the project.
- e) In 2013 a synthesising monograph *Dutch Fashion in a Globalised World* by Smelik, Jacobs & Scheffer will appear with an academic publisher, which explains how Dutch fashion identity:
 - was influenced by the cultural heritage of Dutch design in its tradition of (minimalist) modernism since the 1960s;
 - is performed to construct individual and social identity by different neo-tribes in contemporary, postmodern, culture;

- is both used and influenced as a form of creative innovation by Dutch brands, companies and consumers;
- relates to and competes in a globalised market.

Knowledge dissemination

- a) From a selection of the participants of the expert meeting an advisory council will be established that meets at least twice a year to discuss the progress of the projects, to cultivate the link to the fashion industry, and to implement the dissemination of the results (with Dutch Fashion Foundation, Arnhem Mode Biennale, Premsela Foundation, Amsterdam International Fashion Week, Amsterdam Fashion Institute, Modint, and Fashion Academy Antwerp).
- b) A separate advisory council will consist of costume and textile curators from museums.
- c) A yearly national reference group meeting will take place with representatives of the fashion industry, using the specialised and popular venues of the Amsterdam International Fashion Week and the Arnhem Fashion Biennale.
- d) A public lecture will be given once a year at the Amsterdam International Fashion Week and/or the Arnhem Fashion Biennale, and the 'Avonden aan de Amstel' (AMFI, Amsterdam) or 'de Maere Lezingen' (Saxion, Enschede)
- e) Publication of articles for a general audience in Dutch fashion and design journals such as *Link, Morf, Code, Items, Vormberichten, Texpress, Elsevier.*
- f) Submit articles on Dutch fashion and identity to Dutch newspapers, journals and glossies.
- g) In 2012/2013 an exhibition will be organised in a major Dutch museum (The Gemeentemuseum in The Hague, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, and the Museum for Modern Art in Arnhem have expressed interest and possible support). The exhibition will be on older and newer Dutch fashion firms which played a role in the construction of a Dutch fashion identity. Special funds will be raised for the exhibition.
- h) In 2012/2013 the academic results will be published in a popular, 'glossy', book with ArtEZ Press, which has established a line of high quality books on fashion theory with an appeal to the general audience, large print numbers and a wide distribution both in Dutch and in English (e.g. *The Power of Fashion* sold 5000 copies in Dutch and 2500 in English within a few months, was well received by the press, and the reprint was sold at the upmarket department store De Bijenkorf).

15. CV main applicant

Prof.dr. Anneke Smelik is professor in Visual Culture, holding the Katrien van Munster chair at the Radboud University of Nijmegen in the Netherlands (see: www.annekesmelik.nl). She studied film and theatre studies at the University of Utrecht. She received her PhDdegree from the University of Amsterdam in 1995 with a dissertation on film theory and feminist cinema (published as *And the Mirror Cracked. Feminist Cinema and Film Theory*. London: Macmillan Press (now Palgrave), 1998). She has published widely on issues of identity, memory and technology in cinema, videoclips, digital art, fashion, and popular culture. Her latest research areas are mediated memory in film and digital culture; multimedia literacy; and the performance of authenticity in fashion. Professor Smelik participated in the European Thematic Network of ACUME I on 'Cultural Memory' and participates now in ACUME II on 'Interfacing Sciences, Literature and the Humanities'.

Literature by applicants

- 1. Jacobs, D. (1999) *Het Kennisoffensief. Slim concurreren in de kenniseconomie.* 2nd edition. Deventer: Kluwer.
- 2. Jacobs, D. (2006) 'The promise of demand chain management in fashion', in: *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*. 10 (1): 84-96.
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- 5. Scheffer, M. & M. Duineveld (2004) "Final demise or regeneration?: The Dutch case', in *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management* 8 (3) 340-349.
- 6. Scheffer, M. (forthcoming 2008) 'Jeans as Postmodern Palimpsest of Fashion'. In: Clark H. & E. Paulicelli (eds) *Fabric of Cultures*. London: Routledge.
- 7. Smelik, A. and N. Lykke (eds) (in press 2008) *Bits of Life. Feminism at the Intersections of Media, Science, and Technology.* Washington University Press.
- 8. Smelik, A. (2007) 'Un labyrinthe cyberpunk. La mémoire fragmentée dans l'art digital de Linda Dement'. Ria van den Brandt & Mariska Koopman-Thurlings, *Bricoler la mémoire, La théologie et les arts face au déclin de la tradition*. Paris: Édition du Cerf, 89-99.
- 9. L. Plate en A. Smelik (eds.) (2006), *Stof en as. Elf september in kunst en populaire cultuur*. Amsterdam: van Gennep. [on cultural memory in art and popular culture after September 11].
- 10. Smelik, A. (2006) 'Fashion and Visual Culture'. In: Brand & Teunissen (eds.), *The Power of Fashion. About Design and Meaning*. Arnhem: Terra, 152-171.

International Literature, 10 key publications

- 1. Bauman, Z. (2000) Liquid modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 2. Brand, J. & J. Teunissen (eds) (2006) *The Power of Fashion. About Design and Meaning*. Arnhem: Terra.
- 3. Harvey, D. (1989) The Condition of Post-Modernity. Oxford: Blackwell.
- 4. Lipovetsky, G. (1987) L'empire de l'éphémère: La mode et son destin dans les sociétés modernes. Paris: Éditions Gallimard.
- 5. Lipovetsky, G. (2004) Temps hypermodernes. Paris: Éditions Grasset.
- 6. Maffesoli, M. (1996) *The Times of the Tribes. The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society.* London: Sage.
- 7. McKenzie, J. (2001) Perform or Else. From Discipline to Performance. London: Routledge.
- 8. Muggleton, D. (2000) Inside Subculture. The Postmodern Meaning of Style. Oxford: Berg.
- 9. Polhemus, T. (1994) Streetstyle. From Sidewalk to Catwalk. London: Thames & Hudson.
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17. Summary in Dutch

Innovatie in de creatieve beleveniseconomie gaat steeds minder over technologie en steeds meer over waarde, symboliek en cultuur. Dat geldt al helemaal voor kleding en mode die een belangrijke rol spelen in de constructie van de menselijke identiteit, van het individuele tot het sociale niveau. Daarmee hebben ze een groot aandeel in insluitings- en uitsluitingsprocessen: een verkeerd kledingstuk kan iemand buiten de groep doen vallen (de hoofddoek is een controversieel voorbeeld), terwijl een ander aangeeft dat iemand er echt bij hoort. Als zowel een 'bottom-up' - als 'trickle-down' proces verschuift en verlegt de mode voortdurend de grenzen tussen haute couture en populaire cultuur. Mode bevindt zich op het kruispunt van lokaal cultureel erfgoed en innovatie met internationale relevantie: cultureel (b.v. klompen met naaldhakken van Viktor & Rolf); sociaal (b.v. de hogere klassen die jeans dragen) en technologisch (b.v. gemondialiseerde organisatie van vraag en aanbod). Het project heeft tot doel om het onontgonnen onderzoeksgebied van de Nederlandse mode vanuit interdisciplinaire invalshoeken te onderzoeken: de wisselwerking tussen economische en culturele performance, die steeds belangrijker wordt in de creatieve economie. De hypothese van het onderzoeksproject is dat de creatieve industrie van mode in Nederland meer dan in traditionele 'modelanden' in staat is om zijn unieke culturele achtergrond van individualisme, innovatie en sobere vormgeving te gelde te maken. Die 'Nederlandse' waarden spreken ook consumenten elders aan, zoals ook Nederlanders in buitenlandse mode hun gading kunnen vinden.

18. Research budget

	200y	200y+1	200y+2	200y+3	200y+4	TOTAL
Staff costs: employees Dutch institutions (in k€)						
4 PhD students (3.5 years)	88.75	177.5	177.5	177.5		621.25
1 PhD teaching tasks Artez					44	44
1 PhD teaching tasks Saxion					44	44
Replacement (prof. Smelik: 0.4 fte, 1 year)					25	25
Non staff costs (in k€)						
Benchfee	5	5	5	5		20
Knowledge dissemination (5% of 550)		6.5	6.5	7	7.5	27.5
Copyrights and printing costs for images in publications						20
Travel and subsistence						28.25
TOTAL	93.75	189	189	189.5	120.5	830

Matched by¹:

t-	
NWO	550
Mr. Koetsierfonds ²	80
College van Bestuur ArtEZ College of the Arts	80
College van Bestuur Saxion College	40
OOC-fonds (still pending) ³	80
TOTAL	830

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¹ Copies of the letters are available for NWO on request.

² Mr. Koetsierfonds is a fund that is established for the improvement of education in textile and clothing industry in the Netherlands.

clothing industry in the Netherlands.

³ We have applied for a subsidy with the OOC-fonds for € 80.000, which is still being lobbied for (OOC = 'Opleidings- en Ontwikkelingsfonds voor de Confectie-industrie; Fund for Education and Development of the Apparel Industry'). We are quite confident to bring in more matching funds as we are pursuing several other opportunities in the fashion industry as well. If, however, funds will not be found, the budget will be readjusted accordingly.