

GARMENT GEOGRAPHY: FROM CLASSICS TO TRENDS¹

GÉOGRAPHIE DES VÊTEMENTS: DEPUIS LES CLASSICS AUX TENDANCES

GEOGRAFIA DAS VESTIMENTAS: DOS CLÁSSICOS ÀS TENDÊNCIAS

Carlos Eduardo Santos Maia - Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora - Juiz de Fora - Minas Gerais - Brazil
carlmaia@uol.com.br

Abstract

Initially, garments serve in this paper as objects of geographical investigation which pervade classical works, generally under the concept perspective of the way of life or the man-environment relation, as well as contemporary studies about the clothing industries. In this article, however, garments are also used as a theme and as a perspective to address the constitution of spatialities at home and on the street. In other words, the language of garments is shown as tools that enable us to understand certain spatialities. In addition, it is demonstrated that the garments themselves represent a concept that defines space and time.

Key words: garments, home, street, spatiality.

Résumé

Initialement, les vêtements sont coupés dans ce texte comme objets de recherche géographique qui imprégnait les œuvres classiques, généralement du point de vue du concept de genre de vie ou de la relation homme-environnement, et les études contemporaines sur les industries de l'habillement. Toutefois, cet article met en place le vêtement en tant que thème et perspective d'aborder la constitution de la spatialité à la maison et dans la rue. Plutôt, on indique la langue de l'habillement en tant qu'instruments qui nous permet de lire certains spatialité et bien que les vêtements définissent l'espace-temps.

Mots-clés: vêtements, maison, rue, spatialité.

Resumo

Inicialmente, as vestimentas são recortadas neste texto como objetos de investigação geográfica que permearam os trabalhos clássicos, geralmente sob a ótica do conceito de gênero de vida ou da relação homem-meio, e os estudos contemporâneos sobre indústrias de roupas. Neste artigo, porém, coloca-se propriamente a vestimenta como tema e perspectiva para abordarmos a constituição de espacialidades em casa e na rua. Melhor dizendo, indica-se a linguagem das vestimentas como instrumentos que nos possibilitam ler determinadas espacialidades e ainda entendê-las como definidoras de espaços-tempos.

Palavras-chave: vestimentas, casa, rua, espacialidade.

Tracing, cutting and sewing

What do garments mean? May garments be a theme or an object of geography? If the answer for the first question implies the security of resorting to dictionaries and existing bibliographies on clothing and fashion, it means that the second one seems groundless. After all, what

1. Translated: Caius Brandão – Centro Editorial e Gráfico – Universidade Federal de Goiás.

does geography have to say about garments? Let us begin by tracing the first question before molding the second one.

The *Great Houaiss Dictionary of Portuguese Language* presents the following definitions for garments: “1 piece of clothing that serves as a cover of any body part; vestment; clothes used as ornament for a ceremony, a liturgy, etc.; attire; <the judges showed up with their solemn g.><let us compare the sacerdotal Buddhist g. with the catholic one>; 3 it encompasses everything that forms cover, vestment; <the green g. of the fields>” (<http://houaiss.uol.com.br/>). The Toussaint-Samat (1990, p. 5) offers a more refined definition of the word: “Le vêtement (du latin vestire, couvrir, entourer) désigne ‘tout objet improvisé ou fabriqué pour couvrir le corps humain, ceci à des fins diverses: protection, dissimulation, signe de reconnaissance ...’ On se vêt”.¹ In this paper, I will follow Guillemard conceptual recommendation to use the word “garments”, in the plural, in the first part where we make references to this object of Classical Geography, since the term in singular means “s’il n’est pas suivi par un déterminant (vêtement de nuit, vêtement de sport, etc), une pièce particulière de l’habillement, généralement une petite chose d’appoint, veste ou chandail, qu’une femme emportera par exemple pour une sortie nocturne, en prévision de la fraîcheur de la soirée” (1991, p. 46).² Thus, in the second part I use the term in the singular to highlight the “garment from the home” and “garment for the street”. In these distinct definitions I emphasize the garments which cover the body, but, in doing so, they acquire greater meaning than the simple ‘coverage’ and express status, classes, age groups, identifications, tastes, habits, etc. But what do people wear can be an object or theme of geography?

Next, we begin to answer this question by revisiting the “Classical Geography” where we find garments as objects addressed by Vidal de La Blache, Sorre, Deffontaines and Ratzel among others who I use here to trace my argument about the geographical pertinence of the object/theme. This will be complemented in the first part of the paper with references to some contemporary perspectives which focus on the economic aspects and on the incursion of other sciences about the spatialities of garments.

In the second part of this exposition, I seek to conciliate contemporary with *vintage* from theoretical and empirical discussions about home-street-garments built with transdisciplinary dialogue and data interpretation. I have collected this data through a survey questionnaire

published on a social network (Facebook), in which I got the sum of 448 survey respondents who live in 103 cities from the five Brazilian regions, plus 5 respondents living abroad, up to May 9th of 2015. I published the survey questionnaire on March 31st of 2015 and it remains online at <https://www.facebook.com/carlosedumaia> for answers from people in the age bracket of 15 to 74 years.

The classics suits you well

Although it may seem strange to propose the topic of garments in geography, which in sciences we associate to research in the field of history (Toussaint-Samat, 1990; Riello, 2013; Örmén, 2011; Hansen, 1956; James, 1989; Nery, 2009), of sociology (Alberoni, 1982; Godart; 2012), of philosophy (Simmel, 2013) and of psychology (Alcântara, 2010; Sigurta, 1982), when I began my “archaeological work” and “dig into” the classics I enjoyed the pleasant surprise of confirming the existence of “garments geographies” among them. Vidal de La Blache (1902, 1941) has treated the garments as one of the way of life indicators, i.e., as an object “dans lequel s’expriment les habitudes, les dispositions et les préférences de chaque groupe”³ (1902, p. 14). Thus, he offers the following example: “Le matériel que le Kirghz a créé à l’usage de sa vie de déplacements périodiques, la forme de sa tente, de ses vêtements, réalisent un ensemble où tout se tient, comme la personnification d’un genre de vie”⁴ (1941, p. 201 – emphasis added).

The French tradition of valuing the “objective” analysis of garments in relation to the way of life can also be found in Sorre (2002-2003, 1947) when he discusses the garments’ ecological and economic relations, noting that the geography of “garments is inseparable from the geography of textile industries” (2002-2003, p. 193). Specifically related to ecological relations, Sorre talks about the climatic influences and the protection role against diseases provoked by parasites which penetrate into the organism through the skin; or, in opposite cases, when the clothes themselves would lodge parasites such as mites, fleas and lice. In any event, the garments would give an “artificial isolation for men” (Sorre, 1947, p. 61).

Without denying the dimensions of the influences which nature has on garments, the controversial colonialist geographer Hardy, in its

“psychological geography”, has raised the discussion about how the garments could allow the “reading” of people and collectivities:

Pour la connaissance de l'individu, le vêtement offre un document de premier ordre, et la diction «L'habit ne fait pas le moine» est d'une exactitude tout approximative. Mais ce qui est vrai d'un individu l'est bien plus encore d'une collectivité: le vêtement devient alors une sorte d'uniforme, dont les modifications successives coïncident presque toujours avec des mouvements généraux de la vie sociale et dont les caractères dominants extériorisent certains aspects du tempérament commun.⁵ (Hardy, 1939, p. 46)

His colonialist ideology explicitly manifests itself when he says: “Retenons d'abord ce qu'on pourrait appeler une signification indirecte. Par exemple, le vêtement, dans bien des cas, constitue une distinction d'origine ethnique ou nationale [...] Par-là, le vêtement évoque indirectement les influences que la nature et les occupations courantes peuvent exercer sur les mentalités”⁶ (Hardy, 1939, p. 46). Even with this obnoxious ideological trait, Hardy was the first to present issues related to the geography of garments which penetrate the symbology, the aesthetic, and the morality in its relation to the corporeity:

Ce qui ressort aussi de l'allure générale du vêtement, c'est la joie de vivre ou la morne résignation au destin. Ici, riches ou pauvres, citadins ou paysans, tous éprouvent du plaisir à s'habiller, recherchent l'agrément et l'éclat, rivalisent d'aimable coquetterie [...] En somme, le vêtement nous renseigne sur les influences, mais il nous permet en même temps de mesurer le degré de plasticité d'un groupement, son attachement aux traditions locales, aux coutumes religieuses, à tout ce qui constitue l'armature de l'âme collective [...] Si, après cet échantillonnage de faits significatifs, on avait encore à prouver la valeur psychologique du vêtement, il suffirait sansdoute rappeler qu'il a toujours existé une 'morale du vêtement'. [...] Bien mieux, il y a une 'politique du vêtement', et qu'il serait bien intéressant d'étudier dans le temps et dans l'espace. Il ne s'agit pas seulement de lois somptuaires [...] Il s'agit surtout des décisions qui, par l'intermédiaire des usages vestimentaires, tendent à incliner dans un sens déterminé les habitudes morales des peuples.⁷ (1939, p. 51-54)

Hardy's colonialist bonds have relegated him to almost total ostracism and its work *Géographie psychologique* has been severely criticized in Demangeon's review, in which the author ironically

attributed to Hardy “sinon l’ invention du moins la découverte d’ une nouvelle science laquelle il [Hardy] a donné le nom de Géographie psychologique”⁸ (1940, p. 134). Demangeon has warned that, for Hardy, the psychological geography talked about “collective psychology”, studied in «habitual gestures» permeated by “mental and moral signification”, among which the garments could be found. For Demangeon, a good part of the “psychological Geography” was within the studies of human geography and ethnology, and in doing so he rejected it in its very essence as geography.

Deffontaines followed the classic francophone tradition of putting the garments in the context of the way of life and of looking at them as an object. He had a great impact on the institutionalization of the Brazilian academic geography. In the work entitled *L’homme et l’hiver au Canada*, the author described how the winter influenced the “geography of garments” in colonial Canada, demonstrating how Canadians adopted and adapted French habits to their reality, where the cold weather caused many deaths: “Pour se défendre, il fallait avoir des vêtements suffisamment chauds et nombreux; l’habillement constituait un capital de haute valeur [...]”⁹ (Deffontaines, 1957, p. 105). The reason for garments to become crucial has been explained in the following way: “Les vêtements restèrent longtemps chers et constituaient la preuve de la richesse; au début, ils arrivaient de France, mais en quantité insuffisante [...] Il y eut un important marché clandestin de tissu...”⁹ (Deffontaines, 1957, p. 105). The author also reported the typical winter attire for men – “un pardessus court, doublé en peau de mouton à large col de fourrure” – and for women – “de gros jupons de laine superposés”¹⁰ (Deffontaines, 1957, p. 105). Another interesting point addressed by Deffontaines was the reuse of torn yarn, producing colorful fabrics called *catalognes*. By the way, at that time, sewing was crucial to women’s learning, which is illustrated by the following saying: “qu’il ne se mariait créature (femme) qui ne sût tisser le drap”.¹¹ Thus, women’s work “était un élément capital de la lutte contre l’hiver, au point que, parfois, on se mariait pour avoir des vêtements chauds; un proverbe dit: ‘Un homme sans femme ne tient pas l’hiver’”¹² (Deffontaines, 1957, p. 103). Regarding children in that context, the author noted that they remained “cloistered” in the winter and almost never got outside, since adults used to reserve warm garments for grown-up men only (Deffontaines, 1957, p. 105).

Still under the lenses which focus on the environmental influences in man and their impacts on garments, the anarchist geographer Réclus expressed a thought not very distinct from the one found in Ratzel: “the needs of existence determine a mode of feeding which varies according to regions; likewise, nudity or *garments*, outdoors camping or different types of dwellings – caves and leaf ceilings, huts and houses – act and react on the way people feel and think, thus creating, for the most part, what we call ‘civilization’” (Reclus, 1985, p. 57 – emphasis added). Hence, by rapidly searching through the wooden chest of the German geography we can find garments being treated by Ratzel within parameters not very distinct from those of their French neighbors. Regarding Ratzel’s brief digression I have found about the geography of garments, he made it from comments on the material and spiritual heritage of civilization, where the first (material heritage) would have some priority over the second (spiritual heritage) that would arise as “a luxury after meeting basic needs” (1990, p. 135-136). According to Ratzel, what matters in regard to the material aspects of the civilization, to the extent of furthering its development, is not nature’s wealth as substance itself, but rather the encouragement to human ingenuity. Based on this principle, he has addressed the issue of clothing, i.e., by associating it to natural forces (heat) that it would become “something much simpler” at the tropical zone. At the same time, Ratzel has investigated the heritage decay of a civilization when in contact with another, be it from a “superior” culture impelled to absorb certain customs from an “inferior” culture, or a “superior” that imposed its “art” on an “inferior”, as he exemplifies:

In regard to North America, Schoolcraft was the first to wave the rapid decay to which any industrial activities of indigenous communities with the introduction by white people of instruments, canisters, *garments*, etc. more adapted to their aims. (Ratzel, 1990, p. 139 – emphasis added)

In this summary of the classics it is possible to realize that considering garments as objects of geography is not something new, although contemporary trends neglected or under sized them; except in the studies of the economic aspect of the garments industries in works related to the impacts of globalization (Smith, Pickles, Begg et al., 2005; Scott, 2006; Eraydin; Erendil, 1999; Tokatli, 2014; Tokatli; Kizilgün, 2004) the spatial division of labor (Smith, Pickles, Begg et al., 2005; Scott, 2006;

Tokatli; Kizilgün, 2004) and gender relations in production dynamics (Eraydin; Erendil, 1999).

However, garments' spatial dimension has been noted in works by authors who are not geographers as I have found, for example, in Steele (2013) when he comments about the network of industries involved with fashion, which includes production of raw materials to confection, distribution, and commercialization. Riello, in his turn, talks about distinct uses of garments in public places during the Middle Ages as a means of social differentiation, so that "the city was also the place where one could flaunt new clothing, especially for the elites that increasingly chose to live in urban centers" (2013, p. 19). Likewise, Örmén highlights the urban character of the fashion roots: "Pendant des siècles, la mode demeura un phenomena urbain. Il ne faut pas oublier que les villes n'étaient pas ce qu'elles sont aujourd'hui : une très faible partie de la population y vivait"¹³ (2011, p. 11). Monteiro (2009) reveals the relationship between corporeality, spatiality, and subjectivity present in the very act of buying clothes. James (1989) and Nery (2009) demonstrate how certain garments related to a marginalized and spatially segregated group (punks) intentionally enters into the fashion circuit and becomes popular in the streets. Alcântara calls the attention to the clothes-scenario relation, in which the latter stands out: "the criminal in suit and tie, during his trail, the scenario speaks who he is" (2010, p. 22). Since classical geographers and non-geographers have talked about the geography of garments, I present an issue that current geographers interested in other "styles" may deepen.

New collection

As the classics have demonstrated, garments translate ways of life, basic needs, heritage, and joy of certain groups; or still, as contemporary studies have shown, their production relates to the globalization and to the current spatial division of work, as well as to the existing gender relation in their manufacturing. However, we would like to point out another issue that can be explored in the geography of garments: to distinguish its use at home and on the street, which DaMatta discussed from the analyzes of the home and the street, defined by the author as spaces that "contain specific worldviews or ethics" (1997, p. 47). He also adds:

Although there are many Brazilians who speak the same thing in all social spaces, the normal –the expected and legitimate - is that home, street, and other world strongly suggest the changing of attitudes, gestures, *clothing*, issues, social roles, and evaluation framework of the existence in all members of society. (DaMatta, 1997, p. 48 – emphasis added)

Hence, home and street have distinct ethical codes, and “certain things can only be done at home and, even so, within some of its spaces” (DaMatta, 1997, p. 50). This means that “I cannot turn the home into the street and the street into the home with impunity” (DaMatta, 1997, p. 54) neither that the opposition between these spaces is static or absolute. However,

the house distinguishes this space of tranquility, rest, recovery, and hospitality, in short, everything that defines our idea of ‘love’, ‘caring’, and ‘human warmth’, the street is a space defined precisely in reverse. The land that belongs to the ‘government’ or to the ‘people’ and that is always full of fluidity and movement. The street is a dangerous place. (1997, p. 57)

In his turn, Bollnow realizes that “the individual, by self-giving to the street, this (super-individual and neutral) transit seizes him; it absorbs him. If at home he used to be an individual, on the street he becomes anonymous” (2008, p. 110). Thus, with a very romantic vision, Bollnow sees the street revealing itself as the space of “homelessness” and of “exposure”, while at home one has the “realm of silence and peace, where men can turn off their attention constantly alert to a possible threat, a place where they can retire and relax” (2008, p. 139). Maia likewise analyzes the home in a relational perspective comparatively to the “external world”. Without denying that the home offers shelter, the author also understands it as a place to reproduce social inequalities. Hence, this (home)

usually carries in itself a possible coziness, shelter, and integration before a chaotic world [...]. To feel at home, thus, means to establish a relation of identity with the architectonic object; it means to “placerialize it” from the relationships established with the other social subjects, meaning those who share the same space or those who place themselves in the “external world”. (2013, p. 2)

The author, just like DaMatta (1997), underlines the need to consider the home from the “necessary reference to a time, to a space, to a culture” (Maia, 2013, p. 2). In this respect, she says: “The home has a ‘voice’ and a ‘soul’. It expresses a time, a culture. It reflects an economic dynamics and social inequalities. It says a lot about politics, in its broadest sense. It is territory and place, space of caress or dissent” (2012, p. 340). If both Maia and DaMatta agree that we should consider the home and the street in a relational perspective with other spaces, in their temporality and culture, in her studies about “home-shelter”, home-display”, and “home-bazaar”, Maia establishes a cleavage with DaMatta, since, for him, “at home we know – as true Brazilians that we are –, that we should not purchase, sell or exchange. People exclude commerce from the home as the Devil excludes itself from God” (DaMatta, 1984, p. 27). Maia, on the other hand, in more contemporary research demonstrates the home functionality like a “bazaar”, what may occur in “ ‘little home-extensions’ or ‘little attics’”, in garages, which does not prevent, in certain cases, that it may also be developed within the home itself...” (Maia, 2013, p. 11 – emphasis added).

Here we have an interesting point of investigation in the geography of garments that one may corroborate with Santos’ (1979) theory of the two circuits of the economy (upper and lower), in which the “clothing store” house, “lower circuit”, would relate to the productive spaces of the “upper circuit” to acquire raw material. However, we would still remain at an economic aspect, even permeated by the space-time-culture relation. But the home (and the street), as Maia (2012, 2013) herself points out is full of symbolic aspects, and I intend to highlight them at this moment. I am particularly interested in demonstrating some aspects related to the geography of garments from the home and for the street.

The use of the prepositions “from” and “for” is already intentional to underline the distinct spatialities. By “from” Is how “the starting point, originating from” (Faria, 1962, p. 277), while by “for” I intend to highlight the meaning of “through, before, during” (Faria, 1962, p. 718). On the other hand, the garments from the home and for the street denote the ways in which we constitute spatialities in the shelter and from which we leave to the external world, both full of contradictions, conflicts, and dilemmas. The reading of garments enables us to realize the values, the ways of being, fetishes, aspirations, normativities, aesthetics, etc. specialized in the home and in the street, which go from home to the street, which come

from the street to home; since “The garments [...] ‘speak’. Speak the fact of me presenting myself in the office in the morning wearing a normal striped tie, speak the fact of unexpectedly changing it for a psychedelic tie, speak the fact of going to an administration council meeting without a tie” (Eco, 1982, p. 15). If garment “speaks”, what can be said through the garments from the home and for the street varies. Sennet (1998) noted that in the French and English societies from the eighteenth century, where “at home [...] loose and simple clothes made their preference of all classes [...]. On the street, by contrast, they wore attires which underlined in the most recognizable way the place of those who wore them...” (p. 91). Sennet thus clarifies this geography of clothing for the street and from the home in the 18th century:

At home, clothing matched the body and its needs; on the streets, they wore clothes that the purpose was to make it possible for other people act as if they knew who they were. The person turned into a character in an armed landscape; the purpose of the clothes was not to make sure a person knows with whom he was dealing, but rather to enable him to behave as if he was safe. (1998, p. 92)

In my survey, when I ask “How do you usually dress yourself to stay at home?” most of the respondents confirmed that today the garments from the home still match with the body and its needs, and cited the following pieces of home garment: shorts 131 times, shirt 103 times, pajama 91 times, short pants 59 times, slipper 57 times, blouse 52 times, dress 34 times, shirt 24 times, tank-top 22 times, underwear 19 times, pants 16 times, nightdress 15 times, sweatshirt 10 times, panty 6 times, sandal 6 times. Alongside the pieces of house garment, there were still references to the way of wearing them (comfortably 109 times, at will 22 times, easily 17 times, basic 12 times, like a beggar 3 times) as well as the state of conservation and aesthetics of home garments (old clothes 68 times, light clothes 26 times; loose clothes 11 times; torn clothes 6 times, and fresh clothes 4 times). It was also mentioned that home garments fit to the season and weather conditions prevailing in the locality and that, in some cases, they used to be “outerwear”. The permissiveness of nudity was also recorded in the answers. Few respondents showed greatest concerns with the way of dressing at home, in other words, at home it seems to predominate that “state of shutdown attention” as mentioned by Bollnow. Here are some answers:

Home City	Age	Sex	Marital Status	How do You Usually Dress Yourself to Stay at Home?
Catalão (GO)	49	male	single	Shorts and T-shirt in the heat...in the cold bundled up.
Jataí (GO)	26	male	single	Intimate clothes or naked if I'm alone. Shorts, shirt, and slippers if I have company.
Juiz de Fora (MG)	25	male	single	Comfortably. According to the weather, with more or less clothing. Usually with clothes that I no longer wear to go out.
Posse (GO)	28	male	single	Underwear or naked.
Goiânia (GO)	27	female	single	Old, torn, and stained clothing, panties that don't have elastic anymore, and the most important: fresh pieces, such as shorts and low-cut clothes because of the heat.
Governador Mangabeira (BA)	27	female	single	Comfortably with beggar clothes.
Rio de Janeiro (RJ)	34	female	stable union	I wear dresses bought for R\$ 20, or old clothes, barefoot and without underwear. Rio is very hot.
Juiz de Fora (MG)	19	male	single	Shirt and shorts / simple pants depending on the season or weather on a daily basis.
Juiz de Fora (MG)	22	male	single	Cool and comfortable clothing. Usually I wear clothes that I used to go out with but got torn.
Aparecida de Goiânia (GO)	27	male	single	Basic clothing: shorts, T-shirt or tank-top, and flip-flops.
Goiânia (GO)	31	female	single	Short and T-shirt. However, if I lived alone, I would stay naked without a problem.
Campo Grande (MS)	34	female	married	In the summer, with short, loose, and comfortable dresses. In the winter, sweatshirt.

(Continues)

Home City	Age	Sex	Marital Status	How do You Usually Dress Yourself to Stay at Home?
Palmas (TO)	48	female	divorced	I don't like clothes, but since I am supposed to wear them, I put on little shorts and light little T-shirts.
Goiânia (GO)	28	male	married	Underwear and top-tank. I don't have air-conditioning and I live in the Cerrado biome.
Balneário Comboriú (SC)	36	female	single	Usually, I wear some shorts, a T-shirt, and flip-flops or a dress in case it is Summer. In the Winter, I wear comfortable pants or jeans and T-shirt.
Blumenau (SC)	53	female	divorced	Stripped and comfortably, including the right to wear pajamas or nightdress.
Rio de Janeiro (RJ)	30	female	single	When it is very warm, only bikini. Usually, shorts and T-shirt or dress.
Manaus (AM)	25	female	single	Since our weather is warm, it is impossible not to wear a T-shirt and some shorts...
Natal (RN)	22	male	single	The most comfortable possible (including not to dress)
Itanhaém (SP)	50	female	divorced	Comfortably, but ready to go out if necessary... pants or shorts and T-shirt with tennis-shoes or sandals.
Barcelona - Catalunya -Spain	29	female	single	Comfortable clothes and when I'm in Brazil and it is warm, nothing at all!
Rio do Sul (SC)	28	female	married	In a simple way, but well thought of!
Santa Maria (RS)	20	male	single	Comfortably, but not very different as I would be if I was out of the house.
Juiz de Fora (MG)	19	female	single	Always neat.

Source: Maia, online survey at <https://www.facebook.com/carlosedumaia>, 2015.

In the survey questionnaire it has also been asked “What piece of clothing would you wear at home and would not wear on the street?” In this question, I confirmed that even today people associate garments from home with “the body and its needs”, with characteristics of simplicity and detachment; because home as a place, leads us to intimacy, privacy, warmth, and relations of corporeity as well as spatiality expressions distinct from those we assume in the street, most of the times, as “actors”. Eco (1982) notes that the language of garments, likewise the oral or written language, may enable certain varieties although conditioned by strong codes, which is present even in the garments from home in opposition to those of the street. Hence, as a piece of garment that one would not wear in the street, the pajama was the one cited more often, among 152 answers, in addition to some references to nightdress (30 answers), underwear (11 answers), sweatshirt (4 answers), and panties (4 answers). A good part did not cite a specific piece of clothing but, just like the previous question, its condition (old clothes 59 times; torn clothes 25 times; faded clothes 10 times) or its aesthetics (sleeping clothes 29 times; short clothes 69 times; transparent clothes 13 times). Let us see some examples below:

Marital Status	Sexual Orientation	Sex	Age	Answers
single	homosexual	male	24	I would not wear pajamas in the street, because of the “social repression” that exists with how to dress and behave out of our homes.
single	heterosexual	female	17	Almost all of them. Because I live in ACRE, here people look you up and down no matter where you are. I believe that going out wearing a nightdress, a World War I jacket or some unstitched shorts, would not attract a good thought about me.
single	heterosexual	female	40	Nightdress. I consider it inappropriate.
single	homosexual	male	24	I would not wear underwear only to go outside because it is considered an undergarment.
married	bisexual	female	27	Panty and T-shirt. Because I would be arrested for indecent exposure.

(Continues)

Marital Status	Sexual Orientation	Sex	Age	Answers
single	heterosexual	female	37	Old shorts and large T-shirt. They are comfortable to stay at home, but are inappropriate to wear in public places.
single	heterosexual	female	21	Old clothes, because they don't match their purpose.
single	heterosexual	male	22	I would not wear torn clothes because there is no need since I have clothing in good shape.
married	heterosexual	female	34	I do not use anything that bothers me or that I consider inappropriate for my body and my age, even to stay at home. So there is no specific piece of clothing that I allow myself to wear at home, but would not admit wearing on the street. But I do make exceptions to the conservation condition of the clothes. Garments somewhat worn-out, faded or stained do not come out to the street, regardless of the destination or occasion.
single	heterosexual	male	28	All of them, since, generally speaking, clothes chosen to stay at home have been worn-out for a long time or are not appropriate to go outside with, like color fading, for instance.
dating	heterosexual	male	41	Older shorts and T-shirts faded by time. That's because I think you must be better dressed on the street.
single	heterosexual	female	27	Pieces of clothes meant to sleep with, simply because people would get socially shocked and they are not used to it.
single	homosexual	male	24	Very short shorts, to avoid people bordering you.
single	bisexual	female	36	Very short too low-cut clothes... I do want them... but my body doesn't help anymore...
single	heterosexual	female	29	Transparent and short clothes. They are not appropriate for work.

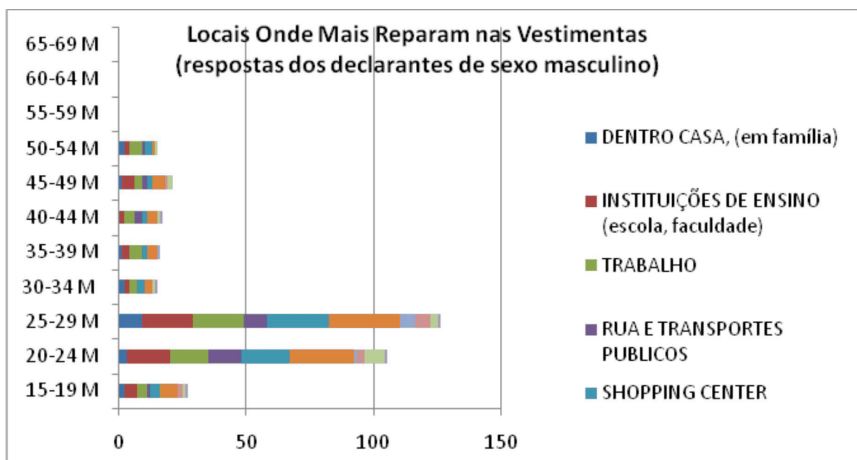
Source: Maia, online survey at online <https://www.facebook.com/carlosedumaia>, 2015.

Although most people make restriction on the use of garments from home in the street, there were 33 respondents who said “none”, among those, some wrote certain observations: “None. I go out wearing any clothes, depending on the occasion” (single, heterosexual, female, 23-year-old). “None. The clothes I usually wear at home are appropriate to go out with” (Single, heterosexual, female, 36-year-old). “None. I don’t see any problem in going out dressed down sometimes” (Single, bisexual, male, 25-year-old). Particularly, these answers demonstrate the precept established by Goffman that “any garment condition is only appropriate or not in terms of other available evidence on the person’s allocation involvement and, for this reason, his or her orientation to the social occasion and gatherings” (2010, p. 229). In this case, as we have seen in a certain answer, there are people who dress themselves appropriately to “go out” and those who do not care about possible comments in a gathering.¹⁴ Thus, considering both the ones who do not make restrictions to the use of home garments in the street and the ones who do so, I am in agreement with Goffman when he says that “we can expect and predict a many variations in regards to what will be considered a permissible clothing...” (2010, p. 229).

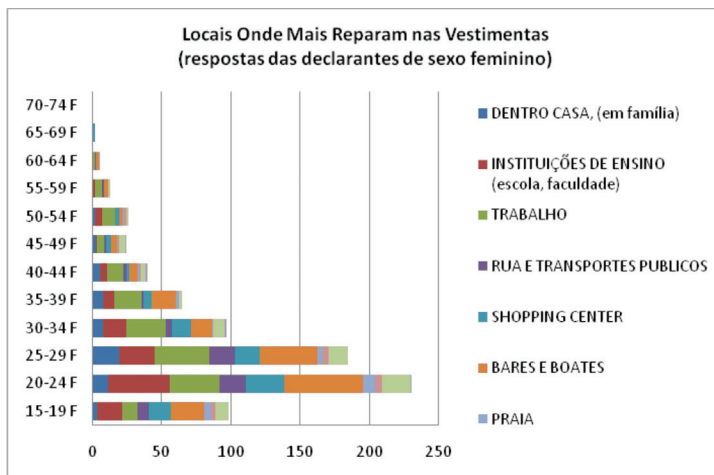
If today the codes of home and street garments are strong, in the past they were even stronger. In this regard, Sennet says that Paris and London from the mid-eighteenth century, one could distinguish the type of work “from specific attires, adopted by occupations, as well as one would recognize the *status* of a worker by glancing at certain ribbons and bottoms he or she used to wear [...]” (1998, p. 89). We no longer see as much in the streets clothing that distinguishes occupations, except those such as uniforms (urban cleaning, security, post office, armed forces, and some technicians, for example) or as a norm of conduct and presentation (lawyers, businessmen). It seems that the “dummy body” commented by Sennet has cross-dressed itself with other meanings, since, as Sennet himself has noted, “nowadays, anyone in the street can distinguish the poor from the middle-class only by sight and, with a somewhat lower precision, the rich from the middle-class” (1998, p. 89). Though not only what one wears may distinguish the “classes”, but also where one buys clothes and even the act of going out to buy clothing.

In the answers, we can still observe variability in “firm and loose occasions”, as defined by Goffman. It is worth mentioning that the author defines “situation” as that “full space environment in which by entering

it one becomes a member of the gathering that is present, or the one which is then constituted. The situations begin when mutual monitoring occurs and prescribe when the next-to-last person leaves” (Goffman, 2010, p. 28). I consider that situations of “gathering” in the home’s exteriority still constitute spatiality-corporeity-figural-of-dummy-body, as well as the rationalizations about looseness and firmness, vary according to the orientational implications of exposure (those who submit themselves to the situational control, those who are careless, and those who question). Generally speaking, the research outputs indicate some places with greater firmness in all age brackets encompassed by the research, especially nightclubs/bars, shopping centers, workplaces, and teaching institutions, existing varieties according to the situational contexts which the subjects expose themselves more in each age bracket. Thus, proportionally, the vigilance over how someone dresses to go to bars, nightclubs, and educational institutions is more significant in the age group between 15 and 29 years. The workplace appears as space-time of low laxity mainly from the 20s’. The house, the street, religious institutions, and public transport, proportionally, take intermediate significance in most age groups among those space-times of greater firmness and low laxity (nightclubs / bars, shopping centers, work, and educational institutions) and of the greater laxity as well as little firmness (beach and clubs), as shown in the following charts:



Source: Maia, online survey at <https://www.facebook.com/carlosedumaia>, 2015.



Source: Maia, online survey at <https://www.facebook.com/carlosedumaia>, 2015.

Conclusion

By removing the geography of garments out of the wood chest, it is possible to realize that classical geographers have made some interesting analyses about garments as an object of study. Likewise, garments as an object of investigation have been indicated through a glance at contemporary research in industrial geography. What I have suggested in this paper, different from the classical and contemporary works to which I make some references here, is that garments are a theme for the study of spatialities and spaces-times, given that they themselves are literally incorporated in spaces-times, in addition to being constitutive of spatialities of the subjects and show “placeness” (the case in question here, from home and of the street). However, the possibilities of studies in “geographies of garments” are countless and, I would like to suggest, for instance, the following hints: the territorialities defined in dress code situations; the accesses and the restrictions to territories conferred by garments; the spaces of minimum garment and of uniformization in post-modernity as well as non-places or “deplaceness”; garments, gender relations, and spatialities; the places of fashion e the fashion of places; among others. Finally, human beings distinguish themselves from other animals for dressing up and, therefore, they change their appearance,

affirm political positions and *status*, communicate without saying a word, distinguish from or resemble the others, approach or distance themselves, gather together or separate from one another. There is no denying that there exist geographies. At last, to paraphrase Denis Cosgrove I would say that “geography is eachpiece of garment!”

Notes

1. CAPES scholar ship under the n. 2305-14-3 at ENEC/Sorbonne/Paris IV Laboratory, from August 2014 to January 2015.
2. English translation from the original French text: “The word garment (from Latin *vestire*, *couvrir*, *entourer*) means ‘any object made or improvised to cover the human body, with various purposes: protection, concealment, a sign of recognition’. Dressing.”
3. English translation from the original French text: “If it is not followed by a determinant (evening clothes, sports clothes, etc.) a particular piece of clothing, usually a small extra thing, jacket or coat, that a woman, for example, wears for a night out to protect from the cool of the evening.”
4. English translation from the original French text: “that expresses habits, dispositions, and preferences of each group.”
5. English translation from the original French text: “The material that Kyrgyzstan created for use in its life of intermittent trips, the shape of its tent and garments carries a set where everything stands as the embodiment of a way of life.”
6. English translation from the original French text: “For the individual’s knowledge, the garment offers a first class document and the saying ‘the dress does not proclaim the man’ is a fully approximate accuracy. But what is true for an individual is much more to a community: the garment becomes a kind of uniform, whose successive modifications almost always coincide with general movement of society and whose dominant character outsource certain aspects of common temperament.”
7. English translation from the original French text: “Let us first focus on what might be called an indirect meaning. For example, the garment, in many cases, is a distinction of ethnic or national origin [...]. Until then, the garment indirectly evokes the influences that nature and current occupations can have on their mentalities.”
8. English translation from the original French text: “What is also clear in the garment overall look is the joy of living or the grim resignation of fate. Here, rich or poor, city dwellers and farmers all have pleasure in dressing, seeking approval and shine, competing with their narcissism [...]. In short, garments inform us about the influences, but at the same time allow us to measure the degree of plasticity from a group, its attachment to local traditions, to religious customs, to everything that constitutes the backbone of the collective soul [...] if after this sampling of meaningful facts, we still have to prove the psychological value of the garment, it would be enough, no doubt, to remember

- that there has always been a 'moral of the garment.' [...] Even better, there is 'the dress policy,' which would be very interesting to study in time and space. They are not only the sumptuary laws [...] they are, overall, decisions that, through the use of garments, tend to lean in a sense to the moral habits of the peoples."
9. English translation from the original French text: "If not the invention at least the discovery of a new science which he (Hardy) has named psychological Geography."
 10. English translation from the original French text: "To protect themselves, it was necessary to have enough warm and numerous clothing. Garment was a capital of high value."
 11. English translation from the original French text: "For a long time, garments used to be very expensive and constituted the evidence of wealth. At first, they used to come from France, but in insufficient quantity [...]. There used to be an important black market of fabric [...]."
 12. English translation from the original French text: "Especially short, lined sheepskin, big fur collar – and for women – thick woolen petticoats superimposed."
 13. English translation from the original French text: "Would not marry the creature (woman) who did not know how to weave cloth."
 14. English translation from the original French text: "used to be a central element of the struggle against winter to the point that sometimes someone would marry to have warm clothes, as the proverb says: 'A womanless man does not face winter'."
 15. English translation from the original French text: "For centuries fashion remained as an urban phenomenon. Do not forget that the cities were not what they are today: only a small part of the population lived there."
 16. "I use the word gathering as a reference to any set of two or more people whose members include all and only those who are in the immediate presence of each other at a given moment" (Goffman, 2010, p. 28).

Bibliography

ALBERONI, F. Observações sociológicas sobre o vestuário masculino. In: ECO, H.; SIGURTA, R.; LIVOLSI, M. et al. *Psicologia do vestir*. 2. ed. Lisboa: Assírio e Alvim, 1982. p. 51-63.

ALCÂNTARA, M. *A missão da roupa: da moda ao discurso nas performances*. São Paulo: 2010.

BOLLNOW, O. F. *O homem e o espaço*. Curitiba: Ed. UFPR, 2008.

DAMATTA, R. *O que faz o Brasil, Brasil?* Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1984.

_____. *A casa & a rua*. 5. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1997.

DEFFONTAINES, P. *L'homme et l'hiver au Canada*. 10^{ème} ed. Paris: Gallimard, 1957.

DEMANGEON, A. La géographie psychologique. *Annales de Géographie*, t. 49, n. 278-279, p. 134-137, 1940. Retrieved from: <http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/geo_0003-4010_1940_num_49_278_11574>. Accessed on: 2 June 2014.

ECO, H. O hábito fala pelo monge. In: ECO, H.; SIGURTA, R.; LIVOLSI, M. et al. *Psicologia do vestir*. 2. ed. Lisboa: Assírio e Alvim, 1982. p. 7-20.

ERAYDIN, A.; ERENDIL, A. The role of female labour in industrial restructuring: new production processes and labour market relations in the Istanbul clothing industry. *Gender, Place and Culture: Journal of Feminist Geography*, v. 6, n. 3, p. 259-272(14), 1 September, 1999.

FARIA, E. *Dicionário Escolar Latino-Português*. 3. ed. Rio de Janeiro: MEC, 1962.

GODART, F. *Sociologia de la moda*. Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2012.

GOFFMAN, E. *Comportamento em lugares públicos*. Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 2010.

GUILLEMARD, C. *Les mots du costume*. Paris: Belin, 1991.

GRANDE DICIONÁRIO HOUAISS DA LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA. 2012. Retrieved from: <<http://houaiss.uol.com.br/busca?palavra=vestimenta>>. Accessed on: 2 April 2015.

HANSEN, H. H. *Histoire du costume*. Paris: Flammarion, 1956.

HARDY, G. *La géographie psychologique*. 2ème édition. Paris: Gallimard, 1939.

JAMES, L. *A roupa e a moda: uma história concisa*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1989.

MAIA, R. Sobre portas, paredes e afetos: casa, territorialidade e identidade entre os segmentos populares. *Terr@ Plural (UEPG. Online)*, v. 6, p. 339-352, 2012. Retrieved from: <<http://www.revistas2.uepg.br/index.php/tp/article/viewFile/3440/2997>>. Accessed on: 7 April 2015.

_____. Casa que te quero casa: reflexões sobre as formas e funções das moradias populares. In: XV ENCONTRO DA ANPUR, 2013, Recife. *Anais do XV Anpur*, Recife, 2013. p. 1-15. Retrieved from: <<http://unuhostedagem.com.br/revista/rbeur/index.php/anais/article/viewFile/4503/4372>>. Accessed on: 7 April 2015.

MONTEIRO, G. Metalinguagem das roupas. *Estética*. São Paulo: USP/CEDE, 2009. Retrieved from: <<http://200.144.182.150/estetica/index.php/anteriores/79-revista-2>>. Accessed on: 31 October 2014.

NERY, M. L. *A evolução da indumentária: subsídios para criação de figurino*. 3. reimpr. Rio de Janeiro: Senac Nacional, 2009.

ÖRMEN, C. *Brève histoire de la mode*. Paris: Hazan, 2011.

RATZEL, F. Essência, origem e difusão da civilização. In: MORAES, A. C. R. *Ratzel*. São Paulo: Ática, 1990. p. 129-140.

RÉCLUS, E. A complexidade da produção do espaço geográfico. In: ANDRADE, M. C. de (Org.). *Elisée Reclus*. São Paulo: Ática, 1985. p. 56-60.

RIELLO, G. *História da moda: da Idade Média aos nossos dias*. Lisboa: Texto & Grafia, 2013.

- SANTOS, M. *Economia espacial: crítica e alternativas*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1979.
- SENNET, R. *O declínio do homem público: as tiranias da intimidade*. 5. reimpr. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998.
- SCOTT, A. J. The changing global geography of low-technology, labor-intensive industry: clothing, footwear, and furniture. *World Development*, v. 34, n. 9, p. 1517-1536, 2006.
- SIGURTA, R. Delineamentos psicológicos da moda masculina. In: ECO, H.; SIGURTA, R.; LIVOLSI, M. et al. *Psicologia do vestir*. 2. ed. Lisboa: Assírio e Alvim, 1982. p. 21-36.
- SIMMEL, G. *Philosophie de la mode*. Paris: Éditions Allia, 2013.
- SMITH, A.; PICKLES, J.; BEGG, R. et al. Outward processing, EU enlargement and regional relocation in the European textiles and clothing industry: reflections on the European Commission's communication on 'the future of the textiles and clothing sector in the enlarged European Union'. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, v. 12, n. 1, p. 83-91, 2005.
- SORRE, M. *Les fondements de la géographie humaine: les fondements biologiques*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1947.
- _____. Les fondements biologiques de la géographie humaine. *Ecologie & Politique*, n. 26, p. 189-199, 2002/2003. Retrieved from: <<http://www.cairn.info/revue-ecologie-et-politique-2002-3-page-189.htm>>. Accessed on: 31 October 2014.
- STEELE, V. Avant-propos. In: FOGG, M. *Tout sur la mode: panorama des chefs-d'œuvre et destechniques*. Paris: Flammarion, 2013. p. 6-7.
- TOKATLI, N.; KIZILGÜN, Ö. Upgrading in the global clothing industry: Mavi Jeans and the transformation of a Turkish firm from full package to brand name manufacturing and retailing. *Economic Geography*, v. 80, n. 3, p. 221-240, 2004.
- TOKATLI, N. Single-firm case studies in economic geography: some methodological reflections on the case of Zara. *Journal of Economic Geography*, p. lbu013, 2014.
- TOUSSAINT-SAMAT, M. *Histoire technique & morale du vêtement*. Paris: Bordas, 1990.
- VIDAL DE LA BLACHE, P. Les conditions géographiques des faits sociaux. *Annales de Géographie*. 1902, t. 11, n. 55, p. 13-23. Retrieved from: <http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/geo_0003-4010_1902_num_11_55_18145>. Accessed on : 31 October 2014.
- _____. *Principes de géographie humaine*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1941.

Carlos Eduardo Santos Maia - Graduated in Geography from Rio de Janeiro State University. Masters and Ph.D. in Geography from Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. Currently is associated professor at the Federal University of Juiz de Fora.

Submitted 11 May 2015

Accepted 15 June 2015