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Almond, Kevin

Expression and Repression: The Glamorous Presentation of Self

### Original Citation

Almond, Kevin (2011) Expression and Repression: The Glamorous Presentation of Self. *The International Journal of the Arts in Society*, 5 (3). pp. 1-14. ISSN 1833-1866

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**Keywords: Expression, Repression, Image, Self, Fashion, Glamour, Narcissism**

## **Introduction**

This paper investigates how the fashionable and glamorised appearance of an individual can be constructed to obscure the real person. The unreal self is in this instance the fashionable presentation of self or the public image that is often used as a platform to mask the inadequacies of the private self. The sociologist Erving Goffman put forward a theory in his work 'The presentation of Self in Every Day Life' (1959):

'When an individual appears before others he will have many motives for trying to control the impression they receive of the situation.' (Goffman, (1990), p-26)

This indicates that in their 'control' the individual wants to dictate the reaction of others to their presentation of self. In global society it is often necessary for some individuals to invent a different visual persona in order to present themselves to the world; this could be due to social displacement, bigotry or oppression. There appears to be a great tension or contradiction when the assemblage of the visual appearance is purely camouflage and the costs to the individual can often be shattering, both emotionally and physically. The paper investigates two strands of enquiry: Firstly, an historical perspective explores how change in society; can initiate changes in attitude to the glamorous exterior. What is repressed in one era can be expressed in another. Secondly Narcissism is examined through the construction of celebrity images that invent beautiful masks through clothes, cosmetics and surgery. There is a huge degree of self love involved in constructing a public image through the exploitation of fashion and beauty. The investigation examines the ambiguity in the many images of Marlene Dietrich, to the exotic coterie of 'Superstars' in Andy Warhol's factory. It also examines the hidden darkness beneath the facades represented by the superimposed images. To a great extent all visual self presentation is managed. The sociologist Efrat Tseelon argues in 'The Masque of Femininity' (1995), that with the majority of women the requirement:

'...to be beautiful masks a fundamental ugliness which operates like a potential stigma. The fear of the woman is projected onto the woman and defended against by glamorising her.' (Tseelon, (1995), p-78)

Although this theory is directed towards the female it also applies to male. The mounting and maintenance of a glamorous mask is often a superficial and quick fix solution to a deeper need for social acceptance.

## **Historical overview: The Search for Glamour**

A search for glamour, often inaccessible in the private life manifested itself through the Industrial Revolution, when social man found himself alienated from his creativity, both personally and artistically. This was due, in main to the vast emphasis on the speed of technical development. The years between 1750 and 1830 are generally held as being the most crucial years of the revolution, when society had to radically adjust its sights in favour of the commercial gain of industry and trade. The major artistic movement to emerge at this time was the Romantic Movement which reacted to the repression of the arts created through the machine of industrial development. Described as;

'Free imaginative expression of the individual artist's vision' (Maine and Foreman, (1957) p-917)

Romanticism involved all fields of the arts and was perhaps one of the first coherent and artistically undeniable groups to insist on their right to stand on the fringes of society. Some of the extremes they employed related to the themes of repression and expression discussed in this paper and serve as a historical comparison.

Drugs and in particular opium were one of the most common extremes the Romantics engaged. Drugs did not glamorise the physical appearance they glamorised the mind. Many writers and artists claimed that opium increased their creative processes by altering their quality of consciousness and their shaping of ideas. Drugs however are a dangerous addiction and expressing creativity through their use, can result in ill health, often death. The Romantic poet Coleridge was a famous opium addict. His real habituation to the drug began after a serious bout of rheumatism and dysentery. He denied he took it for anything but to relieve physical pain, yet contradicted himself by declaring;

'I shall look back on my long and painful illness only as a storehouse of wild dreams for poems. (Hayter, (1968) p-209)

The opium eventually held a terrible power over him, often leaving him in a miserable state of physical and mental despair. After his death his contemporary the poet De Quincey, declared he took it as a source of luxurious sensations, promoting terrible nightmares, which Coleridge described in 'The Pains of Sleep' (1803);

'.....the fiendish crowd,

Of shapes and thoughts that tortur'd me!

Desire with loathing strangely mixt

On wild and hateful objects fixd.' (Coleridge, (1803), The Pains of Sleep)

Opium eventually left Coleridge a semi invalid forced to live out his final years with a doctor who attempted to cure him with regulated doses. In his desire to express a greater creative imagination, repressed through the artistic alienation of the society in which he resided, Coleridge developed a fatal addiction.

The Industrial Revolution resulted in the development of a new society. Highly moralistic and staid to an extent that became claustrophobic, any individuality in dress and outward appearance was ridiculed. Gradually the difference between male and female dress became marked, men were serious, moderate and restrained in appearance, women were more decorative and ornamental. The Dandy emerged during the period as a reaction to this conformity. Represented by decadent figures such as King George 1V and the society figure Beau Brummell, the dandy was and is, essentially a man whose existence is dedicated to his sartorial aesthetic. Beau Brummell was a socialite and wit. His most famous utterance was;

'A well-tied tie is a man's first serious step in life.' (Booth, (1983), p-25)

George VI was always considered a fashionable and extravagant dresser. He was perpetually in debt due to his huge expenditure on clothes. To curb some of the debts and to receive her large dowry he was forced to marry Caroline of Brunswick in 1795. She compared their interest in fashion in her remark;

"I ought to have been the man and he the woman to wear petticoats ... he understands how a shoe

should be made or a coat cut, ... and would make an excellent tailor, or shoemaker or hairdresser, but nothing else" (Brighton and Hove Museum p-1)

The tragic irony is the dandy's outward expression of their love of fashion that was inevitably ridiculed by a repressed society. The moralist Thomas Carlyle who became a fervent anti dandy lost no opportunity to highlight the empty and shallow void of what he termed the:

'Clothes wearing man.' (Booth, (1983), p-24)

His parodies of the dandy formed a major part of his earliest periodical: Sartor Resartus ("The Tailor Retailored") (1833-1834).

As a remedy for a drab world, the Aesthetic Movement that began in the 1870's returned to the extreme of reviving ancient styles in order to express a naturalised beauty. Essentially a random grouping of painters and writers, they sought to react to the conventions of a highly moralistic Victorian society through their presentations of self through dress. The movement involved such notoriously sartorial figures as Oscar Wilde and the actress Sarah Bernhardt. Aesthetic dress is perhaps best personified by the heroines of Pre Raphaelite paintings. Dressed in the modes of the fourteenth century they chose to reject the whale boned corsetry and bustles of mainstream fashion in favour of the unrestricted movement of a gown, that was cut to appear loose and classical. One of the most memorable images of aesthetic dress is the somewhat camp, velvet jacket and knee breeches of Oscar Wilde's: "aesthetic lecturing costume" for his speaking tour of America in 1882.

There is a huge element of camp involved in reconstructing the private self in order to present a glamorised public image, due to the extremes an individual can be prepared to take. Camp is a highly theatrical act, an exaggerated exemplification of reality, predominantly limited to the minority group of the homosexual; it's a lifestyle in which heterosexuals can also participate, providing life is perceived through a homosexual context. Camp swings between the pendulum of tragedy and exhilaration. The tragedy is derived from the bigotry and isolation that any minority invites. The exhilaration is drawn from the sheer joy of being able to celebrate who you are, without worry of oppression. George Melly gave a suitably extravagant definition of this:

'Well here they come, swishing and screaming, weeping noisily, laughing hysterically, living in luxury, dying in penury, knighted or

in prison, chaste or promiscuous, loved or reviled, touched by sheer genius or driven by mere egoism, from many countries and most ages the diverse, perverse legion of the camp.

(Core, P (1984), p-5)

Oscar Wilde used the platform of the Aesthetic Movement to launch his literary career and became a great personification of camp. He was a groundbreaking and controversial figure who also used literature to stage his presentation of self. Unfortunately he was way before his time and his uninhibited expression of private self as public display, led to his downfall. Against overwhelming odds Wilde's artistic mission, attempted to break down the rigid moralistic codes in the literature and real life of late Victorian England. His eventual fall from grace was from such a height that even the literary world could not

reassemble the fragments. Aesthetes want to sense and see the extremes of beauty in life. Wilde wanted to see and be seen. Whereas the aesthete dedicates his life to beauty and art. Wilde wanted to make his life and personality, a work of art. Wilde was an unrelenting poseur. His luxuriant sense of camp posturing materialised in both his personal appearance and in his wit. During his aesthetic period a passer-by hissed: 'There goes that bloody fool Oscar Wilde.' (Core, (1984) p-199)

Oscar responded with an indolent retort:

'Its extraordinary how quickly one becomes known in London.' (Core, (1984) p-199)

Almost every photograph of Wilde illustrates his vanity and sense of style. His appearance was striking, yet ugly. He had a tendency towards obesity and his face was heavy and lumpy, yet he presented himself in a way that exemplified a camp glamour. Beauty and youth were the main themes of his novel 'The Picture of Dorian Grey' which depicted a hero of exceptional beauty whose wish that he remain the same, whilst his portrait ages and withers in his stead comes true. The idea for the book was sparked off by Wilde's remark to a friend:

'To win back my youth there is nothing I wouldn't do except take exercise, get up early or be a useful member of the community.'

(Holland, (1960), p-69)

The book ends with Dorian Grey's death and the portrait's return to youth and beauty.

In real life

Wilde alternately concealed and exploited his sense of camp and his homosexuality, hiding behind the pose of aestheticism throughout his career yet openly exposing his friendship and love affair with Lord Alfred Douglas. His liaison with Douglas eventually led to his jail sentence for sodomy and his ultimate downfall and early death.

## **Narcissism and the Glamour of Celebrity**

A brief investigation of the celebrity culture that evolved and expanded in the twentieth century, reveals some fascinating examples of dressed up personas that hide secrets and stigma. There is a contradiction in investing in the culture of celebrity as a means of expressing repressed urges in visual appearance. It has been used as a platform to present the private self as part of the public image; alternatively a beautiful mask has been created through clothes, cosmetics and surgery.

A huge degree of narcissism and camp are involved in constructing a public image through the use of fashion. Narcissism originated from a tragedy. A Greek myth tells the tale of Narcissus, a handsome youth who fell in love with his own image reflected in water. As a result he was changed into a white flower, subsequently named after him. Odhams Dictionary of the English Language (1957) gives a suitably self involved definition:

'Narcissism a form of neurosis characterized by excessive self admiration and conceit.' (Odhams Dictionary (1957))

Narcissism has been exploited by celebrities for various motives. It proved a valuable asset to Marlene Dietrich, whose glamorous image needed a high degree of self love to sustain it. Unconventional narcissists such as Marilyn Monroe created a gorgeous image through artifice, lavishing their devotion on a beautiful self creation. Others such as Andy Warhol,

with Edie Sedgwick used an alter ego. Warhol attempted to shape his mentor into a dream image of a self he was unable to attain, as both age and sex were a barrier. Narcissism in this case became excessive love for an idealized image of self, projected onto another.

Narcissism can prove a treacherous path towards heartbreak. Excessive because it can divorce the person from a sense of reality, it can often result in a schizophrenic sense of self admiration. Dangerous in that beauty is often associated with youth, a youth destroyed by the ravages of time. There is also a tragic prospect to a person who develops an over inflated sense of personal glamour. Due to being of a minority, narcissists could be viewed as extreme examples of the alienation that can occur in modern society. They could also be considered as rebels against a world that is boring, obvious and conventional and as instigators of the glamorous masks of public image.

The entertainment industry is a natural outlet for narcissism because it provides the platform from which to exhibit beauty within the wider public domain. Hollywood in its golden age from the 1920's to the 1950's was a glamour factory that churned out impossibly idealised aesthetics. Artificial because it was a theatrical community protecting the eccentric, as early as 1926 it had become the sort of place of which it was said:

'Mlle Chanel wants a woman to look like a lady; Hollywood wants her to look like two ladies.'  
(Core, (1984), p-100)

Hollywood has always courted tragedy due to its great emphasis on image and youth, rather than acting talent. Its influence has been huge and varied. Artists such as Andy Warhol and David Bowie have used its power to invent their own narcissistic images, which in turn produced their own tragedies. There is something equally artificial about the notion of male and female stars and their celebrity. The publicity machine in Hollywood reinvented its stars, both through their biographies and in their appearance. Personalities such as Marlene Dietrich and Joan Crawford were sensationally glamorous. This in turn inspired legions of women, drag queens and outrageous aesthetes. In a global society where vanity is perceived to be a women's domain, male stars could be considered equally artificial due to the questionable way they dealt with their good looks and image. Outwardly they were presented as overtly masculine. Hollywood publicity guided them through a macho narcissistic world that linked them with starlets, married them and generally helped them avoid any level of effeminate decadence. An example is Montgomery Clift who attempted to conceal his homosexuality through an outward display of macho ideals in dress and lifestyle, also reflected in his film roles.

Marlene Dietrich managed to combine the Hollywood star system with her own narcissism. In most of her film roles and publicity photographs she appeared to be ceaselessly searching for a mirror. At the side of each camera she always placed a full length mirror, in order to check every facet of her appearance before filming. Her obsession was used to great effect in her 1931 film 'Dishonoured' (1931), by her director Joseph Von Sternberg. In the final scene she fixes her hair in the mirror blade of the gun that will execute her. Marlene became a legend of glamour; through narcissistic devotion. Her pre Hollywood films reveal an overweight, dark haired, young actress. Her evolution

into an exquisite aesthetic icon was a conspiracy of good lighting, diet and makeup. This also included the unyielding devotion of her director Von Sternberg who, united with Dietrich to create her legend. Her narcissism extended into old age. Before her appearance at London's Café de Paris when she was approaching sixty, its owner a Major Donald Willing noted:

'Marlene's living room was completely mirrored; she checked every move in the mirrors until her high heels virtually made holes in the floor.' (Higman, (1979), p-241)

Dietrich's career originated in the ambi-sexual, depravity of Berlin in the 1920's. Cross dressing and bisexuality were celebrated in a hedonistic atmosphere. Dietrich exploited much of this experience in her visual appearance and played with it throughout her career. Many of her films utilised her ambiguous exoticism by including a scene of her in man-drag. This also suggested a much wider scaled perversity not unnoticed by Madonna, a great Dietrich fan and David Bowie in his decadent mid 1970's Berlin image.

Much of Marlene's tragedy was revealed in her daughter Maria Riva's biography. She was unable to cease perpetuating the legend of 'Dietrich' which led her to manipulate friends, lovers and family towards the preservation of this myth. When age and infirmity finally caught up with her, unable to sustain her visual image, she spent her final years in bed locked away in her Paris apartment. In his work 'Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity' (1963), sociologist, Erving Goffman claimed that:

'Beauty for women is a temporary state which only underlines the fact that their value is measured in how well they succeed in the role of a spectacle, and would be more appropriately considered a stigma symbol than a prestige symbol (Goffman, (1963), p-43-44).

The stigma of manufactured beauty, would here suggest that the spectacle of Marlene's narcissism, eventually became a symptom of her physical decline and seclusion.

Marilyn Monroe was an unconventional narcissist. Her friends often attributed her unpunctuality to her inability to leave her dressing room mirror. Rather than mesmerized by her own beauty, she was fiercely dedicated to its perfection. Her public image was a combination of great skill and a real desire to be beautiful. It was key to her success and helped her to rise above the insecurity and poverty of her illegitimate childhood. Efrat Tseelon describes Marilyn Monroe as:

'A cultural icon of the traditional, vulnerable and exploited woman.' (Tseelon, (1996), p-92)

Marilyn however had a determination to rise beyond this stereotype and the stigma of illegitimacy. Her life story exemplifies how a narcissist can create and make a success from their looks. As with Marlene Dietrich, although at a much younger age her tragic death is another example of how age and subsequent loss of looks can destroy a career that relies on a youthful narcissistic image. In his work, 'The Last Sitting' (1982), photographer Bert Stern seems to capture the essence of Marilyn's narcissism and hauntingly, her private self. Taken six weeks before her death and incredibly beautiful, she strikes a series of narcissistic poses. Nude her platinum hair falling casually over one eye, she wraps her arms around her body, adoring herself. It appears to be a final defiant act against a world that failed to understand the repressed private self beyond the over exposed public image.

The artist Andy Warhol fell in love with Hollywood. His Pop Art Factory in New York, in the 1960's sought to recreate the golden years of Hollywood. In so doing it repeated the narcissism, glamour and tragedy so prevalent in the original tinsel town. Warhol recognized that from the retinue of wild hangers on and would be superstars attached to the Factory; he could invent an alternative film capital, with its own mystique. This alternative Hollywood created its own moral code and featured drugs, cross dressing and a general hedonism. Transvestites featured heavily on the scene often aching for a recognition and glamour that ordinary life could not offer. In 'The Masque of Femininity' Efrat Tseelon put forward a theory that:

'Transvestites who dress genuinely to pass as women are doubly threatening.' (Tseelon (1995), p-90)

She emphasises that they have given up the more privileged male social position and are therefore challenging the system of sexual difference. In contrast Warhol's transvestites did not want to challenge this system. Instead they aspired to live and breathe the glamorous world they embraced. The three most famous drag queens were tantalisingly christened: Ingrid Superstar, Holly Woodlawn and Candy Darling. Candy Darling began life as Jimmy Slattery but reinvented himself in the mould of the platinum haired movie star: Jean Harlow. He successfully managed to project an ethereal fragility in underground films such as 'Flesh' (1968) and 'Women in Revolt' (1971). Candy however desperately sought the legitimacy of Hollywood. She was devastated when she failed to be offered the lead role of the transsexual in director Mike Sarne's epic film 'Myra Breckinridge' (1970), which also starred Mae West. Tragically Candy died from leukaemia at the age of 29. This was said to have developed from the hormone injections she received in her quest for a sex change. Her ultimate tragedy was that in reinventing herself and her sexual identity through surgery, clothing and make-up, she was ultimately unable to achieve the legitimacy of the mainstream Hollywood superstardom she craved.

Another famous casualty from Warhol's 'Factory' was Edie Sedgwick. Edie's life story has been immortalised in several plays and films most notably in 'Factory Girl' (2006) with Sienna Miller. She was the ultimate 'Poor little Rich Girl'. Born into a wealthy society family she desperately wanted to escape her conventional upbringing, through the lure of Art School and the glamorous possibilities of Andy Warhol's factory. Warhol was enraptured by the prospect of the wealthy society girl and exploited the opportunity by reinventing her appearance, taking her to parties and starring her in his underground movies, most notably 'Kitchen' (1965) and 'Chelsea Girls' (1966). Edie represented the wealth and society position he craved. She therefore became his alter-ego and an intangible asset to his public image, with her hair cropped and dyed silver to match Andy's wig and her fashionably anorexic figure. She quickly became dubbed the 'It Girl' and 'Face of 1966' as fashion magazines celebrated her bohemian sense of style, featuring black tights and chandelier earrings. Unfortunately Edie's fame proved brief and illusive. The use of drugs and other stimulants at The Factory was rife. They either encouraged the 'Superstars' to exaggerate their behaviour and appearance or gave them the confidence to achieve the persona they really desired. In a similar way to Coleridge, Edie's physical and mental health quickly deteriorated as a result of her drug use and left her a neurotic victim who failed to realise her dream. Warhol quickly rejected her and she suffered an early death at the age of twenty eight. Her brief but fashionably significant



superstardom failed to sustain her longevity.

The 'Factory' was managed by a calculated figurehead (Warhol), who by embracing the zeitgeist, managed to capture the imagination of a group of disparate and style hungry people. He created a following that used narcissism as an extreme ideal to express an ultimate alienation from modern society and in turn blatantly reflected the urges that much of society suppressed. In the 1970's David Bowie built a tinselly career on a metamorphosis of different visual styles that complemented his music. Each look had an element of shock that exploited a camp sensibility. Examples include the futuristic, spiky haired Ziggy Stardust and the bisexual Berlin image. Bowie's tragedy was that he was criticised for his lack of originality. His Ziggy Stardust look was in many ways shoplifted from Iggy Pop and the Berlin image, from Marlene Dietrich. By the 1980's Bowie shed his camp persona, consciously returning to a more conventional presentation of self in relation to his music. This could also be viewed as a somewhat tragic cover up. The pressures involved in displaying a camp and ambiguous persona to the mass of society may have led him to suppress his private self in favour of a more commercial and ethically safe public image.

#### The New

Romantic movement that emerged in the early 1980's took much of its influence from Hollywood costume dramas. The media viewed it as a reaction to the violence and aggression of its musical predecessor Punk Rock. Groups of art and fashion students dressed themselves up to excessive, effeminate levels in order to attain the high level of glamour they aspired to. Led figures such as Adam and the Ants, Steve Strange, Boy George and Marilyn, New Romanticism, like nineteenth century Romanticism, provided a colourful alternative to a grey society with a high unemployment rate. The tragedy for some of its protagonists was that all their highly coloured posturing could not make up for a lack of talent and content in their music. Marilyn, alias Peter Robinson achieved fame and notoriety as a male Monroe look-a-like. Unfortunately his attempts to exploit his looks in the career of a singer flopped. This could have been due to a lack of talent, personality or the implications of giving himself a female name. It exemplifies a need for an obvious show of seriousness if you intend to confront a basically conformist society with your extravagance. Marilyn's public display appeared to have no other justification than being a dais on which to display his adopted and narcissistic persona. Boy George summed this up, when he said:

'It's OK to be clown in a circus, but not to be a clown in a supermarket.' (Time Out Magazine, (1985) p-4)

## Conclusions

Andy Warhol's portraiture is extremely interesting when considering the conflict between the glamorous public image and the repressed private self. As art historian Cecile Whiting wrote:

'Andy Warhol portrayed Marilyn Monroe and Elizabeth Taylor in the early 1960's strictly in their roles as public icons.' (Whiting, (1987), p-58)

He focused on the recognisable, exterior physical signs of the public image portrayed in both film and mass media and achieved this in recognition that:

‘their ‘brand name’ is a public self, an immediately identifiable figure (Whiting, (1987), p-58) The features in both faces were reduced to a glamorous caricature, in Marilyn Monroe it is a straw yellow helmet, resting on a face with heavy eye shadow and full lips. With Elizabeth Taylor, the lips are exaggerated by an overdrawn lip line and the eyes appear to be two haphazard almond cut outs, emphasising heavy eye liner. The paintings are also garish in colour and grain, emulating the way both celluloid and newsprint presents the images to the public. History has revealed that both stars had traumatic private lives which the caricatures in Warhol’s paintings mask. The polished veneers presented to the public incited the media to uncover the private selves beneath the gloss, but such intrusion had tragic consequences to both individuals. This pattern was most recently repeated in the relentless idolatry and ultimately tragic pursuit of Princess Diana by the world’s paparazzi.

The International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (2008) gives an analysis of repressed private and publicly expressed self:

‘Although all normal-functioning people are sometimes self-aware, some people are consistently aware of themselves. The tendency to consistently direct attention toward the self is referred to as self-consciousness. (Sills, (2008))

The encyclopaedia then quoted Arnold Buss, who is recognised as a seminal researcher in self-consciousness. The capacity to continuously direct attention towards the self was evidenced in the following ways:

‘An intense focus on behaviour—past, present, and future’.

‘A heightened sensitivity to privately experienced feelings’.

‘A tendency to introspect’.

‘An awareness of how one appears to others’.

‘Concerns about others’ appraisals’. (Sills, (2008))

The above points can apply to the conflict between the private and public selves of the individuals discussed in this paper. A huge degree of self consciousness can be attributed to each person’s motives for masking the private self in glamour.

An internet blog pasted by an anonymous student asked people what sort of things she should write about in her essay: ‘How does your public image differ from your private self?’ The answers provided a varied analysis of perspectives from the general public. The first was:

‘Your public image differs from your private self because others will never know the true YOU. Others rate your appearance, what you say and how you react; however, you are the only one who knows the whys of your psyche. Others create an image, but they have no idea about your feelings. The very nature of the words public and private are often complete opposites.’ (Yahoo, (2007) p-1)

This compares with:

‘I know a lot of people whose image in private differs from what people see in public. It wears me out to try to understand why they wear so many hats! To adapt to each hat while with them is also exhausting. I am a professional woman. Yet, I think the best compliment that was ever given to me was, a friend who introduced me to another friend. She said, "with T, what you see is what you get". I don’t have time to switch hats.’ (Yahoo, (2007) p-1)

This then compares with:

‘When I’m in public I’m self assured and confident in what I have to say and do. In private I’m a

lot less certain of my self and I wonder if I've made the right moves and done the right things.' (Yahoo, (2007) p-1)

The first answer suggests a conflict between public and private persona. The second dismisses any conflict with the self confident declaration 'What you see is what you get'. The third answer adheres to the theme of this paper. It is the indecision and lack of certainty in the privately repressed self that results in an expressively glamorous mask.

It can ultimately be concluded that a public expression of the private self is a testament to the potential uniqueness of each person and their rights to that uniqueness. Society, through bigotry, oppression or manipulation attempts to socialise the individual into living a conventional existence. The bewitching intoxication of glamour unnerves and disturbs convention because it is super real and artificial. Strength of conviction and character are essential in order to present a glamorous persona as a defence to this strategy. This was averted in the example of David Bowie, who returned to a more conventional presentation of self through art and in so doing gained a greater level of acceptance in society. Therefore the repressed private self has every right to free expression, providing that its purveyor fully accepts the consequences of their predicament. This was aptly summed up by the author, actor and eccentric, Quentin Crisp at the beginning of his autobiography 'How to Become a Virgin' (1981),  
'I am not a drop out I was never in. I have not spent my life hacking my way through the constraints of a bourgeois existence. I was always free – appallingly free.' (Crisp, (1981), p-7)

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Kevin Almond MDes (RCA)

Subject Head, Fashion,

University of Huddersfield,

Tel: 01484 473112

Email: k.almond@hud.ac.uk