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Shopping their wardrobe: Changing costume practices in Australian theatre

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Abstract: Over the past thirty years the primary method of generating theatrical costumes in Brisbane has changed significantly. Traditionally costumes were hand sewn in dedicated workshops from original designs, with a few bought items to supplement these costume 'makes'. Now designers and costumers have become shoppers, styling costumes from new and second-hand retail fashions, or finding items from existing wardrobe stock.

This research examines why the primary method of costume generation in Brisbane theatre has changed, and the impact this is having on the costuming industry. The examination focuses on changes in the Australian labour market and the Australian fashion industry. It uses Queensland Theatre as a case study, along with interviews with industry veterans, to demonstrate the relationship between current costume practice and these factors, concluding that costuming in Brisbane is highly responsive to, and reflective of, these shaping forces. The research forms the beginning of an academic and industry dialogue about a major shift in the theatre industry that needs to be acknowledged. This shift is causing skills to be lost in the industry, and raises issues applicable to costume generation around Australia.

Keywords: costume, production, wardrobe, fashion industry, buying

Introduction

Costume design and production practices, like all creative endeavours, are determined by the social structures and situations that they are created within. The conditions change over time and impact the costuming industry, and its work force and product, in different ways and to different extents. This research examines two major factors whose affects are felt in the costuming industry:

- the fashion retail market, and
- labour trends in costume, theatre and the fashion industries.

This research argues that combined changes in these factors have caused a substantial increase in sourced costume in Brisbane theatre, and a simultaneous decrease in made costume. In this research, the term 'made' is defined as purposely manufactured for a particular production, and 'sourced' refers to costumes bought from a clothing retailer new or second-hand, taken from existing costume stock, or hired by the company. The most common sourced option is items purchased new. The research firstly explores the impact of changes in the Australian fashion retail environment, and then examines how local costuming labour reflects wider socio-economic shifts that, in turn, influence an increase in sourced costume. Limiting the research scope to Brisbane theatre enables deeper discussion and analysis, which is supported also by my own professional experience. It makes use of statistical data and analysis to illustrate the issues, and relies on interviews with industry veterans to provide nuance, insight and a longitudinal perspective. Queensland Theatre, the largest local theatre company, is used as a case study, as it has the necessary infrastructure to consistently support wardrobe staff and a history that allows comparison and evaluation. The trends and issues identified in the article, however, are by no means limited to Brisbane and much of what is discussed is equally applicable to the wider Australian theatre costuming industry.

This research article cannot attempt an exhaustive analysis of all the factors affecting costume production. Instead it focuses on the two factors specified previously and how they have contributed to the increase of sourced costume. There is limited academic dialogue about contemporary set and costume in Australia (Anderson & Ross, 2001, p. 8; Heckenberg, 2008, p. 1), and even less about theatre costume practice and production. This research is unique in its focus on this area, and is intended to contribute to academic discussion of contemporary costuming practice, and to generate dialogue within the industry about costuming, theatre and its workforce.

Theoretical context

According to Hans-Thies Lehmann, "theatre is embedded in society in multiple ways" and "aesthetic investigations always involve ethical, moral, political and legal

questions” (2006, p. 18). This research contends that to examine theatre costume and its aesthetics, this list of areas under question must be expanded to include the producing economic, cultural and social environment. Costume’s sensitivity to these factors is enforced by both its form and cultural function. Costume’s form, clothing, is a production element with which audiences are intimately familiar. Discussing audience’s responses to fashion and clothing exhibitions in museums, fashion curator Nadia Buick states that “people have an emotional reaction to clothing that goes beyond anything else from day-to-day life” (2011). The audience experience she describes is arguably very similar to that of observing clothes on stage. Costume and clothing’s cultural function is as a communication medium, expressing detailed information about the wearer to the viewer. The emotional response this communication provokes is used to create feelings in the audience for the characters, such as empathy, disgust or pity. Costume’s familiarity as a creative medium, its nuanced communicative ability and its provocation of emotional reaction creates a highly evocative artistic product. This product is created from clothing (and thus influenced by the fashion industry) and produced in the theatre. Both of these industries are products of the same social, cultural and economic situations.

Costume, clothing and the changing fashion retail market

The fashion industry is an important shaping force on the costuming industry. Although serving different purposes, the shared language of clothing maintains a dialogue between the two industries that manifests in several ways. This section of the research focuses on the economic and industrial changes in the fashion industry over the last 25 years that have impacted costume design and production practices.

Spending on fashion in Australia has grown rapidly. Between 2003 and 2010, the industry grew from a turnover of \$18 billion to \$24 billion (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, p. 82). Over this same period, clothing prices dropped by an average of 2.5% (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, p. 30). The combination indicates a substantial increase in the number of clothing items owned by each consumer. The increase in purchased items, and the resulting cash injection into the economy, is a key factor in the rapid expansion of the fashion retail industry in Brisbane, and Australia generally. This expansion has caused changes in consumer behaviour. Not only are more items being bought, they are not expected to last as long or serve as many purposes. According to fashion journalist Rachel Wells, the development of ‘fast fashion’, where the time between manufacture and retail purchase is reduced to just a few weeks, has resulted in a much quicker pace of design and consumption (2008). The increased variety of fashion product results in a retail market far more useful for creating a costume. Wells’ comment is confirmed by film costume researcher Clare Wilkinson-Weber, who states, “buying clothes off the rack to make a costume ... relies upon the existence of a vast array of commoditized clothing in retail markets” (2010, p. 5). While the greater range now available in stores

encourages costume buying, seasonal and fashion trends that result in certain styles or colours saturating the market also create limitations, as costuming relies on variety to create different characters. However, an increased range of options has now filtered through the clothing consumption cycle, and charity and second-hand stores often fill any gaps for the costume 'stylist'.

Another reason for local retail growth is the internationalisation of Australia's Textile Footwear and Clothing (TFC) industry. Beginning in the late 1980s, the Industry Plan for TCF Industries, or the Button Plan (named for John Button, the Industry Minister of the Hawke government elected in 1983), involved a "methodical dismantling of the TCF tariff/quota/bounty assistance structure" (Boymal & Stewart, 2004, p. 7). While vilified by local manufacturers and workers, it was supported by fashion retailers looking to expand their product offerings. The program was run from 1989 to 1996, and also included funding to train those workers who left the industry, and for local factories to modernise their equipment and plant. In *Refashioning the Rag Trade* (2001), Michael Webber and Sally Weller outline how changes to government policy and the subsequent lifting of international import tariffs that insulated the local fashion industry from global competition reduced clothing costs nationally, although they argue that the Industry Commission overestimated predicted consumer savings (2001, p. 63, p. 339). These changes encouraged a wider range of distributors and brands to enter the Australian market, broadening available fashion offerings. This increased diversity subsequently encouraged buying costumes rather than making them. Between 1989 and 2000, the tariffs on TFC imports were reduced from 55% to 25%. These tariffs were frozen in 2000 for 5 years; however they were reduced again in 2010 to 10%, and again in 2015 to 5% (Weller, 2007, p. 4). This latest reduction was marked by the entry into the Brisbane retail market by a number of major global fashion chains such as H&M (opened in 2015), Topshop (opened in 2013), Uniqlo (opened in 2015) and Zara (opened in 2014), in response to both the tariff reductions and Australia's comparatively robust economy after the global financial crisis. Discussing the variety of clothing now available in the retail market, experienced costume supervisor Gayle MacGregor states that "you made more [costumes in the 1990s] because you had to" (personal communication, July 8, 2011). In her opinion, the wider range of clothing now available in Brisbane encourages the practice of costume buying. Theatre's predilection for naturalistic costuming means that it, much more so than other performance forms such as dance or opera, allows the purchase of readymade items.

One consequence of this rapid development of the clothing retail market is the decrease in availability and range of dressmaking fabric, and its increased cost. As the price of clothing drops and the variety of styles for sale broadens, the need and desire for home dressmaking has waned. The wholesale textile industry has likewise declined, as local manufacturing increasingly moves overseas (Weller 2007, p. 15).

Outside of Sydney and Melbourne, the main locations of Australia's fashion industry, fabric stores now offer smaller ranges at higher prices. Theatre designer Bruce McKinven explains that when he started designing costumes in the late 1980s, both Myers and David Jones (the two major department stores in Brisbane) had fabric departments, but these were shut in the early 1990s (personal communication, June 23, 2011). This trend is more recently evidenced by the near financial collapse of fabric store Lincraft in 2005, and the relocation in 2009 of iconic local fabric retailer Ewan Gardams' flagship store from the Brisbane CBD after 80 years of operation ("Vic: Lincraft," 2005; Hintz, 2009). Costume designer Bill Haycock expands on the consequences of fabric stores closing down or repositioning themselves in the market, stating:

Fewer and fewer people make their own clothes, now there are fewer and fewer specialist fabric shops ... You don't get the depth of historical fabric that was available when I was at NIDA [in the late 1970s]...This reduction of raw materials makes it much more difficult and much more expensive [to make costumes]. (personal communication, August 8, 2011)

Accordingly, many costume fabrics must be ordered from interstate or overseas suppliers. This requires costume makers to plan far ahead, a situation often difficult to reconcile with short rehearsal periods or changing design decisions. Further, purchasing this tactile medium online or via phone can provide mixed results. The tactile qualities or 'handle', such as the drape, weave density and lustre, cannot be determined from images or description, and these attributes can make a discernible difference to the outcome of the garment. The increased difficulty of finding the 'right' fabric, compared to the improved likelihood of finding the 'right' garment ready-made, encourages many production staff to frequently discount costume making as an option. Further, the fact that buying fabric to make a garment is now usually more expensive than purchasing a similar ready-to-wear item, even before the costs of labour are accounted for, must be acknowledged as an important reason for the increase in bought costume.

Another market trend impacting costuming is the exponential growth of online shopping. The popularity and product range of websites like eBay and Etsy makes sourcing clothing from overseas far easier. In addition to increasing fashion options generally, these websites have particular influence in the search for vintage and retro items. The larger populations and cooler climates of countries like the United Kingdom and United States means that substantially more clothing from earlier eras has survived there and online shopping is enabling its worldwide purchase. Reproduction period clothing from the United States is another source of costumes that would have previously been made locally. For a recent production set in the 1700s, designer Simone Romaniuk "bought stuff online from historical re-enactment websites ... the basics like shirts and white stockings. It was actually cheaper for us

to buy that from an American website and get it sent here than to make it” (personal communication, July 22, 2011). Online shopping’s cheaper costs and wider range has ensured its popularity generally and for costume in particular. When discussing how costuming sourcing has changed in recent years, many interviewees mentioned online shopping without prompting, illustrating its importance to the local industry as a costume sourcing method.

The macro trends regarding consumer spending and behaviour and the impact of international trade and changes in retail operations have all significantly changed the fashion retail landscape in Australia in the last 25 years. This impact is clearly evidenced by changes in the fashion retail sector, and the costume industry’s response to it discussed above. These changes have disrupted costume manufacturing and sourcing practices. Moreover, the quantity and variety of sourced costumes now required is encouraging new avenues of generation. These methods include the incorporation of the internet, particularly websites such as Etsy and eBay, as a resource for costume research and purchase. The range and quality of vintage and retro clothes such websites provide from around the world is changing the way period costume items are sourced. Other innovations include the repurposing of period stock costumes as vintage fashion and the concept of costume designer or buyer as a ‘personal shopper’ or ‘stylist’ for the character. This last example is one of many changes to the labour dynamics of the costuming industry, which is the subject of the next discussion.

Labour trends in costume, theatre and the fashion industries

Theatre costume’s changing labour market reflects broader labour dynamics throughout Australia. Explored in this section are the rising costs of wages nationally, the way labour is organised in the Brisbane costume industry, and how theatre companies’ staffing has altered over the past few decades. The increased cost of theatre labour and the industry’s response to it is seen in the changing methods of costume production and is also visible in the disappearance of theatre craft jobs such as prop-making, and in the reduction of cast sizes.

Labour makes up half to two-thirds of a production’s cost (Bruce McKinven, personal communication, June 23, 2011), so the fall in prices of manufactured goods relative to the price of labour in Australia (Lowe, 2011) encourages theatre companies to move toward purchasing costumes rather than making them. Buying clothes effectively outsources the ‘costume making’ labour to cheaper workers, but with a concomitant loss of quality and product control, similar to that experienced by fashion firms moving to offshore manufacture (Diviney & Lillywhite, 2008, pp. 2-3). However, for many theatre companies the financial savings of this strategy outweigh the loss of artistic control of the tailor-made product. This cost saving strategy is perceived by most interview subjects as the primary reason for the shift toward sourced costume in Brisbane theatre.

According to Wade and Contractor (2005), “the Australian workforce is already the most casualised of any advanced economy”, with the percentage of casual employees increasing from 13.3% to 27.3% from 1982 to 2000 (Campbell & Burgess, 2001, p. 85). This labour dynamic is felt in the costuming industry, with most costume staff now employed on a casual basis. Current costume labour practices require a degree of trust between both parties. At the beginning of each year, major production companies send out non-binding ‘letters of offer’ to casual wardrobe staff outlining available work and potential employment dates. This process requires that labour hours and types of skills required must be estimated months before the design concept is unveiled, with wrong predictions leading to a last minute scramble for generally unavailable staff. Further, the work’s casual nature and limited employment opportunities are not sustainable long term for many individuals, contributing to the ongoing cycle of skill loss outlined in Figure 1.

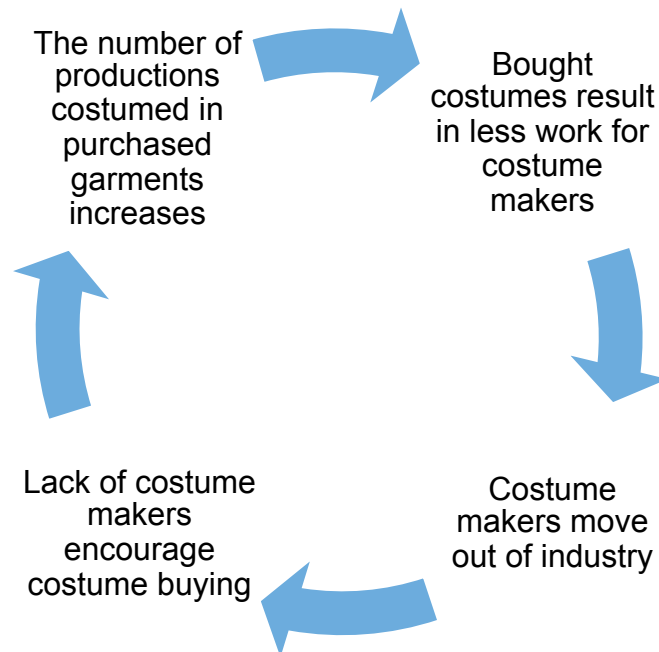


Figure 1: Cycle of skill loss engendered by increased costume buying (Madeline Taylor, 2016)

As this figure shows, as available costume work decreases there are less skilled workers available, as the increasingly precarious nature of the work and their income encourages them to leave the industry. Furthermore, when productions which require a large pool of casual staff are attempted, the sporadic nature of costume work makes finding enough suitable staff difficult. For example, when a large historical production is planned, the costume department might require a staff of eight cutters and makers to complete it, however this work is only for two months of the year. Taking into account a seasonal slow over the summer, for the rest of the year the

costume department may only have work for two to three casual staff. Additionally, costume staff usually work across multiple performance forms, and so wardrobe departments are competing for the same pool of casual staff.

Anecdotal evidence from MacGregor and McKinven supports the conclusions that can be drawn from this situation. Both believe that the personnel and specific skill sets required to produce a large period show are not currently available in the Brisbane industry (personal communication, July 8, 2011; personal communication, June 23, 2011). The increasing need for a qualification or degree to enter the industry is a development reflecting national trends. Many roles previously 'learnt on the job' now require formal vocational training or a tertiary qualification. According to MacGregor, there is now an expectation that new staff will enter the industry with the knowledge needed to work within it. MacGregor particularly mentions NIDA as a labour feeder course (personal communication, July 8, 2011). With only a few costume training courses in Australia, and none in Brisbane, this contributes to the local lack of skilled costume staff.

However, there seems to be an increasing number of fashion industry workers entering the costuming industry. MacGregor states:

The fashion industry is sort of infiltrating costume more, as more people from the fashion industry start working in costume—which can be a good thing ... for example it can be really helpful on a modern show—but if they are not being taught what the [costuming] expectations are, the way things are made in fashion may not be appropriate for costume, just not strong enough, or it's not going to read right that way, or you can spend a lot of time doing something that no one is ever going to see ... but if someone was to do a big period show right now, I know maybe one person who can make a corset, the [skills] are just not there. (personal communication, July 8, 2011)

One reason for this influx may be the dramatic decrease in local clothing sector jobs. Census data from 1986 to 1996 shows that there were 25,812 jobs lost from clothing manufacturing during this time (Webber & Weller, 2001, p. 315). The decline in people employed in the Australian clothing manufacturing industry, mostly attributable to the tariff cuts mentioned previously, is marked and rapid, as labour intensive textile clothing and foot wear activities were moved offshore (Webber & Weller, 2001, p.164). The move to offshore manufacture has been encouraged by cheaper labour costs in developing nations that assists in keeping clothing prices low, and which encourages the kind of mass consumption discussed earlier (Weller,

2007).¹ As Australian fashion labels increasingly move to overseas manufacture, there have been serious job losses in the sector and a loss of skill and expertise locally as people move out of the fashion industry (Wells, 2009). According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics' time series data for the broader classification 'Textiles Clothing Footwear and Leather Industries', full-time employment fell by 60% in the twenty years from 1985 to 2005, from 104,800 to 42,800 workers (Weller, 2007, p. 5). The jobs that were eliminated in the restructuring process were mainly less skilled jobs, especially clothing machinist jobs, which in Australia are gender-typed as women's work (Weller, 2007, p. 5). This correlates with labour dynamics in the costume workshop. Costuming is traditionally, and remains to a great extent, a female industry, especially in the lower paid roles. While it is difficult to source exact figures to support this gender divide, informally it is evident in such things as the 'Brisbane Costume' group on Facebook. Of the 104 self-identified members only four are men, and two of these are designers who do not do any costume making. While there are transferable skills and processes between the sectors, there are also differences required by costume's specific nature and purpose. Costume production techniques such as period construction, detailed finishing or 'quick-change' allowances, already being lost through lack of use and training opportunities, are not being taught to these newer industry entrants. The use of fashion manufacturing processes in the wardrobe department is further eroding assumptions that costumes should be made rather than purchased.

Costume making methods and technologies have not changed significantly since the invention of the electric sewing machine in 1889, illustrated by the continuing relevancy of older costuming manuals such as Janet Arnold's patternmaking books, first published in 1964. Much of period costume's authenticity and character support is created by its construction methods, the same processes and skills required by the original historical garment. This approach was taken to its fullest extent by Jenny Tiramani at the Globe Theatre who insisted upon hand sewn garments manufactured and dyed using only materials available in the 1500s "as part of an experiment into original practices" (Maclaurin, 2015, p. 53). However, as John Pick states, "the theatre industry is unique in that technology has actually increased the labour required to produce it" (1985, p. 64). Pick successfully argues that technological advances such as mechanised stages and increasingly complicated lighting and sound equipment have required increased operating staff. The wardrobe department is the exception that proves the rule for Pick's thesis. As the wardrobe department has not matched the technological advances of other production areas, it is potentially deemed less dynamic, with a decreased need for development and more labour or staff investment.

¹ The ethical questions associated with this shift, while outside the scope of this research, must be acknowledged and include issues of working conditions, pay rates and hours of employment.

The shift to sourced costumes as the primary method of theatre costume generation has been supported by many of the changes in the wardrobe labour force, and the flow on effect from changes to the Australian TFC industry. These factors are explored in more detail in the following case study.

Costuming practices and labour at Queensland Theatre

This case study explores the costume practices of Brisbane and Queensland's largest theatre producer, Queensland Theatre (formerly Queensland Theatre Company). It is developed through documented interviews with production and creative staff who work with the company, analysis of archival data such as programs and production photographs and my personal professional knowledge of the company's production processes. The company, established by legislation in 1970, is a statutory body of the Queensland Government and the state's premier theatre company. As such, it has a perceived responsibility to lead the local industry, and produce some of the state's 'best' work. A member of the Australian Major Performing Arts Group, it receives grant funding from both state and federal authorities to the tune of approximately \$5,000,000 in 2015 (Queensland Theatre, 2015, p. 66). This funding, combined with practices established during the company's 47 years of operation, means it maintains one of the few continuously operating wardrobe departments in the state. It currently employs two full time staff members, augmented with casual staff as required by productions. The number of full time positions within the department has decreased substantially over the company's history. Archival documents show that in 1982 there were six full time staff, including someone responsible for costume hire, a wig stylist and a milliner, along with six to eight regular casuals who were employed approximately three-quarters of the year. Compared to current numbers this represents a significant decrease in staff numbers. This is presumably due to shrinking budgets, the perception of that costume-making skills are less vital and, as illustrated by Figure 2, a decreasing number of 'period' productions requiring costume making.

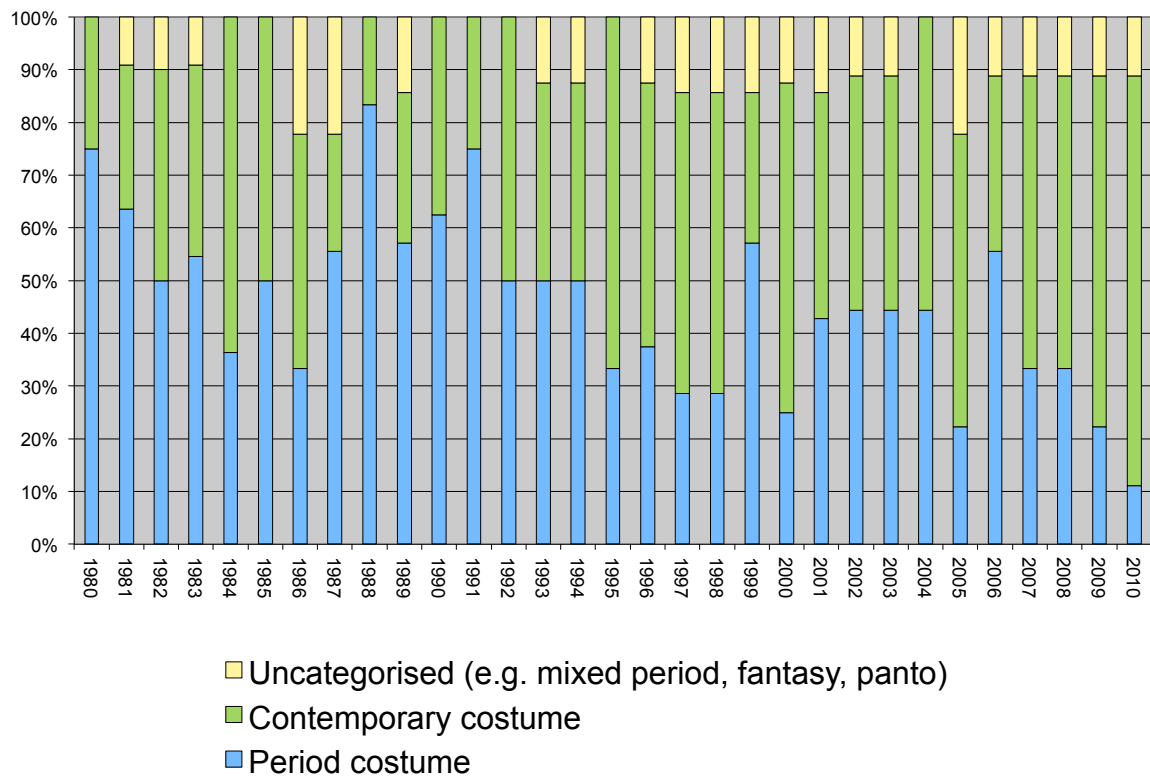


Figure 2: Graph illustrating decrease in period costume productions at Queensland Theatre 1980–2010 (Madeline Taylor, 2016)

This graph was created through analysis of production stills, programs and other archival material held by the John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, and the Queensland Performing Arts Museum to determine which category each of the 9–12 productions from each year belonged in. It must be clarified that both contemporary and other forms of costume can be made, not just bought, but the nature of period costume usually determines that it is predominantly made. Also worth noting is that over recent years there has been an increase of historical productions costumed in contemporary outfits².

The company’s labour deployment is also being changed by requirements for planning and reporting budgets and spending. In *The Theatre industry: Subsidy, profit & the search for new audiences*, Pick discusses the increased amount of time and associated cost spent by theatre workers on administration, which he argues “detracts from the purpose for which the subsidy is given” (1985, p. 25). While the need for this administration is understandable, the increased variety of retail spending associated with sourced costumes has an associated time and cost often unacknowledged or underestimated when predicting a production’s labour needs. Complying with Queensland Theatre’s stringent financial reporting systems and

² This aesthetic trend is not covered within the scope of this research, but for further discussion see Taylor (2016).

processes requires a great deal of time and energy. Queensland Theatre costume buyer Natalie Ryner (now Head of Wardrobe) noted that the requirement to have preapproval of every purchase over \$100 means that she spends a lot of time waiting at shops for telephone confirmation before proceeding with a purchase (personal communication, August 29, 2011). The increased amount of costume purchasing, whether on account, via credit card, store card, online or with petty cash, and the administration required for each purchase means that a substantial amount of time is spent by costume buyers and Head of Wardrobe processing receipts and preparing them for the financial department, who also must now spend more time on wardrobe paperwork. MacGregor considers this requirement to be a contributing factor to her leaving the Head of Wardrobe position in 2009, as “it became all about the paperwork” (personal communication, July 8, 2011). These examples suggest that the cost of purchasing costumes may not be as low as commonly assumed, instead the labour expended is just now more widely dispersed.

Conclusions

The shift from made to sourced garments as the main method of costuming in Brisbane is clearly evidenced by current theatre practice. The social, cultural and economic climate in Australia, along with worldwide market forces, has contributed to this shift. This research helps define and establish the relationship between the costume department, the theatrical industry it serves, and the broader world in which it operates. The research requests an acknowledgment of the skills and crafts that are being lost in current costuming and theatre practice, and helps define a new way of working currently playing out on local, and almost certainly national and international stages.

The development of ‘costume sourcing’ or ‘buying’ as a costume practice, role and skill set is now firmly entrenched in the industry landscape. Often designers, as well as costumers, are expected to have these skills as well. This method of costume generation requires more flexibility of design concept, but needs a shorter lead time. However, the trend is also causing a loss of costume making talent within the local industry, particularly the skills involved in period patternmaking, construction and finishing. Making costumes specifically for a role allows a design to be realised with far more nuance and detail, which supports and displays a character’s personality. Currently audiences, actors and productions are losing the opportunity to experience costumes with this depth.

As Figure 2 and interviewees cited throughout this article make clear, the number of made costumes and thus the available costuming work has dropped significantly in the last thirty years for both casual and full time staff. Due to both a drop in employment and its sporadic nature, the costuming industry has become casualised and staff turnover naturally increased. This staffing situation, and the lack of productions that require costume making skills, has meant less investment from

production companies in costume staff's training and career development. Currently the training and skills transfer that used to occur within the workplace is generally occurring at tertiary training institutes and universities, with none local to Brisbane. The incorporation of people trained in fashion industry production practices means that many skills particular to costume are being lost, blurring the lines between costume and fashion. This is a cycle of skills loss. If shows requiring costume construction skills are not produced, these skills are not passed on, leaving the industry and decreasing companies' ability to produce shows that require complex made costumes in the future, ensuring that the pattern then repeats. For all of the interview subjects, the skill loss that this practice engenders is a matter of urgency.

One of the ramifications of this cycle of skill loss foreseen by designer Bill Haycock is that designers are forced into a "passive choice" to buy rather than to make (personal communication, August 8, 2011). As theatre producers focus on cutting costs and this mindset becomes progressively more ingrained, designers may be engaged for shorter periods, a decision driven by the industry attitude that 'contemporary costume is easier'. While the trend for sourced and bought costumes is supported by current theatre aesthetics and artistic decisions, this will not necessarily always be the case. That costuming aesthetics go in and out of fashion is discussed by Roland Barthes, and he gives the nineteenth century's fascination with "archaeological" costumes as one example (2010, p. 208). What is concerning is that when aesthetic trends inevitably change, the skills and knowledge required to produce costumes locally will no longer be available. Even more disquieting is that the shift is occurring with little discussion of the impact it has on theatre product and the industry generally. This lack of dialogue, or any forum for it, is of great concern for the costumers whose livelihoods depend on a steadily diminishing pool of work, and whose status as casuals gives them little opportunity to voice these fears. The lack of discussion, research and acknowledgement in academic and industry analysis highlights a major gap in current theatre research in Australia, part of a wider lack of critical discourse about theatre industry practice, particularly production practice, which this journal will hopefully begin to remedy.

This research does not try to provide an answer to the dilemmas raised above, but it is hoped that by discussing these issues the theatre industry may become aware that the costume making skills and knowledge currently being lost may never be retrieved.

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