

Fashion Images of Homosexuality Depicted in Attitudes, FHM, and Arena Since 2000

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ABSTRACT

In this study homosexuality as a discourse represented in contemporary fashion magazines is explored in context. The main concerns are the contemporary construction of homosexuality, fashion symbols to identify homosexuals, and relationships between homosexuality and heterosexual masculinity in fashion images today. After elaborating homosexuality conceptualized historically, an analytical framework from Foucault's discursive approach was made up to interpret the fashion spreads since 2000. As a result, as it is assumed that the concept of homosexuality is constructed by historical specificity, homosexual fashion styles are dynamic. So, it should be recognized that they are formed by power relationships with heterosexuality, and other social factors such as class, race, age, and consumer culture and market trends. On the basis of photographic themes and fashion looks homosexual images are classified into 3 kinds of versions, the effeminate trend setter, the masculine athlete or biker, and the neo camp. However, most of contemporary homosexual photographs are not also so conspicuously different from heterosexual ones. Therefore, in the contemporary structure at least from fashion images, homosexuals can be recognized equally with heterosexual people only except for sexual preference. Thus, homosexual fashion also shares a lot of fashionable products with heterosexual one, with often homosexuals' role as trend -setter.

Key Words : homosexuality, homosexual, homosexual fashion, discourse, power relationship

I. Introduction

Fashion as a part of culture is a material object with the innumerable possibilities of change and a sign as the means of non-linguistic communication, which eventually contribute to express various group identities and represent cultural codes in various social dimensions. Therefore, fashion should be understood as a kind of dynamic object in social, cultural and historical contexts. Barnard (1996) maintains that fashion can be explained in terms of a

resistance as a series of ongoing challenges and oppositions as well as a reproductive practice. In this paper, focusing on the former, role of fashion as a resistance, homosexuality will be considered as it is represented in contemporary fashion in terms of its socio-cultural context.

Fashion for homosexuals plays a role as symbols or signs for their identities, especially sexuality. This aspect is illustrated well by Fischer's (1977) mention that gay men had developed a semiotics for identification and/or invisibility within the larger culture, as well as communication among them-

selves. In fact, since the late nineteenth century gay men had imbued certain elements of dress with symbolism, using them as means of attracting other men or revealing their secret identity to one another. Meanwhile, from a heterosexual perspective a man's interest in clothing has been regarded as a signifier of his homosexuality until twentieth century fashion. On one hand, such a thought allowed men to see themselves as participants in the dominant culture by gay codes. On the other hand, it brought about the notion that gay men were ahead of men's fashion and influenced the changes of fashion through their challenge to the hegemony of the existing dress code and by fashion industry's appropriation, while forming a notable subculture with their status as outsiders. In addition, it has been argued that gay men's being attracted by masculine images is a reflection of the wider culture's demands for displays of masculinity. Therefore, homosexuality in fashion will provide an important measure to understand the construction of sexuality in contemporary society as well as being a source for change and a predictor of trends.

In terms of the issue of sexuality, Michelle Foucault has made a powerful model and his analysis of the interrelationships of knowledge, power and sexuality is known as the most important catalyst of the study of homosexuality. His key idea of sexuality is the notion that the concrete institutional forms of sexuality are also the products of human activity at any given time. In this study I will explore homosexual images from fashion photography in fashion magazines, including gay magazines and men's lifestyle magazines (as a main institution of contemporary fashion), and analyze them using Foucault's discursive model. So, the concerns here are as follows:

1. How is homosexuality constructed in the contemporary period?
2. What kinds of fashion symbols are used to identify homosexuals?
3. What kind of relationship exists between homosexuality and heterosexual masculinity in fashion today?

More specifically, I intend to explore how the issue of homosexuality with historical specificity is constructed today through the homosexual fashion images of fashion spreads in fashion magazines since 2000. In addition, I will evaluate homosexuality and the fashion represented in relation to heterosexual masculinity and other social factors. Also, homosexual fashion will be interpreted in the connection with market trends promoted at the periods.

Here fashion magazines will provide a useful tool in that they are media that show not only information about fashion, but also the various potentials of the symbolic signification of cultural representation. They can function as central institutions for the discursive production and circulation of sexuality, vehicles in Foucaultian word for 'putting sex in the picture.' In particular, I will investigate fashion images from the gay magazine, *Attitude* and the men's lifestyle magazines, *FHM* and *Arena*. According to research by Mintel group (Oct 2002), *Attitude* (Northern & Shell) is primarily a general lifestyle publication designed for a gay readership, although it is claimed that in practice a sizeable proportion of readers are heterosexuals. It also shows a steady sales increase. On the other hand, *FHM* (EMAP) is positioned as the best seller, recording the highest rate of circulation among mid-market men's lifestyle magazines, while reflecting men's changing perceptions and behavior. *Arena* (EMAP) is an initiative magazine, which first in-

troduced the image of the New Man in the middle of the 1980s, and it is also an up-market glossy. The target consumers of *Attitude* and *FHM* are younger general (average early to mid-20s), while those of *Arena* are more mature general (average age over 25). In addition, I will mainly focus on

the issues in Mar, Jun, Sept, Dec of each magazine since 2000 in order to diminish the number of samples and prevent the seasonal bias in selecting fashion photographs. The specific elements of signs to analyze each fashion spread are as the following table (Table 1).

<Table 1> Elements of signs for analysis

The elements of signs			The signification of signs
Visual image	Model	Pose Facial expression Body Sex Race Age	
	Dress	Item Silhouette Color Fabric Pattern Details Accessories Hair-style	
	Setting	Place Setting tools	
	Edition	Editorial arrangement Lighting Camera angle	
Language		Title Caption Illustrations in detail Text Typography Brand Editorial arrangement	
Intratextuality		The relation between languages The relation between images The relation between languages and images The relation between fashion spreads	
Intertextuality		The relation between fashion spread and other texts The relation between fashion spread and readers The relation between fashion spread and politics, economy, society, culture, and fashion trends etc.	

At the beginning I will illustrate how homosexuality has been conceptualized since the nineteenth century. Then, I will detail the main points of Foucault's discursive model that this study will refer. Finally, I intend to identify the main homosexual fashion images, evaluate the discourses of homosexuality articulated with them in contemporary society, and deduce contemporary masculinity through heterosexual discourses for homosexuality within a broader view.

II. Conceptualizing Homosexuality

Foucault in one of his most provocative books, *The History of Sexuality* (1970) argues that the category of the homosexual grew out of a particular context in the 1870s, and that it must be viewed as a constructed category of knowledge rather than as a discovered identity. Of course, before the 19th century sexual relationships between people of the same sex existed, and such sexual practices were condemned by the Church and prohibited by law. However, when the bourgeois were the key unit of social order in the late 19th century, the claim to identify an aberrant type of human being defined by perverse sexuality appeared. Within this reproductive framework, same-sex desires and practices appeared as a problem to be dealt with. In this sense, it will provide good clues for identifying contemporary homosexual fashion to examine the changes of gay fashion. Thus, this paper will focus upon the transition of homosexual styles since the 19C on the basis of Cole's (2000) study in the following.

Generally, definitions of homosexuality relied upon descriptions of physical acts rather than on any form of cultural or social identity. Aestheticism generally became a component in the image

of the gay man in the late nineteenth century as a new breed of aesthetes such as Oscar Wilde began to emerge from the bohemian enclaves of major cities. The particular forms of eccentricity accepted from 'artistic types,' ranging from their long hair, colorful dress, and interest in art to their lack of interest in the manly pursuits, made it unusually easy for gay men and lesbians to fit into bohemian society, and also provided a cover for those who adopted flamboyant styles in their dress and demeanor. In addition, homosexuality was often a practice of the upper classes. In fact, homosexuality was possible for the minority whose wealth could buy themselves privacy, or men who were able to 'de-class' themselves by working in the effete occupations, such as hairdressing, catering, and the theatre. Therefore, homosexuality-the concept, was necessarily connected with the issues of effeminate aestheticism and class in the beginning of this homosexuality in the 19C.

Thus, in the late nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth the image of the 'fairy' was the only one that was publicly recognized as homosexual. Men often known as 'female impersonators' were adopting characteristics of the opposite gender, and thus could be treated as surrogate females. The most obvious indicators of a fairy were 'plucked eyebrows, rouged lips, powdered face and marcelled blondined hair' with the attention to gendering their appearance. Becoming a 'fairy' was a means that many men took in the process of making sense of their apparent sexual difference and reconstructing their image of themselves. However, these obvious homosexuals were often frowned upon by more conventionally dressed gay men, which were much more likely to use a single item of feminine or unconventional clothing to signify their identity, such as a red necktie be-

fore the Second World War.

In the 1940s and 1950s the majority of homosexuals were the objects of scorn or pity, or had to disguise their sexual inclinations. So, in the most of gay venues it was important for homosexuals to remain 'invisible' and in order to achieve this they used specific signifiers to alert each other to their identities. However, the ideas of gay reform were brought into the public, gay men began to see that their dress choices could reflect the types of their ideal men. After the Second World War, wearing military uniforms was another style of dress that became popular amongst homosexuals. So, uniforms became a popular choice at the Arts and Drag Balls for men who did not want to drag up. For example, sailor's rig at that time was quite sexy: white bell bottoms, tight-fitting around the waist and hips, tight-fitting cotton and the mess jacket and one of those little white cotton hats. In this way, soldiers and sailors had an erotic appeal for gay men throughout the twentieth century (fig. 1). One particular class-related style of dress that was associated with homosexuals during the late 1940s and early 1950s was the New

Edwardian look. The New Edwardians favored a tailored look – overcoats based on army greatcoats, tapered trousers that finished just above the ankle, and bowler hats, slightly too small, that sat forward on the head. The look was camp, which was equivocally witty and self-mocking, and seemed to include an intention to coincide with upward class mobility by constructing an identity based on an older model of the dandy. While the upper-class gay man could produce a model of homosexuality for himself, for many middle-class men invisibility was the safest route. And with little or no access to information on homosexuality, the predominant image available for working-class gay men was that of the effeminate 'fairy.' Thus it is evident that gay fashion should be looked with relation to other social factors, such as class and age as well as historical context.

In the 1950s those who could not or did not want to adopt an effeminate image in public restricted their gay identity only in safe gay spaces, such as drag balls. Drag was not only the mode for identification, but also a fun pursuit used by gay men to celebrate the holidays and important



<fig. 1> Fashionable young gay man and sailor friend, 1930s (Cole, 2000)



<fig. 2> John Hardy and 'girlfriend,' Hampstead Arts Ball, 1955 (Cole, 2000)



<fig. 3> Group of young gay men in casual dress, mid-1950s (Cole, 2000)

days (fig. 2). The drag queens on display at the balls embodied camp culture in their inversion of gender conventions. Drag as a parody of gender was also worn as a political statement to confront the heterosexual community. The idea behind radical drag was not to look like a real woman or a glamorous film star, but to attract attention and cause a stir. These gay men in drag caused confusion through their use of conventional gender indicators. But drag has continued to be criticized by many gay men, who still feel that dressing in drag is more harm than good to gay rights causes. As a result, there is a history of gay men who intentionally wore clothes that rendered them 'invisible' as gay.

In the 1960s the invisible gays regarded themselves as homosexual but not as fairies, and dress for these gay men broadly followed conventions of fashion, such as dark suits, three pieces, and very quiet shirts (fig. 3). However, whereas effeminate men used codes that were intelligible to heterosexuals as well as to gays, they developed codes, such as red ties or suede shoes that were intelligible only to other gays. The colors of a man's clothing, such as pale blue, pink, and green, or the way of wearing clothes were also often an indicator that he might be homosexual. However, in the 1950s in attempting to pass as heterosexual, it was possible for men to go to the opposite extreme, and by the 1970s this had developed into a new image and subsequently a new stereotype, the clone.

The counterculture movement and the beginnings of sexual liberation of the 1960s and the advent of gay liberation in the 1970s, prompted men to question their roles and adopt a freer outlook, so gay men began to challenge public attitudes towards them and their legal and social position. This atti-

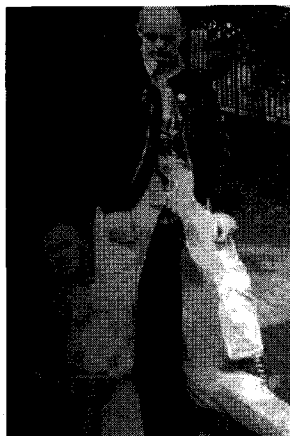
tude gives birth to the masculinization of gay culture. Some gay men had often overcompensated for their homosexuality, becoming 'male impersonators,' and there was also a tradition of men's attraction to masculine types, epitomized in 'rough trade'. The cowboy and the biker (fig. 4) were two archetypes that were influential in the adoption of 'butch' dress styles for men, while representing a traditional but non-conforming aspect of masculinity. They wore 'blue-collar garb': straight jeans, plaid shirts, hooded sweatshirts, bomber jackets and lace-up work boots; they cropped their hair short and grew moustaches (fig. 5). All these clothes had a clear meaning of toughness, virility, aggression, strength, and potency in the wider American culture with assumptions about macho masculinity, which implied overconformity to the traditional male gender role. As this new masculinity became more popular, these men became known as clones. However, Cole (2000) proposes that it seems clear that though the macho-man is a reaction against effeminacy, this means that the masculine/feminine binary structure has not gone away, only been redistributed.

Clones were not intending to 'pass' as heterosexuals, but their appropriation opened up radical and transgressive possibilities of a relatively safe eroticism for men. Clones wore their garments in a self-consciously tight manner in order to enhance their physical attractiveness. In this way the macho look served a dual purpose, not only attracting other gay men, but also acting as a form of self-protection. But ironically, the new gay macho styles began to have an influence on heterosexual fashion. Heterosexual men who felt threatened by the new masculine homosexual began to copy homosexual styles.

Through looking into the historical changes of



<fig. 4> Leathermen, Greenwich Village, New York, late 1970s (Cole, 2000)



<fig. 5> Gay Skinheads (Jamie and Terry), Brighton, 1990 (Cole, 2000)



<fig. 6> 'O' Little Town of Bethnal Green: A twenty-first century fairytale,' Attitude, Dec 2001

homosexual fashion, we see that it can be largely divided into three aspects of 1. effeminate fairy, 2. invisible man, and 3. macho clone. That is, the

homosexual styles show extremely different aspects from feminine to masculine images as historical periods, even though they redistribute the typical

binary opposition. In fact, the processes of change of gay fashion also have the same structure of conformity and differentiation as that of heterosexual fashion trends. However, it is clear that the process of opposition and differentiation in style to express their identities should be understood within the power relationship with heterosexual society and other social factors every historical moment. In this respect, I will introduce the theoretical perspective of Foucaultian discursive model in the following.

III. Foucault's discursive model

Foucault has contributed to a significant approach to the problem of sexuality. What concerned him was the production of knowledge through what he called discourse. He paid more attention to historical specificities and relations of power. In the following Foucault's model of discourse will be explored through the concept of discourse, and the issue of power, knowledge, and the question of subject, which are related to the matter of homosexuality in order to eventually introduce the framework of analysis for this study.

According to Hall (2002), discourse Foucault noted means a group of statements, which provide a language for talking about a way of representing the knowledge about a particular topic at a particular historical moment. Discourse defines and produces the objects of our knowledge, and influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others. The same discourse will appear at a number of different institutional sites within society, and whenever these discursive events refer to the same object, share the same style, and support a common institutional, administrative or

political drift, then they are said to belong to the same discursive formation.

Thus, for Foucault the study of the discourses of sexuality would have to include the following elements.

1. Statements about 'sexuality,' which give us a certain kind of knowledge.
2. The rules, which prescribe certain ways of talking about the topic and exclude other ways at a particular historical moment.
3. Subjects who in some ways personify the discourse of the sexually deviant and perverse person with the attributes we would expect these subjects to have as the given knowledge at that time.
4. How this knowledge about the topic acquires authority, a sense of embodying the truth about it.
5. The practices within institutions for dealing with the subjects, like moral discipline for the sexually deviant.
6. Acknowledgement that a different discourse or episteme will arise at a later historical moment.

Therefore, Foucault argues that knowledge about and practices around all subjects were historically and culturally specific, and he believes in the discontinuities between one period and another, between one discursive formation and another.

According to Foucault (1970), the point, which the 19th century is different from the prior periods is that there was not a prohibition on speaking about sexuality but a remarkable proliferation of discourses about sexuality. His vital argument here is that sexuality is not a natural feature or fact of human life but a *constructed category* of experience, which has historical, social and cultural, rather than biological origins. This does not mean that Foucault ruled out any biological dimension, but

rather that he prioritized the crucial role of institutions and discourses in the formation of sexuality. So, Spargo (1999) states that Foucault is concerned not so much with what 'sexuality' is, as with how it functions in society.

For Foucault the truth is not found but produced. It exists as knowledge within a particular discourse and is bound up with power, which is understood as a matter of complex relationships rather than as a property inherent in a particular individual or class. For him, knowledge is a form of power. This leads him to speak not of the truth of knowledge in the absolute sense but of a discursive formation sustaining a regime of truth. So, he asked, what was at stake in the construction of sexuality at different historical moments? How did power circulate through the production of knowledge about sex? But here this matter of the perpetual spirals of power cannot be reduced to a binary opposition of discourse versus reverse discourse. Instead, the 'sexual mosaic' of modern society is a dynamic network in which power is achieved with and through the multiplication of pleasures, not through their prohibition or restriction. Therefore for him, power is a productive network, which runs through the whole social body and power relations permeate all levels of social existence and are to be found operating at every site of social life.

In the issue of subject, Foucault emphasizes that the subject is produced within discourse. This subject of discourse cannot be outside discourse and power/knowledge, because it must be subjected to discourse. Foucault's subject seems to be produced through discourse in two different senses or places. First, the discourse itself produces 'subjects', such as the homosexual, who are specific to discursive regimes and historical periods. Second, the dis-

course also produces a place for the subject from which its particular knowledge and meaning most makes sense. Then, all discourses construct subject-positions.

Therefore, if following this Foucaultian model, both the meaning of homosexuality today and the way of representing it can be constructed within discourse in the contemporary period, and should be also understood by power relationship with other factors in society, such as class, race, and age as well as heterosexuality. In the following I will consider homosexual fashions and the related discourses in the contemporary dimension, on the basis of the process of historical conceptualization of homosexuality as examined above. Then, I will predict that another fashion to represent homosexuality will appear in the next period.

IV. Homosexuality and Masculinity in Fashion Magazines Since 2000

Recently the ambiguous gender boundary and masculinity in crisis have been problematic in many fashion related media circles as well as academic. In a similar way, it may be not so difficult to find out that the boundary between the heterosexual and homosexual is blurring. In fact, as Gary Loach (Feb 2001) states in Gay.com UK, a number of homosexuals seem to consider themselves to be 'straight-acting' though surely not all gay men act. Just as there were invisible gay men in the 1960s, many contemporary homosexual photographs are not also so conspicuously different from heterosexual ones. Therefore, except for most of similar images of them, I will suggest only several versions of identifiable homosexuals on the ba-

sis of some typical photographs in the following.

To organize the reading of the homosexual images in *Attitude* since 2000, I began with classifying the fashion spreads into chief and identifiable themes to delimit the scope. It goes without saying that the spreads were focused on the representations of homosexuality and sexual appeals or new fashion trends. They included the images expressing caring or nursing at home, tough sport scenes in a gym, playing or traveling for holiday, clubbing or dancing, nostalgia or retro bohemian, humorous camp, fetish images, and so on. Thus, from these themes I want to suggest three kinds of look, which share a family resemblance.

1. The effeminate trend-setter
2. The masculine athlete or biker
3. The neo-camp

Of course, though many visual codes other than those above can also exist as contemporary and homosexual images, and the classified boundary is somewhat obscure and arbitrary, I tried to pick up some representative cases, considering the number of frequency as far as possible.

1. The effeminate trend setter/the New Man

The fashion spread in fig. 6, which consists of a total of eight scenes describes the birth of a fairy with a religious reference. The religious parody obviously reveals from the title, 'O Little Town of Bethnal Green: A twenty-first century fairytale,' as a pun of 'O Little Town of Bethlehem' and the story implied out of the subsequent photos.

A white man in middle-age doing sawing in the first scene reminds us of St. Joseph as a carpenter. His gaze and pose is for something or somewhere unknown, and the open window seems to reflect

this. The male subject wears a basic daywear set of white top, stadium jumper and jeans. In the second scene a man who looks strict appears in front of Mary represented as a young and sexy woman in her sportswear. He as a representation of an angel, Gabrielle may notice her of an apocalypse of the birth of a fairy as if that of Jesus. Thus, a journey of the two characters for a holy event begins as if it is a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the lyrics of 'O Little town of Bethlehem.' The male subject is styled in a fur coat, leather pants, an argyle sweater, and a baseball cap. He is stylish, but still wears a typical conservative men's wear. In the next sequence there are three tough guys who style like fishermen and a cowboy. The cowboy may be a messenger to inform them of the holy birth and to give something precious in the box he grasps, or a typical of historical homosexuals. And the place like a harbor at the seashore may imply the three men's journey forward. In the next scene the three men representing the Magi have the jewelry to celebrate the birth of fairy. They all look very sumptuous and fashionable and have different kinds of races, which express their desires for upper class and anti-racism. The final scene suggests that the male subject enters the world of sumptuous and luxurious fairies and he is born again as a fairy. The subject's gaze at the front is now inducing identification with imagined spectators. He is surrounded with many flamboyant gay men and a woman, with affluent foods and rich jewelry. Now he lives in the liberal world, which has not the boundary of sex and race any more.

This scenario describes a tale of a common and invisible man transforming into sumptuous and flamboyant gay in a small town. It seems to suggest that a routine heterosexual life can be always

open for a fairy gay life. Then, does homosexuals dream a rich and fashionable fairy world where they don't need to be anxious about any social limits, such as sex and race? In particular, the intentional religious parody of the holy birth of Jesus seems to bear an opposition against the Christian disapproval of the homosexuality. Thus, the fairy scene will be also connected with class, and race.

Mainly in terms of fashion, they all are very fashionable with more feminine and new romantic styles. In fact, autumn/winter 2001/02 WGSN men's wear trend included 3 key directions, which are 'indulge', 'play', and 'innovate.' In particular, the 'indulge' identified 'dapper individualists,' who express sensual luxuriousness; confident quirky avant-garde; or sumptuous moods with a hedonistic air. These trends are similar to many of the images in this spread.

Meanwhile, these effeminate and fashionable homosexual images remind us of the New Man in heterosexual masculinity. With the new social movements such as feminism and gay liberation, the New Man emerged at about the time of the launch of the first contemporary UK men's lifestyle magazine, *Arena*. He was characterized as a more overtly sexualized, internalized, aspirational, stylish man (fig. 7). However, New man's well-groomed narcissist image aroused homosexual anxieties concerning sexuality and masculinity (fig. 8). Therefore, there are many similarities in that both the fairy homosexual image and the New Man are aspirational middle-class, ambiguous in sexuality, narcissistic (given its focus upon designer clothing and moisturizers), and increasingly the naked male in fashion and style.

2. The masculine athlete or biker/the New Lad

Even homosexual spreads have expressed a hard and strong masculinity within recent some years. Such an example as fig. 9 seems to illustrate this. In the first scene a man of strong and threatening gaze at the front emerges. He wears a T-shirt and pants with metallic details and has softly black skin and dirty arms. In the facing page the subject who wears a hard-sensed sleeveless top with metal accessories, is looking himself through the mirror. He in the mirror looks like a statue without eye as if Oedipus' eye, which bears a tabooing accident. In the following scene, the setting tool of a net and the subject's athlete outfit seem to remind us of the place like a gym. The model continues to gaze to one site, so readers may guess that the direction of the gaze will be another guy of the facing page. He is white, clear-cut, and well groomed, and takes a seductive and relaxed posture in an athletic wear of sleeveless top, training jumper, and pants in one scene; and in a working gear with leather and chain details in the other one. Next the subject's depressed pose as if seeking after truth seems to reveal his frustration of homosexuality with the counterpart. The counterpart's sunglasses and the steel bar in front of him seem to express a breaking or estrangement. Then, his cross necklace, which implies Christianity makes an irony. The brown sepia tone adds unhappy and dark mood, and the models' clothes and the setting leave a hard and tough sense.

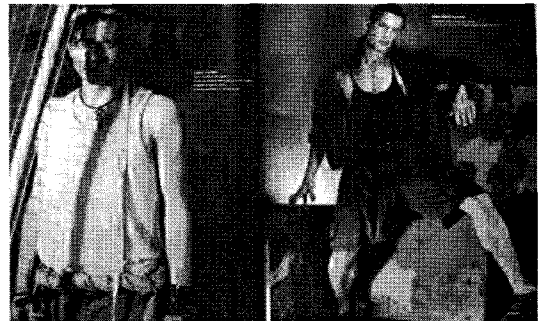
The scenes in the whole spread seem to reveal a subtle racialism and homophobia in society and also suggest the life of working class. In addition, though such tough and strong senses appear in the whole spread, a bit narcissistic New Man's image



<fig. 7> '24 7: A shirt a day helps you work, rest, and play,' Arena Sept 2000



<fig. 8> 'Naval Gazing,' Arena Mar 2001



<fig. 9> 'Collections part I. What you'll be wearing this spring/summer' Attitude, Mar 2003

seems to appear to express homosexuality. However, it is more related to New Lad, which is most clearly embodied by Loaded magazine but also by its competing successors like FHM, which marked a return to traditional masculine values of sexism, exclusive male friendship and homophobia. New Lad is a clear reaction to feminism by New Man and an attempt to reassert the power of masculinity. Its key distinctions are an unrelenting irony, a construct, which draws upon working-class culture, and younger age than New Man. It was little invested in the world of work, preferring to drink, party, holiday and watch football, made barely any reference at all to fatherhood, addressed women only as sexual objects and was ethnically white. In other words, New Lad iconography is unequivocally heterosexual, hedonistic and non-aspirational on the contrary with New Man. He is the ironic sexism and homophobia in sexual politics, white in race, working class in class, and an often label-driven obsession with casual and sporting styles in fashion and style. As examples in FHM, a football player by contrast with eastern country in fig. 10 and a playboy enjoying summer holidays in fig. 11 reflect the image of New Lad.

Just as the resistant macho clone did in historical stage, this second version reveals homosexuals' pursuit for heterosexuality though it expresses homosexual image. In this sense it may be similar to New Lad. However, their straight acting is not so exaggerated as the case of clone and it looks more naturalized. In addition, particularly in terms of their fashion cannot be overlooked the influence of trend in recent years such as the world interest for sport and football and the appearance of a sporty look in fashion.

3. The neo-camp

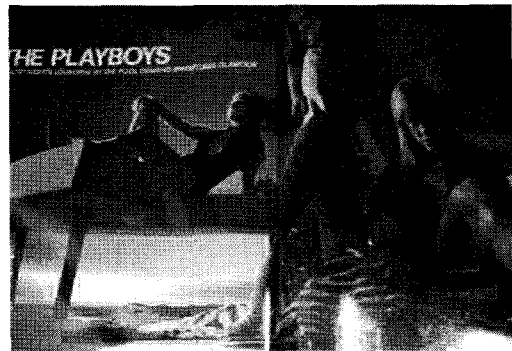
Cross-dressing is primarily connected with gender identification, not with sexuality. Although transvestites are folks who get off wearing the clothing of the opposite sex, it's no surprise that plenty of the guys turned on by women's clothes are in fact gay or bisexual. However, the new image of homosexual camp looks like more heterosexual guy with sexual appeals and young senses, rather than the original ridiculous or resistant drag now.

In fig. 12, 'Jean Genie: Denim makes a neo-camp statement this season,' the sight of a male back shows a well-groomed half naked body, which wears jeans in reverse way. In the facing page the shape of suede seesaw seems to symbolize a male genital with the thrilling tension. The title, 'Jean Genie' may mean the possibility of transgender as the magician, Genie of Alladin with the reverse wearing way of the jean. In the next scene his pose with the gaze away from imagined spectators makes a sexual appeal, and his clothes of a tight pink top, bleached jeans, and red cowboy boots, consist of gay men's typical items at past. In the sequent pages, a tight lace top and a jean jacket worn in reverse seem to symbolize camp, with a lizard print on the fly of his jean.

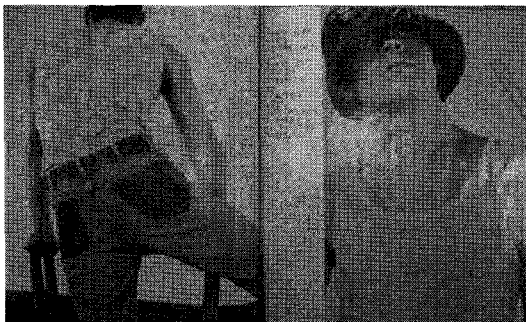
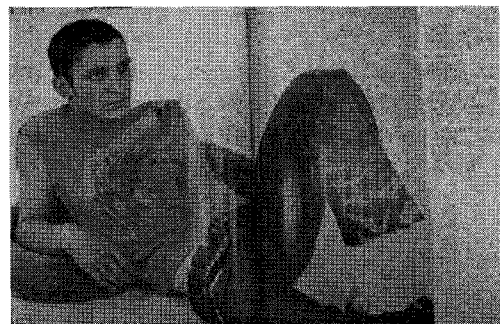
In this kind of spread the gay subject is so similar to New Man's narcissistic and sexual version. In fact, the photo in fig. 13 in *Arena* doesn't make any difference from a typical homosexual subject, with the open buttoned jean and the sexual pose with the half naked body. Even the title just screams 'Real Straight Shooters' in ironical way. In this way the contemporary homosexuals realize the camp in more stylish and pleasant way.



<fig. 10> 'Medal of honour: Award yourself only the finest sportswear for lasting success,' FHM Jun 2004



<fig. 11> 'The Playboys: Sultry Nights Lounging By the Pool Demand Effortless Glamour,' FHM Jul 2001

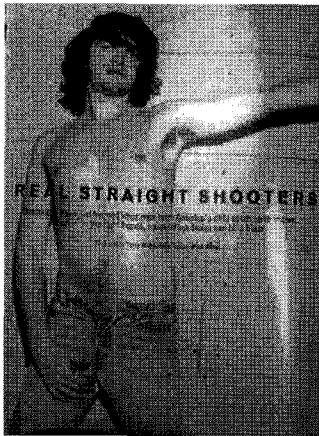


<fig. 12> 'Jean Genie: Denim makes a neo camp statement this season,' Attitude, Mar 2000

V. Conclusion

In this study, homosexuality as a discourse represented in contemporary fashion magazines has been considered in context so far. In order to analyze homosexuality Foucault's discursive approach

was used. Through exploring Conceptualizing Homosexuality on the basis of Cole (2000)'s study, a categorization of three styles of communication of homosexuality was formulated: effeminate fairy, invisible man, and macho clone. Then to elaborate the study, Foucault's chief idea was explored and



<fig. 13> 'Real Straight Shooters,' Arena Mar 2001

an analytical framework was made up from it to interpret the fashion spreads in fashion magazines since 2000.

Thus, this study starts from a basic assumption that the concept of homosexuality is constructed by historical specificity. Homosexual fashion styles are also dynamic, and it should be recognized that they are formed by power relationships with heterosexuality, and other social factors such as class, race, age, and consumer culture and market trends. I classified homosexual images on the basis of photographic themes and fashion looks into 3 kinds of versions, which is 1. The effeminate trend-setter, 2. The masculine athlete or biker, 3. The neo-camp. Historically, many homosexuals have struggled for their rights, and In fact, now many contemporary homosexual photographs are not also so conspicuously different from heterosexual ones. Though homosexual images such as fairy image, machismo, or camp still exist, the sexual boundary is blurring.

Therefore, in the contemporary structure, homosexuals can be recognized equally with heterosexual people only except for sexual preference. In addition, though there appear still frequently special ho-

mosexual symbols such as designer-label underwear, tight Levi's jeans, the color pink, satin, leather jackets, the cowboy style, and the soldier look in homosexual magazines, they already occupy a part of a group of fashionable products for heterosexual people as well. However, homosexuals' role as trend -setter is still recognized in fashion style. Just as there are struggles between the New Man and the New Lad, fairy and clone in terms of the relationship with masculinity and historical periods, a struggle of effeminate image and masculine image in homosexuality just exists as a field of expressing their identities at this moment with a variety of social power relationships.

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