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NEIGHBOURHOODIES

COURAGEOUS COMMUNITY COLOURS,
BLAZING BLING,
AND DEFIANT DELIGHT

10 GALES GALLERY
Arch 10, Gales Gardens
London, E2 0EJ

Exhibition open between
19th to 25th of April 2010

Research project made with support
by London College of Fashion,
Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, and
The Swedish Arts Grants Committee
In today’s “flat” and globalized world, there is a simultaneous stretch of two opposite tendencies, closely interlinked. One is a flattening global movement seemingly eliminating cultural differences, the other puts emphasis on the urban localities, cultural identities and spatial haecceities, occasions of particular thisness.

As we see a global culture appear across the planet, identity politics simultaneously gravitate towards issues of the local. In society’s top strata people strive to live in posh areas with the right postal code. Subversive counterculture activists try to keep their own multi-ethnic spaces free from yuppies who in turn try to gentrify the same areas into authentic bohemian-chic quarters. In the urban fringes gangs protect their territory and even tattoo their hood names as a sign of authentic pride. Caught in the line of fire of identity politics is the hoodie, an average street-style garment, the canvas on which social conflicts and criminal stigmata are drawn, but also where local pride and reconciliation can be brought about, inspired by its connection to the resonance of musical milieus. In a time of liquid consumerism and fear, the habitus of the hoodie seems to frame a problematic identity which has been exposed in the ban on such garments in some British malls.

The Neighbourhoodies expands on a practice-based endeavour where fashion students from London College of Fashion reflected on their glocal London identities through the design of a special hoodie - a Neighbourhoodie.
Tottenham Hale tube station and Vibrate colours of my hall building give me a sense of belonging and interact with me everyday.

Summarising architecture, transportation, sounds, green spots and habits...

One of the main advantages of living in Richmond is Richmond Park. The park is a unique environment which is home to a variety of wildlife from ducks and geese on the parks lakes, to squirrels, birds and herds deer, giving you the feeling of being deep in the countryside and yet the skyline of the city of London can be clearly seen from certain viewpoints. Many people who live in Richmond tend to work in high stress jobs in the city of London and are attracted to the relaxed environment of the park on weekends, hence the flow of dark figures which head through Richmond and down towards the station at rush hour each weekday morning and back in the evenings.
MANNISHU
East India
Photographer: Yuqian Huang

On the way of my home, the first significant view is "O2 Theatre on the Thames". When I get off from DLR, now, this scene has already become a symbol of home to me.

JIELIN HU
Liverpool Street
Photographer: Eleanor Edwards

Twisted times of liverpool street. Warping of Liverpool Street’s spacetime...

AIMAN SABRI
Walden Street, Halls of Residence
Photographer: Aiman Sabri

The pattern is influenced by all the observations and experiences made on day to day basis as I walk through the busy areas of Whitechapel towards the tube station to travel. From the busy street market to Royal London Hospital to East London Mosque or the Bricklane. These are the most famous and crowded areas of the neighborhood I live in. The photograph was clicked at a place away from the hustle bustle of the neighborhood yet placed in the middle of the Whitechapel itself at Walden Street.
KATE WAKELING
Brixton covered market
Photographer: Chang Zhu

Brixton is exciting, vibrant and very culturally diverse; as a result it is often misunderstood. I wanted to portray the buzz of everyday life, which although chaotic, helps to maintain a friendly and cohesive community. The mosaic of images seen through the honeycomb pattern represents the constant hive of activity that can be witnessed any day of the week in Brixton.

LU YIN YIN
Photographer: Mian Mian Zheng
Stylist and Model: Liu Xinyi

SAIDA BRUCE
Seven Sisters, Markfield N15
Photographer: Matthew J Humphreys

My print is a photo collage of the aspects I am surrounded by everyday. The mayhem of my industrial street, the shops represented by many different cultures, the graffiti that covers the local skate park, and the trains that criss cross the marshes.

SARA HARRIET PLEAVIN
Shotesham St Mary, Norfolk
Photographer: Victoria Pleavin

‘I am a Norfolk man and Glory in being so.’ Lord Horatio Nelson
JULIA ROEBUCK  
Mare Street, Hackney  
Photographer: Una Hussey

My print was designed using the text of overheard conversations as I walk the streets of my neighbourhood. The text and photographs of such conversations have been overlayed onto a map of the streets where they occurred.

SAADIA NIAZI  
Purley Station, Purley  
Photographer: Eleanor Edwards

This image encapsulates the spirit of suburban Purley, with its typical English country architecture, its profusion of clocks, and its undulating, elm-lined, streets.

KATIE LEDGER  
HMP Pentonville, Caledonian Road  
Photographer: Eleanor Edwards

The print on this hoodie was inspired by the sights, sounds and impressions of my neighbourhood; Holloway Road. In moving to the area in October 2009, I immediately became aware of the noise pollution created by the emergency services tearing up and down the main roads.

When speaking to others about moving to the area, I received numerous comments about the prisons nearby, which I was initially unaware of. I incorporated my impressions, along with others into the print of the hoodie and even chose a fitting location (if not slightly awkward for security reasons) for the photoshoot.

RUBY HOETTE  
London Fields, Hackney  
Photographer: Nicol Vizioli

A study of ‘connections’ both visible and invisible within a neighbourhood.
Una Hussey
Mornigside Community Hall, Hackney
Photography: Zeneab (10 years old), with the help of Isis Linguanotto

The pictures were drawn by a group of 10-14 year olds, who make up the Monday Night Junior youth group held at the Mornigside community hall.

They drew pictures of the people, the places, the buildings the animals and anything else they felt represented an important part of their neighbourhood. The pictures were then pieced together to make one big street scene of their community.

Yuqian Huang
West Hamstead
Photographer: Yuqian Huang

Amazing London, Lovely west hamstead, beautiful snow scene consist of the whole unique picture of the hoody, while the shining red post box which is playing a role to link my far away country with the exciting place - London is the focus among them. Such a small world, neighbours are connected by different roads while countries linked by mails.

Zoe Grace Fletcher
London Fields, Hackney
Photographer: Nicol Vizioli

Whilst travelling on one of my many bus trips into the city I realised most people who live in Hackney spend a huge chunk of their day travelling. I used this as a catalyst for my design, incorporating a set of headphones into the hoody symbolising the escape from the monotony of everyday travel into our own little worlds, contrasting with the background of escaping back to nature in London Fields.

Xiaogen Sun
Canada Water
Photographer: Eleanor Edwards

The historical connection of land and water of canada water.
"WE ARE THE HOOD, WE ARE THE HOODIES"

In today’s “flat” and globalized world there is a simultaneous stretch of two opposite tendencies, closely interlinked. One is a flattening trans-urban movement seemingly eliminating differences into a smooth and global “westernized” culture, the other puts emphasis on the urban localities, special spatial haecceities, occasions of particular unicity or of thinness. Both tendencies proliferate in the global media’s streamlining of minds, while on the other hand propagating unique “core values” for local event cities.

As we see global “mainstream” culture appear across the planet we can also trace identity politics gravitate towards issues of the local as something which seems authentic. In the top strata of society people strive to live in the right area and get the right postal code, sometimes popularized in media like the phenomenal 90’s series 90210 Beverly Hills. The subversive counterculture fighters try to keep their own working class and “marginalized” spaces free from yuppies who in turn try to gentrify these areas into authentic “bohemian chic” quarters where “bobos”, the bohemian bourgeoisie, rules supreme. Out in the urban fringe gangs protect their territories and even tattoo the hood names as a sign of authentic pride, something that can be lost if one becomes successful and surrenders to the city centre mainstream.

In the middle of this conflict we will find the hoodie, an average street style garment. Once a casual and anonymous sports garment, it has become the canvas on which the borderlines of semantic struggle in society are drawn. Gone are days when it was the plain advertiser for the local sports team or even of subcultural pride. Over the last years the hoodie have instead come to embody the stigmatized and criminal mind, or what British Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott called an “intimidating” uniform, when he supported the bans authorities, but the politicians go for the more fearful “intimidating” argument. This liquid fear is a public anxiety which is resonating and is been amplified between individuals, and promoted through media, which also seems to affect the politics of dress in shopping malls, like banning a garment for its connections to stigmatized criminal elements. Paradoxically, the same contested clothes are often sold in the same malls, as hooded garments have been popular for decades. The question of the hood obscuring surveillance might be a “functionalist” argument raised by the authorities, but the politicians go for the more fearful “intimidating” argument. But financial globalization and its consequences has also triggered diverse grass root responses, from social movements, anti-corporate demonstrations and activism against gentrification (Klein 2001), to ecologically and community motivated localization initiatives like the recent “transition movement” (Hopkins 2008). In the face of globalization, new emphasis is put on local identities and the resistance to acculturation where majority culture is imposed on minorities. Rather, the opposition to globalized consumer culture by autonomous political movements as well as culturally marginalized groups becomes a hothouse for the growth of local pride. These are also the settings of today’s globalized fashion world with a constant growing number of almost cloned fashion weeks, as it seems no city with creative dignity can miss out on having its own duplicated style ritual. The planet now hosts well over a hundred fashion weeks, all fighting for a place in the light and the glossy magazines. In a similar vein as the roaming style journalists, consumers are encouraged to take on international pilgrimages to flagship stores on top addresses in the fashion capitals. Those who cannot afford such pleasures are to sneak out scavenging to hidden outlets on the countryside.

Nevertheless, as an enigma to these smoothing global tendencies, fashion is also a very local experience. Fashion happens not only at the sanctified rituals of the catwalk, but also on the sidewalk, the workplace, the dressed-up party or the backyard beach cruising. Perhaps most prominently, fashion affects us at the shopping mall, where we impersonate the contemporary flaneur to see and shop for pleasure, as we consume to “stay ahead”. And of course we want no “intimidating” uniforms around our highly deserved leisure time in ambient easy listening muzak.

Fashion is also a phenomenon affecting the very local aspects of social life. Global trends meet local expressions and cultural appropriations and often music scenes become the resonating bodies of identity. Local gangs or subcultures become a source of identity and in rap culture the neighbourhood is the source of authenticity. This can take the form of song lyrics, but also manifest in prints or even tattoos, often featuring postal codes or telephone prefixes.

Music has been a practice to reclaim pride and summon responsive energy among displaced communities – to evoke memories from rural or ethnic background, or to experiment with new cultural identities, in resonance or in distortion with the new social environment. It has been the historic folk music of ethnic communities in diaspora, but is also a highly contemporary phenomenon. Famous examples can be the Hip Hop scene of Bronx, Los Angeles’ Gansta Rap, East London’s Grime or the Dub Step of South London. Ironically the music scenes also become the commodities of the area, readily at hand to differentiate the area as a genuine hood in the globally “creative” economy.

One can argue that certain environmental qualities in some neighbourhoods perform the settings for the evolution of especially vital identities. Some places seem to generate the frictions and vibrations which makes the music scene resonate with the specific frequencies which aggregate into...
HABITUS, UMWELT AND THE COGNITION OF LIVING SYSTEMS

From a perspective of sociology, the social environment, with its physical arrangements and connected bodily skills, tastes, beliefs and dispositions, is often called habitus, a term popularized in the works of Pierre Bourdieu (cf Bourdieu 1977). Bourdieu defined habitus as “systems of durable, transposable dispositions” (Bourdieu 1977: 72). It is a “durablely installed generative principle of regulated improvisations” which produces the practices of everyday life (78). Habitus is in constant interconnection with the environment, placing the individual in relations to other individuals, social groups and cultures, and in close relation to the material surroundings, as a structure of the mind, a “matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions” (83).

With its use in biology, habitus connotes the similarity in external form or the characteristic mode of growth of an organism. It is not a form in isolation, but similar to the habitus in sociology, the organism is a morphologic assemblage that exists as a relation between the organism and its surrounding environment and ecological niche. Here, a niche is more concerned with how an animal lives rather than where it lives. It is what Richard Dawkins might call the organism’s “extended phenotype” (Dawkins 1982). Yet, in difference from the sociological perspective, habitus is here based on materialist or realist terms, rather than as a consequence of human and social construction. The biological habitus is grounded rather than as a consequence of human and social construction.

Varela (1980). To understand living systems, we need to recognize how they are organized in interaction with their surrounding. For Maturana and Varela, living beings differ structurally, but are alike in organization, in their ontogenic development, that is, their organizational unity. It is not the physical nature of the components that determine life, but their dynamic organization into autopoietic, or self-reproducing systems.

Like Uexküll, Maturana and Varela see this is a matter of biological phenomenology. Our cognition “brings forth” our Umwelt. But the senses which brings fourth the world does not do so by communicating an abstract “meaning”.

THERE IS NO ‘TRANSMITTED INFORMATION’ IN COMMUNICATION. COMMUNICATION TAKES PLACE EVERY TIME THERE IS BEHAVIOURAL COORDINATION IN A REALM OF STRUCTURAL COUPLING. (Maturana & Varela 1987: 186)

From this perspective, there is no “something” which is communicated, as the communication itself is an integral part of the act of cognition and living in itself. Here, Maturana and Varela compare the social mechanisms of structural coupling with the communication between ants, organisms which are tightly connected into a bigger unity or super organism, the ant colony. Ants use chemical coupling between individual members of the colony by a continuous interchange of stomach contents, each time they meet. The colony communicates through a “communal stomach” with which each ant is connected. This continuous chemical flow is called trophallaxis. The autopoietic system of each ant is bound together into a “co-ontogenetic structural drift” (Maturana & Varela 1987: 186).

So not only do organisms depend of their environments, finding a niche or models of mutualism or symbiosis. They also couple structurally through their Umwelt to form a higher order of organization, into something like a social organism, by acts of shared cognition. When examining the linguistic realm, Maturana and Varela mean that human societies are built similarly to anthills, only with higher complexity. If insects communicate with trophallaxis, humans coordinate social unity through “linguallaxis” (linguistic trophallaxis) for ontogenic coordination of actions (Maturana & Varela 1987: 21f).

We can compare such linguallaxis to how sociologist Gabriel Tarde saw culture and behaviours spread in viral ways between individuals. To Tarde, culture exists between individuals and members of a society or community, because it is constantly repeated, like an echo of sound waves, rather than being imposed from above or stemming from an inner essence of “man”. Objects and artefacts are only dead representations of the imitated ideas which...
form a society. Culture resonates between humans simply because the social aspects of human life are about imitation and repetition;

WITHOUT FASHION AND CUSTOM, SOCIAL QUANTITIES WOULD NOT EXIST, THERE WOULD BE NO VALUES, NO MONEY, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, NO SCIENCE OF WEALTH OR FINANCE. (Tarde 1903: 16)

A cultural phenomenon of mimicry and rebellion, such as fashion, is similar to the trophallaxis synchronizing the behaviour in the anthill. What is called “synchronous isopraxis”, like the contagious yawns, is something we share with other animals. It is a basic biosemiotic behaviour among humans. In the words of network theorist Conrad Becker, synchronous isopraxis form the “human tendencies to imitate clothing styles and to pick up the nonverbal mannerisms of others” and it is something “rooted in paleocircuits of the reptilian brain.” (Becker 2002: 120). We like to be “copying, emulating, or aping a behaviour, gesture or accessories including impulsive tendencies”, often through highly ritualized behaviours which “makes it easier to be accepted, looking alike suggests same views and feels safe.” (Becker 2002: 120). Fashionable isopraxis can easily be paralleled to the culturally enhanced “affects” of Baruch Spinoza, or the ritualized “mimetic desire” of Rene Girard. It is just like the phenomenon of tropism, an organism’s turning movement in response to changing stimuli (a plant facing the sun); we also turn along with the light of fashion, as it is an energy and powerful stimuli guiding behaviour in our Umwelt.

We live in our neighbourhoods, and our communities live in us, on co-existence with the fears, values and fashions shared among inhabitants is our Umwelt. By careful reverse engineering and acupunctural design interventions, we might be able to make our Umwelt resonate with other affects than those of the “liquid fear”. To reclaim the hoodie we would need to learn from the realm of sonic vibrations.

RHYMES AND THE HOOD
As mentioned before, Uexküll saw the Umwelt as an ecological environment of interactions. A local ecology is like an orchestra, with a specific organized composition, with accords of music and arrangement where each species or organism play a distinct “functional tone” or note. An Umwelt, an ecological niche, is also a music niche - defined by the specific resonance qualities of the hood.

Uexküll, even though not anti-evolutionary, opposed Darwin's theory of evolution which he saw as too “vertical” and chaotic. Uexküll instead proposed a an evolutionary understanding where he interpreted organisms “as tones that resonate and harmonize with other things, both living and nonliving.” (Buchanan 2008: 8) Every individual has an “I-tone” (Ich-Tone), which plays in accord with the Umwelt. This meant a much more “horizontal” and relational model of evolution than Darwin’s, emphasising the musical choreography of evolution rather than accidental and cruel mechanisms of the vertically drawn natural selection of the fittest. Uexküll saw relations whereby “organic and inorganic thing cohere together in great compositional harmony” (Buchanan 2008: 8). It is the relational aspects of resonance between Umwelt and organism which creates the resonances guiding the morphology of a species by which could be called “vital materialism”. Thure von Uexküll, also engaged in biosemiotics, captures it like this:

NATURE MAY BE COMPARED TO A COMPOSER WHO LISTENS TO HIS OWN WORKS PLAYED ON AN INSTRUMENT OF HIS OWN CREATION. THIS RESULTS IN A STRANGELY RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATURE, WHICH HAS CREATED MAN, AND MAN, WHO NOT ONLY IN HIS ART AND SCIENCE, BUT ALSO IN HIS EXPERIENTIAL UNIVERSE, HAS CREATED NATURE. (von Uexküll, T 1992: 281)

French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari quote the work of von Uexküll at several occasions in their influential book A Thousand Plateaus (2004). They see the refrain, ritournell, as a reoccurring song, framing a territory, ordering it; “The song is like a sketch of a calming and stabilizing, calm and stable, center in the heart of chaos.”(343) The song organizes and draws a circle around an uncertain and fragile centre. The bird song is a perfect example; it is a refrain that is a territorial assemblage between bird and environment where every milieu is vibratory, as it is a refrain actually guiding the life cycle and reproduction of the bird, and resonating between its DNA code and the surrounding coded milieu or Umwelt. “Every milieu is coded, a code being defined by periodic repetition; but each code is in a perpetual state of transcoding or transduction.” (345) The rhythm is the transcoded passage of communication or coordination between milieus, but it should not be mistaken for the meter or cadence of marches, but it is the rhythm or patterns of code, or DNA, or Umwelt. Here, nature is indeed music, rhythms played throughout the organic and inorganic environment.

The rhythm defines a territory through the emergence of matters of expression which become a territorializing mark, a signature, like the role urine and excrement play in marking. (347) The rhythmic markers assemble to produce territorial counterpoints, which in turn shape melodic landscapes. But the refrain has a territorial and bordering ability; “rhythm is located between two milieus, or between two intermilieus, on the fence, between night and day, at dusk, twilight or Zwielicht.” (346)

The borders or fronts of neighbourhoods also take cultural and traditional expressions along which the ritournell can be experienced. A Jewish enclave may be enclosed with an Eruv, framing the borders with a highly mounted textile thread, and thus extending the home during Sabbath, and so the social fabric weaves the “nest”. An ethnic group might use communal cooking along the street as a refrain recreating home by means of culinary expressions, the gustatory senses of specific spices and olfactory markings. Muslim communities have loudspeakers on minarets to announce the calls to prayer, thus framing the neighbourhood sonically, not too different from the refrain of birds.

It is along the borders we hear the rhythms clearly, as they meet, merge and transcode, often along contested lines or resonating bodies. The same patterns we can see along the borders of our Neighbourhoods where, just like among birds, contests of refrains are held. Whereas in nature “if the robber sings better than the true proprietor, the proprietor yields his place” (349), similar “slams” or “battles” are held between neighbours today. Local pride is expressed in the works of poets, street musicians, dancers and DJs, where skills in spoken word, turntablism, breaking or voguing are the “robober songs”.

As discussed in the beginning, many cities and districts have had a special “sound” to their music, a signature refrain which resonate and is amplified throughout their Umwelt. To many, such refrains might seem hostile, uncertain, create dissonances or produce feelings of “liquid fear”. But just like the music scenes of some neighbourhoods could use the tensions and frictions of social life to bring about new rhymes with resonated in their Umwelt, and further in the world, so could we use the hoodyes. The dub step and grime mixed the beats resonating in their environment and put the street tongue on that canvas, so can the affects of neighbourhoods be painted on hoodyes. Just like mentioned by Deleuze, we should not give in to sad affects;
SADNESS, SAD AFFECTS, ARE ALL THOSE WHICH REDUCE OUR POWER TO ACT. THE ESTABLISHED POWERS NEED OUR SADNESS TO MAKE US SLAVES. THE TYRANT, THE PRIEST, THE CAPTORS OF OUR SOULS NEED TO PURSUADE US THAT LIFE IS HARD AND A BURDEN. THE POWERS THAT BE NEED TO REPRESS US NO LESS THAN TO MAKE US ANXIOUS (Deleuze 2006: 46)

So let us respond to the liquid fear of sadness and "intimidating" hoodies by creating new hoodies which resonate with the passionate affects of our Neighbourhoods instead of public fears. Let us reveal and expose the reverberating qualities of our communities, take pride in the local expressions of our hoods. The Neighbourhoodies is such an attempt, reinterpreting our local Umwelt into a second skin, a digitally printed image, which in turn is recreated into a hoodie. A garment of courageous community camouflage, blazing bling, supportive self-esteem and defiant delight.

We wear our hoodies and play our beats to let it echo between the hoods in local pride, that we are indeed the world, we are the Umwelt.

Or in the words of good ol’ MJ; “We are the hoods, we are the hoodies”
Your neighbourhood has an impact on your stride, your gestures, your actions - the tacit signals of your body techniques. Like the tones of music, it resonates with the surrounding, capturing the suggestive qualities of the neighbourhood. How do you dress for your hood and how does it dress you?

The Neighbourhoodies is a project at the intersection of fashion design and cultural studies that attempts to visualize belonging and questions of habitus in contemporary street-wear cultures, emanating from the today highly contested hoodie garment.

As part of the project, master students from Fashion and Environment program at London College of Fashion documented their neighbourhood through an image which in turn was printed digitally onto fabric and made into a special hoodie - a neighbourhoodie.

Your habitus is your habitat, your neighbourhood. It reflects who you are, what you do, how you live your life.