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Introduction

Some 900 years ago, an extraordinary occurrence is said to have taken place on market day in the English Midlands town of Coventry; a noble lady rode through the town, on horseback, adorned solely by her hair, which was long enough to ensure her modesty. The apparent outcome of this spectacle was the rescinding of a repressive tax on the city's citizens, whom Lady Godiva sought to support. Whether this is fact or fable, fashion, as city spectacle has long held cultural and political significance; an emotive force, it affects those directly involved and a wider society.

Whilst a longstanding citizen of London, a megacity recognized throughout the world as a site of fashion creation and public performance, my intrigue in fashion as a city spectacle dates from my childhood in a small village. Insights came monthly, delivered by post, in the form of a bunch of pages in landscape format, stapled together to form iD magazine, capturing images of fashion's everyday spectacles on its streets: the shapes, forms and encounters of time, place and culture. This arresting visual commentary shared the concerns, allegiances, excitements and anger felt by the city at that time. Fashion evidenced more than what people were wearing: it also made clear what they were thinking and feeling, representing those who felt unrepresented elsewhere. Since then, through my work as a designer, researcher and educator, I have sought ways in which fashion's ability to give voice to the unrepresented and the unspoken, and its ability to celebrate all that our shared planet and shared humanity offers, can become an intrinsic part of fashion's design.

'Writers, designers and philosophers have long understood the connections to be made between the sense of place, the experience of modernity and the making and wearing of clothing.' (Breward and Gilbert 2003). Fashion making and city making are both social processes, they are interlinked and bound together. It is through the dynamic interplay between making of meaning (values and identities) and matter (artifacts of adornment) that fashion becomes personal and vital to each of us.

Cities' and similarly, fashion provide protection, conviviality and exchange for citizens. Both, in their matter and meaning making draw on nature and humanity's

resources, and in so doing mold them. As a social barometer, and major industry employing approximately 60 million of us, and currently the world's second most polluting industry (Fashion United), fashion has the opportunity to make a profoundly vicious or vital contribution to this urban metabolism.

Fashion is about the individual, as maker, wearer, and participant; it is about community, as place and culture; and it is about governance and infrastructures of business. Fashion Design for Sustainability weaves together these elements, moving beyond technical improvements, matter-making, to embrace fashion's long history of social and cultural expression, meaning-making.

Housing almost 55% of the global population (Demographia 2016), urban areas, and more specifically cities, are the home of modern civilization. We are an increasingly urban species and as such, how we live in cities will determine our ability to live well on this planet (Girardet 1999). 'Cities are our glory and our bane' (Rogers 1998), we adapt them and are adapted by them.

Many of us are familiar with the conventional role of designer within an urban or fashion context. Through Fashion Design for Sustainability there is the potential for a more expansive role, as alchemist and agent for change. This chapter explores the interplay between citizen, designer and city to create spectacles of fashion as crucibles for the fermentation and distillation of values and practices congruent with sustainability in a city.

Spectacle, fashion and the city

For the individual citizen, fashion offers the opportunity to be noticed, 'No one's gonna spot you across a crowded room and say "Wow! Nice personality."' Fashion in the shape of possessions acts as part of an 'extended self' (Belk 1988) and it is a vital means for us to facilitate our social animal behavior, as Lipovetsky observes, 'fashion socializes human beings' (Evans 2007).

Whether a Celine handbag or a pair of trainers, fashion's shapes and forms, their meanings, makings and materials vary so much that we do well to remember that fashion can be defined much more clearly as our ability to represent ourselves, to gain a sense of belonging and engage in a reciprocal exchange, than if we define it by the specifics of material or stitch process alone. Fashion is a relational and social process; it is location specific: on the body, as well as in place.

Each day, each of us considers, if fleetingly, the world and our place in it as we reach for something to wear, to represent ourselves as we represent our times and locations (Williams 2014). Fashion offers us both highly visible and also unseen views on life as public spectacle and private action. In this way, 'the spectacle is the catalyst for culture making, negotiating the threshold between form and event' (Kessler 2015).

Rocamora (2009) describes fashion discourse 'as made up of a set of values, assumptions and rules that are dominant at a certain time and at a certain place in the field they are produced and reproduced in' indicating the agency of fashion to influence cultures of cherishing or of discarding the 'products' of nature and human endeavour. The creation of meaning is an iterative process involving an individual

and an audience able to understand the visual cues, a 'knowing community', in fashion usually with in an urban context.

Rocamora observes, fashion and city are overlapping fields, coterminous places of experience and practice (2009, 85). As Lynch says, we are ourselves part of the spectacle 'moving elements in a city, and in particular the people and their activities are as important (for the city) as the stationary physical parts.' (Tonkiss 2013). In an open and diversified city, an ethos rises up, is made visible (the spectacle) becomes accepted (normalized) and evolves through its inhabitants in a feedback loop (Corby, Williams et al 2016). Bourdieu describes this as 'Habitus', or socialized norms that guide behaviour and thinking, otherwise described as 'the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them' (Wacquant 2005, 316, cited in Navarro 2006, 16). For Foucault meaning and matter making overlap, as 'fields' are shaped by wider social forces and relations with other fields (Foucault 2006). The material organization of fashion mediates the production and reproduction of social, cultural and economic arrangements that ultimately make the fashion system and its role within the city system, congruent with sustainability principles or not.

Girardet (1993) characterizes cities as either biogenic or biocidic. Biogenic cities are balanced urban metabolisms that take and give back, through a reciprocal process based on ecosystems thinking. Biocidic cities are urban mechanisms that use ingenuity and technological innovation to expand beyond nature's boundaries. This Descartian approach persists as the dominant model of modern Western thinking with economic growth as its primary goal, whereas Design for Sustainability explores a heterogenous model of future prosperity based on interdependent systems.

Our planet, our bodies, and our cities depend on a healthy metabolism and an understanding of what this constitutes is vital to us as designers and as citizens. It is 'crucial to learn the lessons of history and to make sure that our settlements are socially just, participatory and economically viable, whilst being environmentally sustainable.' (Girardet 1999). Through the spectacle of fashion, the city displays its ethos in action, all that is, or could be, where such a transformation in values and cultures can take place and be made visible.

Modernity and the Loosening of Ties

There was for a long time an assumption that 'modernity, urbanization and the growth of fashion went hand in hand'. Simmel and Weber characterize modernity as 'a decisive break with the past – from rural tradition and stasis – to urban change fragmentation and mobility' (Wilson 1985).

With the shift from metabolic systems to mechanistic systems since the Industrial Revolution notions of time and space have becoming increasingly abstract. This loosening of traditional anchors might be seen as embracing diversity or threatening the basis on which all of our lives depend, nature.

Cities were built on and defined by that which was produced in their location – the local resources making distinctive the wares produced, bought and sold there. What

fashion brings, along with its spectacle, is a set of produced objects, with the city as physical context for their consumption (Gilbert 2000). Sales of fashion contribute to the city's economy directly whilst fashion's indirect effects on tourism, attractiveness as a location to live and do business as well as its contribution to infrastructure make Fashion Capitals powerful. Making a city fashionable is now a common and often explicit aim of urban policy (Gilbert 2000).

Broken promise

The spirit of emancipation and liberation that modernity, fashion and urban life offer when viewed through a sustainability lens, lack critical understanding of the vital elements of freedom and well-being. Aristotle spoke of virtue as the key to eudaimonia, loosely translated as 'thriving'. Yet that tradition has faded as happiness is increasingly associated with material conditions, especially income and consumption (Huffington 2015).

The dominant political discourse is about choice and individualism, yet this is an illusion; 'the more our society talks about the individual and individualism, the more alike we all seem to become' (Wilson 1985). The myth of choice instead creates a position where 'individuals in the current era of mass-individualization have not been empowered' (Wilson 1985). Yet the promise of the new continues to generate increasing sales, from increasingly diminishing resources. The crisis of the 'extended self' results in an 'empty self' continuously needing to be filled through consumption (Cushman 1990). As a consequence, the 'I' is never found and is always 'not yet'; the desire of becoming is endless (Spierings and Van Houtum 2008).

We know that cultures of consumption are destructive, Viktor & Rolf refer to the way that capitalist production veils its origins with cultural producers and consumers seduced even as they understand they are being manipulated (Evans 2007).

With the advent of globalized supply chains, there has been a disconnection between the production and consumption of fashion. Cities such as London, Paris, New York and Milan now foreground spectacles of fashion as a commercial, consumerist sport, the sentier[i] and other garment districts a fraction of their former size. London is a case in point, known for the creativity of its independent designers, whilst the majority of fashion businesses are small and medium sized enterprises only a small percentage of them remain in business after their first five years.

However, such is the power of fashion 'as a signifier of urban modernity and of world status' (Yusuf and Wu 2002), that even though production now predominantly takes place elsewhere, processes of fashion branding and city branding continue to be co-dependent (Rocamora 2009). Fashionable is often less about the distinction of product and more about the theatre of retail.

As individuals, we are removed from production, so idly take part in consumption. If the most pleasurable part of fashion is sometimes captured at the point of purchase, then the act of consumption replaces the object itself as the locus of meaning (TRANSFER 2015). So the connection with the object is ever more transient; without meaning it ceases to be valuable and is 'thrown away' or forgotten.

Within this efficient system of production and consumption, enabled by access to cheap resources, our identities become so bound up in the commerce of fashion, that even our values can become reduced to the label of "ethical consumer" or not. With the same styles available in every city, when we can no longer see our labour through the making of things, our attachment to them lessens. 'Clothing functions as a metaphor for the instability and contingency of modern life' (Anderson 1992).

The media is replete with evidence of the unsustainability of our current ways of living and manufacturing. This 'unsustainability' is not solely a technical problem to be fixed, though technological solutions play their part, it is also a cultural problem, of social dis-ease. We encounter more stimulation of all sorts, but also more anxiety; we have more personal autonomy, but also more personal crises. 'Such is the greatness of fashion, which always refers us as individuals, back to ourselves, such is the misery of fashion, which renders us increasingly problematic to ourselves and others' (Lipovestsky 1994).

Alongside the crises of the individual, some communities face declining levels of trust and social well-being, disconnected from their traditional certainties (Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2016). As Manzini (2015) describes, communities in place are being weakened by hyper-individualised, delocalized society and a notion of looking backwards instead of around. Whilst new connections and communities are forming, not confined to geographical location, the infinite possibilities for citizens to connect via social media platforms and coalesce around shared interests are increasing, though these may lack common values.

As we evolve into 'amplified human beings' (Girardet 1999), sharing our hopes and discontents, large and small, in expanding megacities and through a digital documentary updated many times a day, crossing nature's boundaries and socially acceptable practices, we create a spectacle that resonates far beyond physical city walls. The potential reach for different kinds of spectacle, such as Fashion Design for Sustainability might offer, is all the greater.

Role of the designer

A role for the fashion designer beyond commerce is hard to imagine. The discourse and practice of fashion supports the core values of the market economy: an unsustainable behemoth (Gatzen and von Busch). To explore the agency of the designer, we must look at the power relationship between the individual, community (whether geographic or otherwise) and wider infrastructures in fashion's supply chain. Though we are confronted by the inequalities in this relationship through NGO and media attention[ii], unjust practices are culturally and symbolically legitimised through the continued endorsement of buying and wearing clothes created in unjust ways. Community plays a critical role in shaping and endorsing this acceptance, our current 'Habitus' (Wacquant 2005).

In fashion, the media is used to condition our perception of what is acceptable, and desirable. As well as driving sales, cultural sway has in the past provided 'the means for a non-economic form of domination and hierarchy, as classes distinguish themselves through taste' (Gaventa 2003). Fashion designers, brands and their media partners play a key role in 'taste-making'. For those exploring fashion in relation to

sustainability, cultivating 'taste' is therefore an opportunity to use their agency to evolve the 'Habitus' away from cultures of consumption towards cultures of care.

Fashion design has grown out of a traditional couturier model, a skilled profession and craft from apprentice to master: shaping forms on the body with a selection of materials, colours, textures and construction techniques suitable to the wearer and their lifestyle. This model has been overtaken, though not eliminated, by semi-formalized practices involving fashion design, business and communication graduates and others from a variety of fields. Whilst methods and practices follow broadly similar chronological processes (concept research, materials selection, sketching, pattern making, prototyping etc.), the focus is on commercial efficiency, delivering and communicating goods to wider markets. The field of Fashion Design and Sustainability needs to develop roles and methods that connect fashion's tradition, its current dominant models and those with an understanding of Design for Sustainability. Together, they offer a means to consider not only *what* the designer makes, but also *how* the designer makes.

Through my practice and research, I have identified three broad 'types' of design role in fashion and sustainability (Williams 2015). These are not fixed, complete or ranked in terms of efficacy: the suitability of each will depend on context, on the designer's perspective, and the ethos of the business or organization of which they are part. We live and design in a post-sustainability awareness-raising era (Chapman 2012), but will not realize a paradigm shift towards sustainability until we are able to find ways in which every kind of designer can act on that awareness.
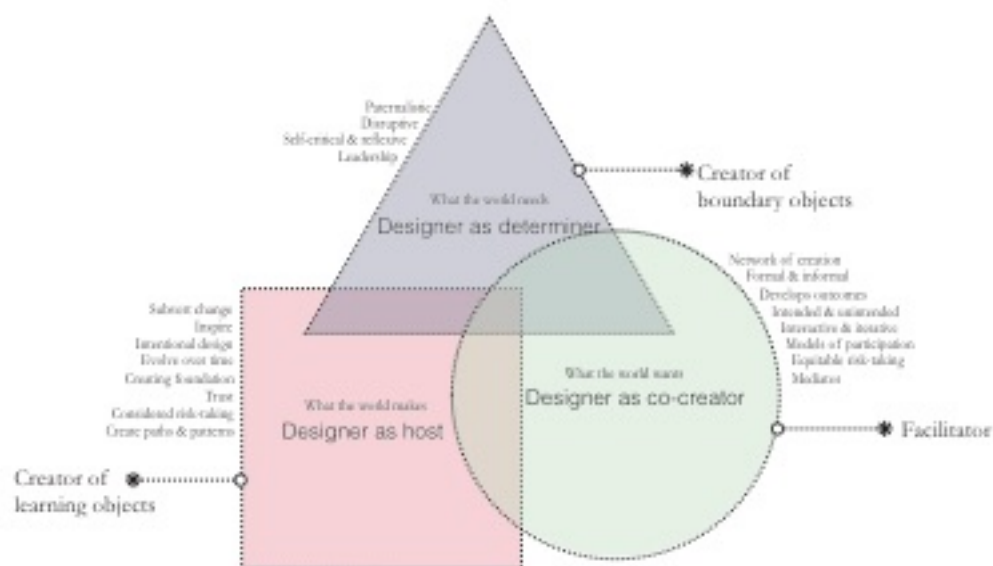

Figure…. Roles of a designer (adapted from Williams 2015)

Designer as Determiner: The Creator of Boundary Objects

This, possibly the most widely recognized and traditional of design roles, is often found where there are already established relationships with production networks, where attire is presented for specified wear and care, and where business is ongoing. It resonates with Schon's notion of designers as creators of boundary objects (1994).

The designer's approach is consistent, but the form of their work changes in response to a range of factors including what is happening in the world, what others are interested in, and changes in their supply chain. In this context, Fashion Design for Sustainability involves making choices that are informed by sustainability knowledge, often relating to material and manufacturing elements, and passing on such information to the buyer and customer. Whilst 'designer as determiner' might practice within a currently unsustainable business model, this hierarchical position offers the opportunity for highly visible innovative disruption, and changes to what is accepted as fashion design practice. It also includes the potential for design tactics (Rigby 2013) that influence pro-environmental or pro-social behaviour, through 'provotypes' (Fuad-Luke 2009) that provoke new thinking and behaviour.

Designer as Co-creator: Facilitator

When a designer considers their role as one of co-creator, this opens up places and spaces for active participation involving a range of agendas, actors, contexts and new applications of fashion. Fashion is intrinsically a co-creation process. It inevitably involves interaction, the nature of which is dependent on the agency of each participant. Co-design has an extended history inside and outside fashion, often taking place informally and without recognition. Through an expanding range and discourse of co-design in Design for Sustainability, changes in the practices, skills and required capabilities of the designer can emerge, and a revised intention. The visualization of the contribution of each participant in a co-design process varies widely as do the ambitions involved. Co-design might involve protagonists across a production network in more collaborative working practices; it might encompass a feedback loop between maker and wearer; or it might involve a design-with notion involving a partnership between designer and nature.

Designer as Host: The Creator of Learning Devices

The role of 'designer as host' involves an inversion of the usual hierarchical designer model, to foreground the agency of others through the creation of conditions for a series of autonomous, authentic progressions of fashion by a variety of actors, often over time (Williams 2014). The design decisions may be intentional or not, and the study of design can be seen here as a means to open up creative opportunity in others. The host or professional designer acts as encouragement to the citizen designer, design being a fundamental part of human capability (Cross 2006). The host is catalyst for a series of actions and encounters to take place, which may involve a specific piece or shape, or may include the transformation of that piece through learning experiences. The host facilitates learning, exploration, adaptation and interaction to 'malleable' situations, shapes and forms. This relates to the notion of 'creator of learning devices' (Schon 2014), which may change the nature and content of a piece beyond the imagination of the host designer, through the enabling function of design, and through the web of relationships that fashion can form. This is a radical departure for fashion design, moving its framework and hierarchical structure into a networked heterarchy (Williams and Fletcher 2010). This mode of design offers the potential for 'mass innovation, not mass production' (Leadbetter and 257 others, 2008), challenging existing ways of 'doing design', and challenging the usually recognized role and status of the designer to become activist or space creator. A

designer who hosts and creates a place for the spectacle of, as yet, undetermined outcomes.

For a designer to operate beyond the conventional commercial mode, requires a context supportive of values-led design practices, for example Shared Talent (Williams and Fletcher 2010), where designers, makers, buyers and promoters from different cultural and geographic locations were brought together to explore how they might question and realize their ambitions. Education is one of the greatest spaces to challenge our ways of perceiving, doing and making. However, increasingly participants rehearse scenarios that reflect the current business of fashion, leaving little space to try out what might be over what is.

Fashion articulating discontents

Mid to late 20th century fashion designers articulated the pleasures of identity, alongside the anxieties of alienation and loss against the unstable backdrop of rapid social, economic and technological change through their collections. McQueen's Highland Rape, and other collections, engaged incredible skill in the aestheticization of his politically charged concerns. Whilst such messages are arresting and understood by those in close dialogue with the designer and others interested in his work, they became, paradoxically, a means towards the designer's recognition in the fashion's establishment: McQueen having undertaken roles at Givenchy, his own label acquired by Gucci group (later Kering), and his work including collaborations with Puma and Target. While protest may be the intent, if the presentation and acquisition of collections is bound by the conventional commercial framework, then fashion is conspiring, as Barthes (2010) suggests, to rid 'human activity of its major scoria alienation, boredom, uncertainty, or more fundamentally: impossibility focusing instead on pleasing and reassuring experiences'.

By the early 21st century, the rise of fashion, either casual or professional, gave the impression that it was not questioning the dominance of brands, the commoditizing of identities, or profusion of garments as supposed democracy through fashion (Wilson 1985).

A more profoundly shocking reaction to fashion's modus operandi and long held habits has followed, with some designers refusing to create conventional collections, such as Tigran Avetisyan's 'In loving memory of Spring Summer 2014' sending out pieces from a previous collection daubed in paint saying 'nothing changes' (Fedorova 2016), and others refusing to take part in the seemingly endless carousel of shows and exhibitions and sales. These responses challenge the fashion system to address its complicity in an unjust economic system. Simultaneously, we are also seeing a questioning of existing consumption patterns and the emergence of alternative modes of fashion acquisition and enjoyment, for example through Kate Fletcher's Craft of Use project (2016).

Design for sustainability is a different kind of revolt against the machine, with each of the roles of designer providing a range of entry points into sustainability, whilst not limiting the actions of any designer to one role. In fact, many designers, myself included, cross back and forth between roles over their careers and situations. Such a designer, artist and researcher is Professor Helen Storey, a member of Centre for

Sustainable Fashion, who has designed, made and exhibited Dress 4 Our Time (D4OT), a dress that communicates (via digital messaging projected from inside the dress) unseen elements of our changing ecological and social environment that are of collective concern and individual resonance, a dress being a recognizable item to us all. D4OT carries with it a story of our humanity, our shared existence, and visualizes the effect of our current lifestyles. The discourse of sustainability is often hampered by apparent distance, whether geographic, cultural or temporal (Hoffman 2015). In contrast, fashion is 'a relation that affects us all, whether we want it to or not' (Fletcher and Tham 2014). Such a universally recognized item of attire renders a message legible in powerful ways. Taking the role of designer as determiner, it seeks to inform public understanding and instigate action in ways that the raw data of climate change science and the media coverage of social injustice cannot do alone. "Act, like we have just enough time, live like it runs out today" (Storey 2015). Drawing on expertise from the Met Office collaboration with UNHCR (United Nations Human Rights Council), digital expertise[iii] and industry support, the dress became a public art installation at St. Pancras International station, the departure point to the UN COP 21 Climate Conference. The dress has been installed as a public display at the United Nations Palais de Nations in Geneva (TEDx), worn on stage at Glastonbury Festival (LCF 2016), and on public display in The Science Museum, engaging audiences in a visceral experience of scientific consensus as a means to galvanize the cultural consensus towards caring for our only home and shared humanity (Science Museum 2016).

This fashion spectacle has broad resonance, it aims to change the actions of many, contributing to the creation of a larger ecological consciousness, an Ecozoic Age (Swimme and Berry 1992).

Through Fashion Revolution, Orsola de Castro, Carry Somers and others, myself included, engage 'the power of fashion to change the story for the people who make the world's clothes and accessories' (Fashion Revolution). Curating physical and digital spectacles in over 90 countries with the social media hashtag #whomademyclothes, Fashion Revolution uses simple design tactics, such as wearing your clothes inside out, to metaphorically and literally show fashion's insides, visibly evidencing the vast range of people who demand more for the people who make our clothes; in 2016's Fashion Revolution week, there were approximately 156million impressions of Fashion Revolution hashtags, 1251 brands responded directly to consumers asking #whomademyclothes, and 3500 producer voices were heard using the #imadeyourclothes hashtag (Fashion Revolution 2016). Fashion Revolution seeks to offer the individual the opportunity to regain a sense of ownership over their fashion messages, whilst pledging allegiance to a community of like-minded fashionistas.

Labour Behind the Label, Greenpeace, and others, have helped and been helped by Fashion Revolution, catalysing citizens to interrogate what fashion offers that they can socially accept and can personally enjoy. With extended supply chains and design detached from production, designers as well as wearers are publically asking questions, with those who have trusted supply chains able to stand by their wares. This heterachical network of fashion designers, makers, wearers, educators, students and others, creates a spectacle of fashion that offers agency to those involved[iv], engaging citizens in a creative process that is challenging the status quo, whilst

celebrating the value of people and fashion through a convivial exchange. Fashion Revolution is a global movement of prosumers, with the designer as host activating citizen ethics and action through citizen as designer.

Through a co-creation process, a team from CSF and Sheffield University Psychology department have engaged in research to explore whether 'the motivation behind unsustainable consumerism is the fact that people feel detached from the things that they purchase' (TRANSFER 2015). The TRANSFER[v] research created a participatory exhibition in a Leeds shopping mall, 'to showcase, in full view of the public, the manufacturing process behind a t-shirt, creating a visible and wearable connection between consumers' fashion purchase decisions and the manufacturing processes underlying the products that people desire'. The ability of fashion, as spectacle, to engage in a dialogue about sustainability offers an opportunity to explore sustainability within and beyond the content of the garments themselves. Whilst improvements have been made to the impact of each garment of up to 30%, higher levels of consumption have overshadowed this reduction (Fletcher and Tham 2014, 20), contributing to a negative environmental impact overall, so the project sought to engage potential customers in an active dialogue about how clothes are made, where they are made and by whom, to make the social, environmental and cultural impacts of our day to day purchasing decisions more tangible. Through participatory design, a production line was set up inside the shopping centre, where garments were made with customers, whose responses to 'connectedness to clothing questions' were applied to pocket shape, responses to 'impulse buying tendency questions' were applied to text on the back of the garment, and responses to 'environmental concern and environmental behaviour questions' applied to stitching colour. The findings from this research (TRANSFER 2015) offer data about buying decisions, for example 71% of interviewees were identified as being partially disconnected from sustainable clothing purchase and disposal practices. What is more, over the two days 150,000 passers-by witnessed or took part in a collaborative fashion spectacle. These alternative spectacles offer different narratives of fashion in the city, which are visible, identifiable and offer open-ended reflection and debate. As 'year by year, our world becomes more complex, we must re-mold our old cities and build new communities better suited to our needs' (Mumford 1970). This project seeks small ways to involve community in the shaping of garments, potentially the city, and for these spectacles to contribute to the Habitus' evolution.

As another perspective on the role of designer as co-creator, the acts of reciprocity involved in making together, exemplified by von Busch's Do-It-Together (2013), seek to make connections within communities through new frameworks for co-operation as sustainability in action. The starting point of Strategic Repair and other mutual benefit projects that I have been leading at LCF, was for MA students to act as magpies, seeking out a piece of clothing that holds their attention, but is visibly in need of care (von Busch and Williams 2011). Taking this piece to a person or place that might actively contribute to its value, the designer (the MA student) then sets about finding ways for these and other participants to exchange skills, ideas, or time, so that there is a benefit to all and a visibility to each participant's contribution. This process is far from novel; cities were built as places of exchange and society still manifests many active exchange opportunities, but for fashion design students to engage in creation through such a process is seen by many as radical and unexpected. The culmination of this and other projects that I have run with students is a public

display, in places where those involved are invited to participate, and where the social interaction of the pieces' creation is celebrated alongside the social interaction of their display.

If our clothes are to act as signifiers of our selves, then what we stand up *in* should represent what we stand up *for*. To explore this, I have been developing participatory design techniques to encourage a voicing and a wearing of concerns (positive and negative) as part of a wider research project Habit(AT)[vi]. In asking if what you stand up *in* represents what you stand up *for*, it takes the simple message t-shirt, a concept I know well having worked as women's mainline designer at Katharine Hamnett for many years. Through a number of iterations this research seeks to make fashion spectacles that enable identity, connection and reciprocation to take place. More fully described elsewhere, designers versed in ethnographic methods integrate these approaches within their practice with publics to identify and analyze a design concern at hand and co-design responses (Corby et al 2016, Williams 2015b). Design methods culminate in a t-shirt designed to conceptually represent the location in question alongside the slogan "I Stood Up". Significant interest has been generated, with a range of passers-by self-selecting to take part, putting on the t-shirt, and responding to semi-structured questions about environmental concerns, finally being photographed engaging with this ubiquitous item in a personal way. This creation of a kind of social form, through a fashion object as facilitator, and a pop-up event encourages individual and collective expression. It is the intertwined relationship between form and event, each propelling the other towards the creation of a spectacle in the city, which informs urban life (Kessler 2015). In this case, the t-shirt and discourse through verbal exchange and photography offer a spectacle that demonstrates culture-making as a live social exchange in the city. These interactions have produced data about concerns, art works for public exhibition, and positive feedback regarding participatory experience on the part of the citizen designers. This research does not claim to have made any lasting impact on citizen participants, however, it starts to reveal the possibilities afforded by an unconventional role for the designer.

In one iteration, first time voters were invited to an I Stood Up workshop at the House of Lords. A committee room was transformed into a participatory making space for the day with sewing equipment replacing the usual documents for discussion. The event culminated in a debate, chaired by Baroness Lola Young to evidence fashion as a means to connect the political with the public (Till), 'speaking truth to power' (AMFSC 1955). Through such practices, we seek places that open up opportunity and activate performance to create disruptive participation. These interventions do not compel but encourage action, making it safe to speak out, thus re-distributing the power in the city's spectacle (Lynch 1984).

As the case studies illustrate, Fashion Design for Sustainability provides a diversity of ways to respond to the complex challenges of our time. They need to be informed by bodies of knowledge, practices and roles that lie inside and outside of traditional fashion design. If, to paraphrase Tonkinwise (2015), design is about providing "something useful", then the "usefulness" of the designer is as creator of boundary objects, facilitator of co-creation or as host. Although apparently riskier than current practice, these processes could enable positive and novel outcomes, as the World Bank (2014) notes, 'the risk of inaction may well be the worst option of all.'

Working in conditions of continuous change, partial control, pluralism and participation, maintaining their creative and aesthetic abilities and using them in open and participatory ways can be challenging for designers. In this case, designers are mediators between the agency of the expert and that of the amateur, between the intentional and the improvised, the permanent and the temporary. Success is as much about steering patterns of social behavior as it is about composing physical forms (Lynch 1984).

Conclusion

Action on sustainability in fashion, and otherwise, requires many responses. We know from experience that the science and data of climate change, for example, have done little to change habits and practices. This is not to undermine the absolute necessity of the vital work that continues to take place in these fields, but, as we at CSF have seen, in humanizing data, such as through Nike Making (CSF Nike project), which CSF helped to develop, we can create culture change. Sustainability is a cultural problem; it is about how we live in the world. Fashion 'visualizes the tenor of urban life, like no other visual medium' (Breward and Gilbert 2003).

Fashion alone cannot address the existential crisis (LeGeorge 2016) that many societies currently face, but as it is a vital part of how we explore our sense of selves, it can facilitate reflection and experimentation to re-imagine its practices, industrial and personal, in relation to environmental and social degradation.

Debate inside and outside of the fashion and sustainability discourse reflects a range of ideologies. Change is needed across the political and economic spectrum, and this can happen when people are actively involved in creating a sense of themselves that also creates recognition and belonging to a wider community, city, and culture.

Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody (Jacobs 1961). The material object continues to be significant, but it functions as part of a wider set of processes that place people at the centre of the design process, by interweaving place-making and form-making as a medium for communities to contribute to socially and environmentally restorative practices.

As an academic, I consider my duty of care to students, to the community within which I belong and so forth; as a designer setting out, I might have different considerations and as a designer heading up an international fashion house considerations shift again – and in each case we juggle different kinds of risks, different values, different experiences. But we are part of a shared humanity and through cultures of sustainability visualized in cities, through fashion spectacle, we can create diverse approaches to living well with nature and each other, if we each foreground these, the only elements on which our prosperity can be assured.

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[i] Sentier, in the 2nd arrondissement of Paris, is historically known as the garment making district.

[ii] Examples of media outlets include Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, Labour Behind the Label, National Geographic and others.

[iii] Digital expertise provided by Unilever and Holition.

[iv] Such as Fashion Revolution's 'The 2 Euro T-Shirt' film.

[v] TRANSFER full name Trading Approaches to Nurturing Sustainable Consumption in Fashion and Energy Retail.

[vi] Habit(AT): fashion in cities as sustainability habits in place.