

3 Days of Peace & Music & Fashion : A History of Festival Dress from Woodstock to Coachella

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Abstract *Since their emergence in the 1960s, music festivals have attracted young people the world over with similar tastes, attitudes and styles. Now a worldwide phenomenon, music festivals such as Glastonbury in England, Primavera Sound in Barcelona, Spain and Pentaport Rock Festival in Incheon, South Korea draw hundreds of thousands of attendees from around the world and have become a major event not only for music fans, but for trend forecasters who now chronicle what has come to be known as “festival fashion”, which has several distinctive style markers. This paper provides a historical background of festival fashion, examines the phenomenon using fashion theory and discusses the controversies facing the music festival and festival fashion, in particular the role that sponsorship from major corporations currently plays as advertisers who want to get their products into the hands of influential festival attendees and allegations of cultural appropriation on the part of attendees. In conclusion, the future of music festivals and festival fashion as a category is examined.*

Key words *Festival Fashion, Fashion Trends, Music and Fashion, Bohemian, Hippie*

Introduction

The History of Music Festivals

The influence of music festivals on mainstream fashion has been a phenomenon since the 1960s, however that influence has become increasingly chronicled by fashion media and commercialized by fashion designers since the early 2000s. Today, what is commonly known as *festival fashion* or *Coachella style* (referring to the largest and most significant music festival) has largely entered mainstream fashion for young female consumers. In order to fully comprehend the significance of contemporary music festivals, it is crucial to understand the history of these events, their commercial evolution, and continued draw as a gathering place for young people who embrace what they would consider an alternative viewpoint (to varying degrees) to that of mainstream society.

While rock is the genre of music most closely associated with the music festival, the concept of music festivals began by featuring more conventional forms of music. The first Newport Jazz Festival was held in 1954 (“How Newport”, 2015) and was modeled on the Tanglewood Festival, a classical music festival based in Lennox, Massachusetts that dated back to August 1934 (“The History”, n.d.).

Following in the path of these more mainstream predecessors, the advent of rock music festivals can be traced back to the summer of 1967, known as the “Summer of Love” for the series of cultural events that started in the San Francisco Bay Area that gave rise to the emerging hippie subculture. The Human Be-In was a major multi-arts event that was another direct precursor to the rock music festivals for which the era became famous. Held in San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park on January 14, 1967, with estimated attendance between 10,000 and 50,000, the Human Be-In combined musical acts such as the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane, speakers including poet Allen Ginsburg and comedian Dick Gregory, protests against the Vietnam War and audience consciousness-raising activities. The San Francisco Be-In also had a Los Angeles counterpart known as the Love-In (Leff, 2007).

Following the Human Be-In, a few seminal music festivals from the years 1967-1969 set the tone for what is now the standard format for a music festival, and established these events as the premiere gathering place for creative, uninhibited young people. What is considered to be the earliest rock music festival is the little-known KFRC Fantasy Fair and Magic Mountain Music Festival, which was held June 10-11, 1967 on Mount Tamalpais in Marin County, California (Newman, 2014). The event drew over 30 musical acts including the Doors, the Byrds, Jefferson Airplane, attracted 30,000 attendees and went on to lay the blueprint for future events like Woodstock. Some of the Magic Mountain organizers went on to have key positions in the planning and logistics of Woodstock (Newman, 2014).

Monterey International Pop Festival

Commonly acknowledged as the world’s first major rock festival, the Monterey International Pop Festival was held June 16-18, 1967. Renown for launching the careers of music icons such as Jimmy Hendrix, who gained notoriety for lighting his guitar on fire and Otis Redding in his last live appearance before his tragic death as the result of a plane crash, the festival also featured such luminaries as Janis Joplin as lead singer of Big Brother and the Holding Company and was the first US performance of The Who. In addition to establishing the format for music festivals, another convention - the festival film - was also pioneered in Monterey with director D.A. Pennebaker’s concert film “Monterey Pop” (Harrington, 2006).

Woodstock

The most famous of all music festivals, the Woodstock Music and Arts Fair, popularly known as “Woodstock” was held August 15-17 1969, at a six-hundred-acre farm owned by Max Yasgur near the rural community of Bethel, New York. While the organizers anticipated two hundred thousand attendees, ultimately close to half a million people attended the festival. Despite problems such as traffic jams, insufficient food, toilets and medical care, problems with security and drugs, and two rainstorms, Woodstock was a peaceful event with no arrests for violence, and represented the *flower power* ethos that the hippies espoused. In the years since, Woodstock has come to symbolize the entire hippie era and its association with the peace movement, free love and drug culture before coming to an end at the dawn of the

1970s (Berg, 2002b; Layman, 1994).

Altamont

Unlike the peaceful atmosphere at Woodstock just four months earlier, Altamont, held at a speedway in Livermore, California, resulted in violence culminating in a murder. Organized by the Rolling Stones and featuring acts such as Santana, Jefferson Airplane and Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young, the promoters were unprepared to handle the 300,000 festival attendees and had insufficient food, water and restrooms. In an attempt to save money, organizers hired members of the Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club as security guards, but instead they began to beat fans who got too close to the stage, resulting in the stabbing and kicking death of one attendee, and for many represented the symbolic end of the spirit of the 1960s (Berg, 2002a).

Mid-era music festivals

After Altamont, cities were reluctant to host festivals, fearful that they would attract the same type of violence, and festivals fell out of favor (Wener, 2012). These fears appeared to be justified when attempts to revive Woodstock in 1994 and 1999 were reduced to chaos, with the 1999 show resulting in four alleged rapes, 44 arrests and 1,200 people admitted to onsite medical facilities as rampant looting and lighting of bonfires destroyed the event facility (Jacobs, 2014). Despite these reservations, a few large music festivals were held sporadically in the United States, but none of them had the enduring cultural significance that Monterey or Woodstock inspired. At the 30 year anniversary of the first US Festival, which was held on Labor Day weekend in 1982, then once again on Memorial day in 1983 before being discontinued, concert promoter Barry Fey stated, "It seems to have no historical importance for people," even though the second festival drew 700,000 attendees (Wener, 2012, para. 6). Other notable music festivals of this era include Live Aid, a benefit concert to help famine victims in Ethiopia that was held July 13, 1985 and had the distinction of being held on two continents, the first at Wembley Stadium in London and the second at JFK Stadium in Philadelphia (G. Jones, 2005). Lollapalooza was a touring festival featuring sideshow acts in addition to music, originally running from 1991-1997 before it was discontinued, then ultimately revived in 2003 and run to the present day in an annual format held in Chicago and in multiple global locations (Nagar, 2003). Lilith Fair was another touring festival founded by Canadian singer Sarah McLachlan and featured only female artists or female-fronted bands, and ran from 1997-1997, although a revival attempt in 2010 was not successful (Perpetua, 2011). These and smaller regional festivals such as San Francisco's Gathering of the Tribes kept the music festival alive until the early 2000s, when the current popularity of festivals began its ascent.

Modern Music Festivals

With the advent of the 21st century, music festivals have experienced a resurgence, although in a differ-

ent format. Rather than a one-time spectacle, festivals have now become annual events that allow for attendees, musical acts and sponsors to plan their attendance and participation well in advance. The most significant modern music festival in terms of cultural influence and financial revenue is currently The Coachella Valley Music and Arts Festival, commonly known as Coachella. Originally founded by promoter Paul Tolliver in 1999, the first event lost approximately \$800,000 and nearly bankrupted its promoter, but after being revived in 2001, the event has experienced continued growth and currently runs for two consecutive weekends and features over 160 musical acts (Sisario, 2015). In addition to Coachella, today's music festival fan has their pick of events during the late spring and summer months, which have collectively become referred to "festival season". Some of the most prominent festivals include Austin's South by Southwest (SXSW) and Austin City Limits (ACL) festivals; Manchester, Tennessee's Bonnaroo; San Francisco's Treasure Island; New York City's Governor's Ball; Las Vegas' Electric Daisy Carnival and Chicago's Lollapalooza. The festival craze has gone international, with England's Glastonbury, Primavera Sound in Barcelona, Spain and Pentaport Rock Festival in Incheon, South Korea and many others around the world.

Festival Fashion

Early Festival Fashion

Early festival attendees wore what was considered to be hippie attire, and performers were no different. Larry Taylor of the band Canned Heat, which performed at the KFRC Fantasy Fair and Magic Mountain Music Festival, the Monterey International Pop Festival and Woodstock shared the sudden change in perception of what constituted cool clothing: "I played music in the Fifties and I remember wearing cummerbunds, plaid jackets and uniforms. All of a sudden, that was trash. I got into American Indian beads and pants with hand-painted psychedelic stuff on it" (Newman, 2014).

The hippie movement began in the Haight-Ashbury area of San Francisco in 1965. Some aspects of hippie fashion were common to both sexes, such as long hair, beads, sandals or bare feet and bell bottoms. The phrase *flower power* was about the desire to get back to nature and the flower became a symbol of peace and natural beauty. The blurriness and personal nature of tie-dyed clothing was contrasted by clothing produced from manufactured fibers in psychedelic prints that were a visual depiction of the popular music of the time, also worn by a large number of hippies. Hippies also decorated themselves with body paint, drawing psychedelic motifs and flowers to replicate the experience of a hallucinogenic acid trip caused by ingesting the drug LSD (Powe-Temperley, 1999). When they were not bare-foot, the preferred shoe of a hippie was frequently the 'Jesus' sandal, with its two buckled straps, although after 1967, shoes began to have higher heels and thicker soles, a style that came to be known as the *platform* (Powe-Temperley, 1999).

Loose-fitting and ethnic styles were extremely popular, as they were inexpensive and colorful while communicating to the world a desire for spiritualism and a rejection of Western consumerism. Women wore Indian or African cotton that had been made into maxi skirts, shawls or peasant blouses, while

men wore Eastern-style tunics, embroidered waistcoats, denim jeans and velvet trousers as a part of their wardrobe (Powe-Temperley, 1999). Ethnic looks could also consist of the ceremonial dress (such as Mexican wedding dresses) of a culture rather than solely the quotidian dress the culture wore (Lurie, 2000) and varied along a spectrum of adoption, such as a single ethnic scarf or blouse with otherwise traditional clothing to a full ethnic ensemble. Wearing ethnic dress suggested an accompanying interest in Zen, yoga, vegetarianism or other practices related to the culture associated with the garment (Lurie, 2000). The Beatles' Sargent Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band album featured the band in full psychedelic mode with music inspired by their pilgrimage to India, sharing the teaching of their guru Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and wearing brightly colored clothes, setting the template for a generation (Powe-Temperley, 1999).

The ethnic clothing that hippies adopted was originally chosen because in addition to being exotic, it was inexpensive and could be accessorized by raw silk scarves in Indian prints, and polished semi-precious stone or carved wood beads. Early hippies purchased their clothing at small boutiques or via mail order. One popular hippie fashion was the *kaftan*, a unisex, loosely cut floor-length garment made of cotton, wool or silk that was based on African and Arabic tribal wear. The kaftan had the advantage of being extremely comfortable and could be worn by people of any shape or body type. Soon after hippies embraced them, young fashion designers with an eye for street style such as Ossie Clark and Thea Porter began creating their own interpretations of kaftans (or caftans) and other articles of clothing popularized by the hippies (Powe-Temperley, 1999). Eventually, couture designers showed Eastern-influenced styles on high fashion runways including Yves Saint Laurent, who was credited with making "the kaftan almost as common a sight in Manhattan as it was in Oran" (Kelso, 2002, para. 11).

Another distinctive look that took hold of the youth culture of the time was adopting an archaic appearance, such as young men wearing the *Granddaddy Look* of square or round gold-rimmed spectacle (such as the ones that have become closely identified with John Lennon), or collarless stiff-fronted shirts, wooly scarves or unbuttoned vests (Lurie, 2000). At the same time, young women were fashioning their own *Granny Look*, which consisted of floor-length calico or gingham dresses, shawls, and wearing their hair in a bun (Lurie, 2000). In both cases, the look romanticized the past by demonstrating an embrace the simpler ways of earlier generations and rejecting the ways of contemporary adults (Lurie, 2000).

Modern Festival Fashion

Unlike the days of Woodstock, attendance at an actual festival is not necessary in order to dress like a participant. With helpful online pictorial guides and articles such as "Festival Dressing Done Right: 16 Inspirational Looks from the Vogue Archive" (Borrelli-Persson, 2014) festival fashion has some key looks that have come to be associated with it which would look right at home at Woodstock or Monterrey, and several articles such as emphasize this fact by featuring historic photos from the 1960s paired with modern reinterpretations as a guide for people wishing to recreate the festival look. Common festival fashion styles include floral crowns, floppy hats, fringe, lace, peasant blouses, halter tops, crochet and

macramé, flowing maxi dresses, kaftans, slip dresses, tie-dye, denim cutoffs, ethnic prints and accessories, and are very similar in style, print, color and fabrication to the styles worn by the hippies at Woodstock and other music festivals (Borrelli-Persson, 2014; Olivero, n.d.; Yaeger, 2014). Figure 1 shows an example of typical festival attendees' dress, and for additional examples of festival fashion, please see online fashion magazines such as *elle.com*'s article, "The Best Coachella Street Style" with 64 images (Prescod, 2014) or *harpersbazaar.com*'s "With the Band: Coachella 2015 Street Style" (2015) with 52 images and other online sources. Unlike the do-it-yourself anti-commercial ethos of the hippies, these styles are available for purchase at popular retailers. Lynn Yaeger (2014) writes about denim cutoff shorts with lace applied, "If you ask your grandma, she may recall that, back in the day, she had to apply this trim at home. No matter—these may cost \$88 at a store on Fifth Avenue, but their spirit remains the same" (para. 5).



Figure 1.
Contemporary music festival attendees

Interpreting Festival Fashion Through Theoretical Frameworks

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The advent of youth culture emerging as the dominant culture in the 1960s was both demographic and economic in nature. As of the mid-1960s, half of the population of the United States was under the age of twenty-five, and in a commercially-driven society, the preferences of the majority of the population are the ones that are considered to be the most desirable (Lurie, 2000). With the strong economic conditions of the era, this young group had a great deal of disposable income. Like the multitude of forces which enabled the rise of the youth culture, today's festival fashion can be interpreted through multiple theoretical lenses in order to more clearly understand and interpret the non-verbal messages that the wearers are broadcasting through their apparel choices. Sociologist Fred Davis (1992) stated that the dress of hippies in the sixties did more than create an identity for the young people who identified as hippies, it served to distance them from mainstream culture, even scandalizing members of the dominant culture. Hippies' identifying dress characteristics, including long hair, love beads, fringe and other signifiers were intended to be oppositional to popular middle-class dress styles of the time, and they cultivated the revulsion that they received from members of the middle-class. Davis made the further point that although counterculture anti-fashion might originate with ethnic or disenfranchised groups, the main proponents of this type of fashion are generally rebellious middle-class youth, which comprised much of the hippie subculture (and many current-day festival enthusiasts). It is because of this close connection between members of the subculture and their middle-class roots that many of the looks associated with the hippie culture were ultimately adopted by mainstream fashion, and Davis (1992) views this kind of borrowing of fashion as a "symbolic appeasement of the severe intergenerational strife that periodically engages Western society" (p. 185).

Trickle-up theory

Festival fashion (both during the hippie era and at Coachella and other music festivals) represents a prime example of George Field's (1970) trickle-up theory, which posits that higher-status segments with more power and affluence take their style cues from those of lower status, such as young people. This theory explains the rise of street style in the 1960s into the current day, and just as several of the style cues of the hippies were reinterpreted as luxury garments, such as Yves Saint Laurent's reinterpretation of the kaftan, contemporary ready-to-wear designers are creating bohemian-influenced garments similar to the ones worn at music festivals, but are now also actively participating in these events through social media and creating style guides for festival goers featuring their products. Articles such as *Vogue* magazine's "Festival Dressing Without the Festival" (Yaeger, 2014) illustrate the extent to which festival style has become embraced by the upper-class as its own distinct category of dress.

Laver's Law

Much like the hippies and their choice of anachronistic clothing to express their rejection of mainstream

society, the attraction to contemporary festival fashion may also be interpreted in the timeline proposed by James Laver (1945) in his book, *Taste and Fashion* that has come to be known as Laver's Law. According to Laver's Law, the same styles will be perceived differently as time passes, moving from *indecent* before a fashion's time, to *smart* when it is at its peak, to *hideous* when it becomes passé, then ultimately around again to *beautiful* after enough time passes. When the hippies adopted the *Granddaddy* or *Granny* look of their forbearers to show a rejection of consumerism, they were in sync with Laver's Law that stated that looks that were at least 70 years old could be considered *charming* and those that were 100 years old could be considered *romantic*. The pioneer-style dress they chose to reflect their connection to nature and the land fit right in with this timeline. It has been posited that the timeline has sped up more recently, and that would appear to be correct with current festival-goers attraction to the hippie and bohemian styles favored at today's festivals. Almost 50 years after the summer of love, these looks that Laver would have classified as *quaint* are embraced by the wearers, but are more likely to be considered by them to be *charming* or *romantic*.

Festival Fashion Criticisms and Controversy

Commercialization

In their earlier incarnations, music festivals were gathering places for individuals who considered themselves outside society's mainstream, and were considered to be a place for like-minded people to convene in an open environment while they enjoyed music and other aspects of a lifestyle that was still considered to be different from the norm. The earliest festivals such as the Human Be-In were free of charge, or to benefit charity, such as the Fantasy Fair and Magic Mountain Music Festival, where proceeds from the \$2 admission costs (for the entire weekend of more than 30 artists) went to benefit local child care centers (Newman, 2014). By contrast, a general admission ticket to one weekend in Coachella in 2015 was \$375 (or \$435 with a shuttle ride pass to and from the venue). In addition to the high cost of attendance, in a move that would have surely caused outrage among the attendees of the early Be-In, festival organizers have created a hierarchy for attendees by offering a VIP admission for \$899 per weekend, with the option of an additional \$150 parking pass. The days of roughing it like the rain-soaked campers of Woodstock are also a thing of the past, as attendees could purchase stays in either a two-person tee pee (\$2,350 General Admission/\$3,400 VIP) or a four-person tent (\$3,100 General Admission/\$5,200 VIP) and purchase such add-ons as a four-course meal cooked by a celebrated chef and served in the rose garden for an additional \$225 ("2015 Buy Passes", 2015). These high prices have not hurt the festival's success so far; in 2014, Coachella earned \$78.3 million in tickets, making it the highest-grossing festival event in the world (Sisario, 2015).

Despite their origins as an anti-capitalist event, music festivals have traded any outsider status for corporate sponsorship and branding opportunities, as young, affluent music fans represent a highly desirable demographic for companies. According to Nicole Larrauri, managing partner at EGC Group,

Music festivals are attracting a very hard to reach audience: the affluent millennial. This target au-

dience cares less about brand status and ‘stuff’ and more about experiences and are harder to reach through advertising. They’ll spend money on the concerts they want, but need to create a real relationship before buying products from a brand. They also want a brand that is aligned to their own passions and interests (S. Jones, 2015, para. 20).

The traditional branding opportunities such as banners featuring a product’s name and corporate booths dispensing free samples are still in evidence but have been joined by newer and more sophisticated promotional activities such as Nordstrom’s “Pop-In Shop” which featured a collection of fashion and non-fashion products such as canteens associated with festivals (S. Jones, 2015). Coachella is not the only festival to have strong ties to corporations. During SXSW in 2015, Neiman Marcus held a series of events and panels known as the Make Some Noise brand platform. Events included a showroom where customers could digitally purchase products, a panel discussion on the topic of new roles for women, an interview with actress Rosario Dawson, and a kick-off party with performances by Jess Glynne and DJ Jilly Hendrix that included live mural painting and an ice cream demo, all of which could be shared by participants through social media with the hashtag #NMMakeSomeNoise (Sorin, 2015).

Festival fashion too, is no longer anti-consumer, but instead has evolved into a lucrative category of dress for retailers. The most prominent example of this is the Swedish fast fashion retailer H&M’s co-branded capsule collection, ‘H&M Loves Coachella’, which was launched in Spring 2015 to coincide with the upcoming festival. In the sponsored post “How Fashion Gals Do Festival Style” (Ives, 2015) in the online fashion magazine *Refinery 29*, the retailer gave its own overview of festival trends, including such throwbacks to the early music festival days as lace kaftans, crochet dresses, fringe, ethnic ikat prints, wide-legged pants and *retro* rompers, any of which would have been appropriate at Monterrey or Woodstock and all of which were available for sale on H&M’s website. Many other retailers and brands have created fashion guides for festivals featuring their merchandise, including Neiman Marcus (Chloé flounce blouse, a lace-embellished skirt and Paul Andrew espadrille sandals), Diane von Furstenburg (sneakers and a wrap romper) Stuart Weitzman (the brand’s Nerfertiti gladiator sandals), Canadian retailer Holt Renfrew (fringed leather jackets and suede skirts), Jimmy Choo (metallic shoes and sunglasses), and Barneys (Isabel Marant clothing and accessories, and bucket bags from Saint Laurent and Maison Martin Margiela) (S. Jones, 2015). Such targeted strategies seem to be working for companies. According to a study conducted by AEG, a live music performance promoter and Momentum Worldwide branding agency, some 93% of survey respondents indicated that they liked the brands that sponsor live events, while 80% said that they will purchase a product following a music festival experience, as opposed to 55% of those who were not in attendance. Finally, those who attended a music festival with brand sponsorship walked away with a 37% better perception of the company (Rubenstein, 2015).

Although such partnerships are currently lucrative for retailers, they may well hasten the decline of festival fashion. Media critics have been very vocal about their displeasure with the rise in prominence of festival fashion. In the article, “H&M’s Coachella Line is Everything Wrong With ‘Coachella Style’” the author Julianne Escobedo Shepherd (2015) discusses how the very concept of *Coachella Style* prescribes a certain way that attendees should dress in order to fit in at the festival, creating a uniformity

of appearance that is antithetical to the spirit of freedom and individuality that the festival itself tries to cultivate. This uniformity makes trends that early Coachella attendees established (such as crocheted tank tops, fringe and floppy hats) a prime target for commoditization through mass production, which H&M has done. Shepherd summarizes the sentiment when she writes: “‘Coachella style’ has become such a shorthand concept that it is exploitable, for profit, by an official union of the Coachella brand and a multinational clothing store, under the tagline ‘Step Up Your Festival Fashion’” (Shepherd 2015, para. 2).

This very commercialism that Coachella and other festivals have courted may actually lead to the decline of the festivals themselves, as sponsored events have overtaken the paid event as a draw for the most fashionable attendees. Private parties sponsored by companies including McDonald’s, Chevrolet, Hilton and SoHo House featured popular musical acts such as 2 Chainz, Chris Brown, Echosmith and Chromeo (none of whom performed at Coachella itself). These alternative events gave rise to the term *No-Chella* to those who chose to eschew the festival, yet have a full cultural experience during the two weekends Coachella was in session (Cheney, 2015). This increasing corporatization of the festival has turned off some fashionable influential, such as Ken Downing, Neiman Marcus’s fashion director and senior vice president who stated “Coachella’s been marketed within an inch of its life this year,” (Cheney, 2015, para. 4). Even the organizers do not deny that the impact these external, corporate participants have had on the integrity of the music festival itself. As Paul Tollett, the co-founder of Coachella said, “I get the main bedroom because music is still the (primary attraction). But as soon as art takes it over, I’ll pack my bags. I’ve got my luggage because it’s starting to get there,” (Cheney, 2015, para. 13).

Cultural Appropriation

Festival fashion is not without its critics, and a major criticism of the attendees at festivals is the perceived cultural appropriation that many attendees exhibit at what one journalist described as “the whitest event in American history this side of the 1960s” and attributes the rise in this type of appropriation to the rise in festivals’ popularity with young members of the middle class (Freeman, 2015, para. 2). Cultural appropriation existed long before festivals, as Lurie (2000) describes how members of the hippie movement frequently wore native peasant garments from a variety of cultures in order to identify themselves as members of the counterculture, including Eastern Indian print garments, Moroccan kaftans, Indonesian batiks, Native American fringed vests and moccasins, Mexican serapes and leather sandals. The author goes on to describe a spectrum of dress that identifies the degree of commitment to the counterculture or cause based on the extent of the ethnic dress, as those with low-level association with the counterculture may wear only an ethnic-print scarf or jewelry with traditional clothes, while those with full-time membership in the counterculture to wear full ethnic dress, particularly one which combines items from several different developing countries. In this way it is easy to distinguish people who appreciate the aesthetics of a culture or identify only slightly with the counterculture from those people who fully embrace it. This spread of bohemian style with ethnic influences from the young counterculture with middle class roots to mainstream fashion appears to be repeating the same trajectory as occurred in

mainstream fashion post-Woodstock.

The topic of cultural appropriation becomes more problematic when wearers shift from incorporating aspects of everyday wear from other ethnicities such as moccasins or batik print scarves or kaftans into their own dress and instead choose to incorporate highly symbolic items from other cultures. This is what occurred when Coachella festival attendees began wearing Native American headdresses as a fashion statement and without regard for their strong cultural significance to tribal members. Other ethnic items of dress quickly joined the headdress among attendees, including the Hindu Bindi, the West African dashiki, the Mexican Sombrero and the Vietnamese Non la palm-leaf conical hat. This has created a tension between members of these ethnic groups, such as blogger Adrienne Keene (2010b), who writes, "You are pretending to be a race that you are not, and are drawing upon stereotypes to do so"(para. 4) and festival goers who feel that they should be allowed to appreciate the beauty of other cultures without being judged. Cultural arbiter MTV even got involved in the debate by posting an article entitled "Here's Why You Shouldn't Wear A Native American Headdress" (Ehrlich, 2014) that attempted to explain the position of the indigenous peoples, but despite their efforts, most of the article's commenters chose to reject their arguments.

As the popularity of wearing Native American headdresses increased, a backlash from Native American spokespeople such as Adrienne Keene (2010a) who criticized that "it seems like the go-to outfit of choice for attendees (and even some performers) included the now ubiquitous headdress" (para. 1). This ultimately led to Canada's Bass Coast Festival in British Columbia announcing that it would not permit attendees to wear Native American headdresses to the festival. In a Facebook post, the organizers of the Bass Coast Festival wrote the following: "We understand why people are attracted to war bonnets," the Facebook post went on to further state:

They have a magnificent aesthetic. But their spiritual, cultural and aesthetic significance cannot be separated. Bass Coast Festival takes place on indigenous land and we respect the dignity of aboriginal people. We have consulted with aboriginal people in British Columbia on this issue and we feel our policy aligns with their views and wishes regarding the subject. Their opinion is what matters to us (Joyce, 2014, para. 2).

Other festivals have not yet adopted this type of policy.

Theoretical Interpretation

From a theoretical perspective, the evolution of music festivals and the criticism they have drawn may hinder the spread of festival fashion from this particular subculture to the mainstream. Because the earliest music festivals were not as profit-oriented as contemporary events, many of their attendees were not affluent, and that is how these events became a true source of trickle-up fashion. However now, with the high expense of attendance, music festivals are not something that is accessible to many of the types of innovators who originate new trends. Because the fashion media coverage at music festivals is so in-

tense, many attendees are dressing solely in order to attract photographers' attention, which means that the attire attendees wear is less a reflection of fashion and more of a costume. This phenomenon may cause music festivals to lose their status as a source of trickle-up fashion. Also, the passage of time will cause festival fashion to proceed through Laver's law and eventually come to be seen as dowdy, then ultimately hideous, at which points current festival fashion will fall out of favor with attendees. Much like how the punk scene in England and the United States was a reactionary youth movement that was a backlash against the hippies (among other motivations), as history and Laver's timeline have shown, current festival fashion style will eventually be replaced by something else. Some early trendsetters (such as Justin Bieber's 2015 music video for the song "Sorry") have been drawing inspiration from the bright colors and baggy silhouettes of the 1990s, and while Laver's law would describe approximately twenty-year-old fashions as ridiculous, as we have seen, these fashions will eventually be considered to be amusing and increase in adoption among trendy people, then once again become popular among a wider audience, possibly supplanting what is currently known as festival fashion.

Conclusion: The Future of Festival Fashion

There are early indications that popularity of music festivals have peaked as too many new entrants attempt to jump on the festival bandwagon, thus oversaturating the market of young music fans who have the disposable income to attend such events. This strain on the consumer base is showing; Pollstar reported that for the first half of 2014, the total volume of shows at the arena level is down from past years, which they attribute this to an increasing number of acts choosing to play festivals in lieu of their own headline arena dates, and fewer shows total translates into fewer revenues ("Mid-Year 2014 Special Features", 2014). The glut of festivals has other consequences as well: as more large events are planned, their large rosters (Coachella features over 160 musical artists) require huge amounts of talent to fill, and festivals are drawing their acts from the same talent pool, which creates a scarcity of available acts. According to Pollstar, music festivals will now fall into one of two basic categories, the first being the large iconic events such as Coachella or Glastonbury that artists recognize as important events for them to attend, and the second being those that must rely on the artists to sell tickets, such as Firefly in Delaware, Hangout in Atlanta, and are experiencing the difficulties of establishing a new music event ("Mid-Year 2014 Special Features", 2014).

As festivals have entered the maturity phase of their lifecycle, what is commonly known as festival fashion as a category has fully saturated the mainstream, complete with guides about how to dress in *Coachella style* in luxury publications such as *Vogue* to being parodied in humorous videos to being accessible at any pricepoint via pre-assembled collections at fast fashion retailers. Now that festival style is no longer considered to be alternative fashion as it once was, as any dedicated follower of fashion can attest, its popularity will begin a decline, only to be replaced by a new style as dictated by the next wave of young music and fashion fans.

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